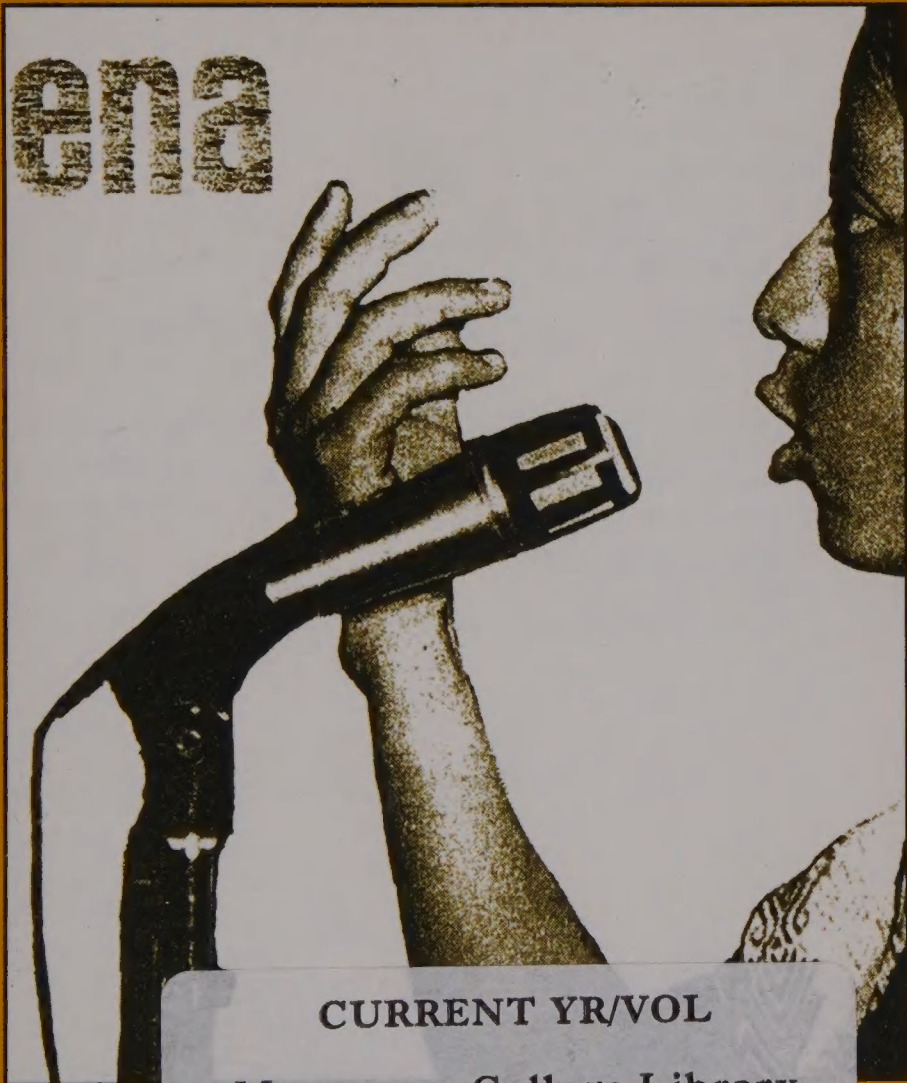


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In This Issue

Articles in this issue study different forms of cultural and political activism in twentieth-century Brazil, Guatemala, and Cuba, as well as conflicts over the creation, representation, and authenticity of cultural forms.

Paulina Alberto examines the controversy surrounding the alleged creation of a cultural movement, called “Black Rio” (using the English term “black”), in which young Afro-Brazilians in Rio de Janeiro in the mid-1970s adopted African American soul music, dance, and clothing styles. Participants in this controversy included the secret police, intellectuals on the right and the left, and the young followers of soul music themselves. The police had to assess whether the movement constituted a threat to order and national security. Right-wing nationalist intellectuals characterized soul music as an inauthentic cultural idiom that threatened to destroy Brazil’s cherished racial harmony and *mestiçagem*. Leftist intellectuals, in turn, concurred with analysts from the right that soul was an imported cultural form, but dismissed it as a mere commercial scam preying upon innocent Afro-Brazilian consumers who had limited understanding of this “neocolonialist publicity campaign.” Only the participants, including a small group of young activists linked to the emerging black movement, contested the alleged lack of authenticity of soul music. They noted that other cultural products made in the United States circulated freely in Brazil without controversy and charged that attacks on the movement were another expression of Brazil’s ingrained racism.

Conflicts over authenticity, culture, and representation are also central to Betsy Konefal’s essay, which analyzes the protest of a group of *reinas indígenas*, or indigenous pageant queens, against the massacre of indigenous campesinos in the community of Panzós, Guatemala, in 1978. Konefal explains how state-sponsored *indigenista* events such as the annual Folklore Festival, which celebrated the “Mayan soul” of the nation, became sites of conflict and contestation. As “symbols of authentic Mayan identity,” indigenous women were in a privileged position to protest state violence against Mayas; indeed, “the state’s own celebration of Guatemala’s Mayan authenticity provided protestors with compelling language and imagery with which to denounce the crass inconsistencies

in government actions.” The author interviewed many of the people who had participated in the protest and who came from different mobilization experiences and linked concerns over indigenous culture and rights with questions of social and political justice. Although protesters were ultimately unsuccessful in boycotting the Folklóre Festival, they countered the official representation of the dead at Panzós as *engañados*, or “tools of leftist insurgents,” claiming instead that they were the real, authentic *indios*.

The cultural and political activism discussed in these papers frequently took place at the local (community, village, neighborhoods) level, which is the subject of Adriano Luiz Duarte’s article. In his dissection of what is commonly known as the “populist era” of Brazil, from the 1940s to the 1960s, Duarte investigates the little-known activities of neighborhood associations. These associations sought to obtain concrete and immediate gains for poor, working-class neighborhoods, from paved streets and running water to health clinics and better transportation. The Communists created Comitês Democráticos e Populares (CDPs) to build a popular following in these neighborhoods, whereas the middle sectors of the poor suburban neighborhoods gravitated toward competing Sociedades Amigos de Bairro, or SABs. Despite differences in social composition and procedures, both the CDPs and SABs helped publicize neighborhood problems and, in the context of an expanding electorate, articulated claims to local authorities and political figures. Studies of populism have neglected this neighborhood experience, which was central to the lives of workers.

Many of the conflicts studied in this issue were informed by Cold War concerns, especially by fears of Communist infiltration, which in the Americas came to be incarnated by the Cuban revolutionary example. Lillian Guerra offers a new interpretation of the old debate concerning the causes that led to the radicalization of the Cuban revolutionary process in 1960. In this interpretation, the process of radicalization was paved by the transformation of *fidelismo* into a new cultural religion. The revolution was portrayed as a moral paradigm, “a divinely sanctioned struggle to create a uniquely moral society on earth,” with Fidel Castro and the most humble supporters of the revolution as the incarnation of Jesus. Rites of inclusion in the revolution, from mountain climbing to symbolic burials of opposition newspapers and property owners, helped differentiate supporters from enemies. Supporters included traditionally disenfranchised sectors of society, such as blacks, who found the inversion of traditional social roles appealing. Those who sought to preserve those traditions and individual freedoms—Catholic activists, newspaper editors, university professors—were excluded from the new moral community as enemies of a millenarian struggle for collective redemption.

When Rio Was *Black*: Soul Music, National Culture, and the Politics of Racial Comparison in 1970s Brazil

Paulina L. Alberto

The press came down hard on me because the attitude of the album was *black* and at the time most journalists were against *black*; not against *negro*, but against *black*, the consciousness that is connected to the international sphere and isn't just Brazilian.

—Musician Gilberto Gil, on the reception of his 1977 album *Refavela*

In July 1976, the *Jornal do Brasil*'s Saturday cultural supplement ran four full pages with a troubling subject. Rio de Janeiro was turning "*black*," journalist Lena Frias told readers. A wave of dance parties playing soul and funk music from the United States had overtaken recreational clubs in Rio's *subúrbios*, the working-class neighborhoods to the north and west of downtown, and was threatening to invade the wealthier (and whiter) neighborhoods of the city's famed Zona Sul. The article described these soul dances and the hundreds of thousands of young people of color who flocked to them as a cultural space, indeed a place, apart from the city mainstream readers thought they knew.

I am grateful to the Eisenberg Institute for Historical Studies at the University of Michigan for the fellowship that supported this work, and for the opportunity to present it. For their insightful contributions at different stages, I would like to thank Matthew Briones, Tamar Carroll, Sueann Caulfield, Fernando Coronil, Marie Cruz, Christopher Dunn, Dario Gaggio, Juan Hernández, Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, Bryan McCann, Farina Mir, Gina Morantz-Sanchez, Ed Murphy, Deborah Poole, and Julie Skurski. I am indebted to two anonymous reviewers for the *HAHR* for their generous and careful comments.

Epigraph. Jornegro 2, no. 7, 1979, translated by Christopher Dunn and cited in Dunn, *Brutality Garden: Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2001), 184.

A city with its own culture is developing within Rio. A city that grows and assumes very specific characteristics. A city that Rio, generally speaking, does not know or simply ignores . . . A city whose inhabitants call themselves *blacks* or *browns*; whose hymn is a song by James Brown . . . ; whose bible is [the film] *Wattstax*, the *negro* counterpart to *Woodstock*; whose language incorporates words like *brother* and *white* . . . ; whose motto is *I am somebody*; whose model is the *negro* American, whose gestures they copy, although upon this copy they create original meanings.

This parallel city and its inhabitants, who drew apparent inspiration from cultural and racial identities of black North Americans, constituted for Frias “one of the most provocative sociological phenomena” in Brazilian history.¹ She called the parallel city “*Black Rio*,” using the English word *black*.²

Frias’s unsettling account sparked a barrage of articles about the soul phenomenon in major national newspapers and magazines, as well as in the city’s alternative press, which represented various groups on the left and in the emerging *movimento negro*, or black movement. Above all, Frias’s article attracted the attention of the secret police of the state of Rio de Janeiro. Along with other right-wing observers allied with the military dictatorship then in power, they closely observed the soul dances and debated whether they might constitute some kind of coherent, subversive “movement.” The soul controversy thus offers an opportunity to investigate how commentators from across the political spectrum understood the relationship among music, national culture, and racial politics in 1970s Brazil.

Despite participants’ diverse positions and shrill tone, all those involved adopted Lena Frias’s name for the phenomenon. All seem to have agreed that the English word *black*—as a word referencing race, identity, politics, and culture in a U.S. context imagined as more racially polarized than Brazil—was untranslatable into Brazilian racial terms yet was suddenly necessary to describe

1. Lena Frias, “Black Rio: O orgulho (importado) de ser negro no Brasil,” *Jornal do Brasil*, caderno B, 17 July 1976.

2. I use *black* (italicized) when quoting the English word as used in the original Portuguese sources. When translating passages that include the Portuguese word *negro*, I leave it in the original (italicized). To talk about Brazilians of African descent who self-identified as *negro*, I use the English word “black” (unitalicized); I reserve this for a discussion of “black activists” or the “black movement.” For Brazilians of African descent who participated in the soul phenomenon but did not clearly identify as *negros*, I use the terms “Brazilians of color” or “Brazilians of African descent” interchangeably.

processes under way in Brazilian society. Being *black* was culturally and politically different from being *preto* or *pardo*, the terms historically used to designate darker- or lighter-complexioned Brazilians of color; it was different, too, from *negro*, the word that many politically active people of color had adopted since the first decades of the century to designate a proudly unified racial group.³ In the wake of Frias's article, observers and participants from a range of political backgrounds struggled to define the political implications of soul's *blackness*. Did soul's proud echoes of foreign racial gestures make it dangerous, as many right-wing observers initially believed? Or, as many on the left countered, did its imported referents make it culturally inauthentic and politically bankrupt? The stakes were high for all involved, for soul trampled on a long-cherished contrast at the heart of images of Brazilian national identity: racist United States versus racially tolerant Brazil.

The origins of the idea that Brazil was fundamentally different from the United States in terms of race relations and definitions of race itself stretched back at least as far as the early 1900s. Brazilian and foreign intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century commonly posited that a gentler history of slavery and abolition in Brazil, along with extensive racial intermixture, had produced a society free of racial discrimination. In comparison with the United States, which had a sharply bifurcated racial system that excluded blacks from belonging in a white nation, Brazil, many claimed, had a graded system of racial identification that included people of diverse racial and cultural backgrounds in a *mestiço* or mixed nation.⁴ By this logic, *blackness*, as a radically oppositional cultural and political identity, was the unfortunate consequence of racism and racial segregation in the United States, but was wholly out of place in the tolerant and *mestiço* nation of Brazil.

Since the 1950s and '60s, however, the favorable comparison with the United States came under increasing attack from a group of intellectuals and activists, many associated with the black movement. In the 1970s, at the height

3. On changing racial terminology among black activists throughout the twentieth century, see George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1991); Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1991).

4. Foremost among these was Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande e senzala: Introdução à história da sociedade patriarcal no Brasil*, 41st ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 2000). See also Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: Vintage Books, 1946); Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1971).

of the soul phenomenon, these critics began to argue that the nationalist myth of a racially and culturally harmonious Brazil obfuscated an underlying reality that was much more similar to U.S.-style racism than most Brazilians liked to admit.⁵ Since then, many scholars have argued that the deceitful nature of Brazilian racism has perhaps been even more pernicious than U.S.-style racism, for it defused possibilities for “racial consciousness” and racial politics in the style of the U.S. civil rights movement, and even today complicates the implementation of U.S.-style affirmative action programs.⁶ For several scholars engaged in this critique of Brazilian racism, *Black Rio*, with its U.S.-style racial referents, was a tonic for Brazil’s racial malaise. The oppositional *black* identities that emerged from the soul dances represented a brief moment of racial consciousness in Brazil—a consciousness long hampered by myths of racial democracy and weak racial movements.⁷

In the 1990s, debates about the comparison with the United States took a sharp turn to the extremes. Some defenders of Brazil’s relative tolerance and fundamental difference from the United States accused their opponents of cultural imperialism, of imposing U.S. categories and politics onto Brazil and thereby erasing its specificity. In response, some supporters of the idea that the United States and Brazil shared similar patterns of racism retorted that the defense of Brazilian difference amounted to a denial of, or an apology for, Brazil’s virulent forms of discrimination.⁸ Ironically, these well-meaning argu-

5. See especially Abdias do Nascimento, *O negro revoltado* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1982); Abdias do Nascimento, “O genocídio do negro brasileiro,” in *O Brasil na mira do pan-africanismo*, ed. Abdias do Nascimento (Salvador da Bahia: EDUFBA/CEAO, 2002).

6. Michael George Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945–1988* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994); France Winddance Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1998). On affirmative action, see Sérgio da Silva Martins, Carlos Alberto Medeiros, and Elisa Larkin Nascimento, “Paving Paradise: The Road from ‘Racial Democracy’ to Affirmative Action in Brazil,” *Journal of Black Studies* 34, no. 6 (2004): 787–816.

7. J. Michael Turner, “Brown into Black,” and Michael Mitchell, “Blacks and the *abertura democrática*,” both in *Race, Class, and Power in Brazil*, ed. Pierre-Michel Fontaine (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, UCLA, 1985), 73–94, 95–119; Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power*, 114–20; Helene Monteiro, “O ressurgimento do Movimento Negro no Rio de Janeiro na década de 70” (Master’s thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1991).

8. Particularly polemical is the debate sparked by Bourdieu and Wacquant’s reading of Hanchard’s *Orpheus and Power*. Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, “On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason,” *Theory, Culture and Society* 16, no. 1 (1999): 41–58. For subsequent

ments on behalf of Brazilians of color ended up presenting them alternately as dupes of national myths of racelessness or as victims of imperialist standards of racial consciousness.⁹

A new, more nuanced position on the U.S.-Brazil comparison seems to be emerging from the din of these polemics. Most recently, some scholars have sought to decouple the argument about whether or not Brazil has racism or racial activism from the condition that these phenomena function as they are perceived to do in the United States. Unlike arguments from earlier in the century, these attempts to understand Brazil on its own terms do not bind scholars to a celebratory discourse of racial tolerance and exceptionalism. Rather, they allow scholars to explore the ways that racial politics, identities, and discrimination can exist just as vividly in Brazil as they do in the United States, though with distinct dynamics and manifestations.¹⁰ At the same time, the presumption of a wholly bounded Brazilian racial system, with no overlap or exchange with the United States, no longer holds up. Contact and comparison with the United States (and other international flows of ideas and symbols) were always constitutive of Brazil's internal discussions about race.¹¹

defenses of Hanchard, see M. Hanchard, "Acts of Misrecognition: Transnational Black Politics, Anti-imperialism, and the Ethnocentrism of P. Bourdieu and L. Wacquant," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 20, no. 4 (2003): 5–29; John French, "The Missteps of Anti-Imperialist Reason: Bourdieu, Wacquant and Hanchard's *Orpheus and Power*," *Theory, Culture and Society* 17, no. 1 (2000): 107–28. For a range of Brazilian contributions to this polemic, see the special issue of *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* (Rio de Janeiro) 24, no. 1 (2002).

9. For an overview of these debates, see Peter Wade, "Images of Latin American *Mestizaje* and the Politics of Comparison," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 23, no. 3 (2004): 355–66.

10. See Hebe Maria Mattos de Castro, *Das cores do silêncio: Os significados da liberdade no sudeste escravista, Brasil, século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1995); Sueann Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2000); Peter Fry, "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," *Daedalus* 129, no. 2 (2000): 83–118; Tiago de Melo Gomes, *Um espelho no palco: Identidades sociais e massificação da cultura no teatro de revista dos anos 1920* (Campinas: UNICAMP, 2004); Robin E. Sheriff, *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race, and Racism in Urban Brazil* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2001); Paulina L. Alberto, "Terms of Inclusion: Black Activism and the Cultural Conditions for Citizenship in a Multi-Racial Brazil, 1920–1982" (PhD diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 2005).

11. See George Reid Andrews, "Brazilian Racial Democracy, 1900–90: An American Counterpoint," *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, no. 3 (1996): 483–507; John French, "Translation, Diasporic Dialogue, and the Errors of Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant," *Nepantla* 4, no. 2 (2003): 375–89; and Micol Seigel, "Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn," *Radical History Review*, no. 91 (2005): 62–90.

The popularity of soul music in Brazil in the 1970s provides a unique opportunity for exploring this complex interplay between international racial referents and national ideologies of race. A few recent studies of the ways Brazilians in this period understood, enjoyed, and produced soul music trace the ways that soul's styles, politics, and racial identities were distinctly Brazilian even when they borrowed consciously from U.S. models.¹² This article shifts outward from the music to the public debates over and police investigations into *Black Rio*, to understand the sense that a range of Brazilians made of these cultural gestures. With exceptional eloquence, these debates not only lay out the opinions of diverse Brazilians about the comparison with the United States in their own time, but they show participants consciously playing with that comparison to define race and national culture in politically expedient ways.

Like soul music itself, these contested readings of soul's foreignness in mid-1970s Brazil complicate assumptions often held by scholars on both sides of the comparison debate about the power of U.S. or any foreign racial, cultural, and political models to trump local interpretations, whether positively or adversely. Brazilians on all sides of the soul debate adopted the English word *black*. Despite the protestations of many that *black* was a foreign word used to describe a foreign influence, the English word actually helped to explain the shifting terrain of local culture and politics. And again, despite concerns that dancers' enthusiastic adoption of the term *black* to describe themselves and their styles would destroy or contaminate local racial terminology, Brazilians of all stripes had no trouble adopting the term without substituting it for the Brazilian word *negro*. In their untranslated use of this foreign "gesture," as Frias put it, all those involved "create[d] original meanings."

Blacks under Surveillance

The Departamento Geral de Investigações Especiais (DGIE) political intelligence wing began its investigations into the soul phenomenon as early as April 1975, over a year before Frias's article "discovered" soul for a broader reading public. The DGIE was a newly reformed branch of the entities commonly known as the "secret" or "political" police, which had existed under several

12. Bryan McCann, "Black Pau: Uncovering the History of Brazilian Soul," in *Rockin' Las Américas: The Global Politics of Rock in Latin/o America*, ed. Deborah Pacini Hernández, Héctor Fernández-L'Hoeste, and Eric Zolov (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2004); Dunn, *Brutality Garden*, 177–80; Lívio Sansone, "Global Funk in Bahia and Rio," in *Blackness without Ethnicity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 115–16.

guises in Brazil since the early twentieth century. Though their goal of preserving social and political order remained constant, the secret police's ideals of order and their methods for achieving it changed with the times. Unsurprisingly, the scope and intensity of political policing peaked under repressive governments, like Getúlio Vargas's Estado Novo (1937–45) or the post-1964 military dictatorship. From the late 1960s to the mid-1970s, at the height of the dictatorship's political repression, Rio de Janeiro's secret police forces (then known as the Departamento Autônomo de Ordem Política e Social, DOPS/RJ) worked closely with federal intelligence agencies to assist in the repression of the organized left and urban guerrillas.¹³

When the soul phenomenon came to their attention, Rio's secret police were in transition, in more ways than one. In 1975, the secret police were restructured as the DGIE, with a Departamento de Polícia Política e Social that would act as "police intelligence," collecting information on people and institutions deemed dangerous to national security.¹⁴ This institutional reorganization coincided with a shift in the nation's political atmosphere that would change the nature of both political activism and political policing. By the second half of the 1970s, having successfully disarmed the institutional left, and in response to growing opposition from moderate political sectors, the dictatorship entered a phase of decompression (*distensão*), in which opposition to the regime was less strictly defined, investigated, and punished. The attenuation of state repression allowed for the emergence of new social and political movements articulated around notions of identity like race, gender, or sexual orientation.¹⁵ On one hand, this made the political police's tasks easier; these movements worked through peaceful means, unlike the urban guerrillas of previous years. Yet they also presented new problems for the DGIE. As elsewhere in Latin America, these new social movements challenged established political parties organized around traditional left and right ideologies and reconfigured notions of "the political" more broadly.

13. On Rio's political police, see Darien J. Davis, "The Arquivos das Polícias Policiais [sic] of the State of Rio de Janeiro," in *Latin American Research Review* 31, no. 1 (1996): 99–104; and Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, *Os arquivos das polícias políticas: Reflexos de nossa história contemporânea* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 1996).

14. This followed the fusion of the states of Rio de Janeiro and Guanabara. Davis, "The Arquivos," 101.

15. Sonia E. Alvarez, *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1990); Maria Paula Nascimento Araujo, *A utopia fragmentada: As novas esquerdas no Brasil e no mundo na década de 1970* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2000).

This diffusion of the “political,” which became at once all-pervasive and difficult to pin down, confounded the categories of political subversion (“terrorism,” “communism,” “Cuba”) with which the police were accustomed to working. The police faced precisely this challenge with the soul dances, their first major encounter with the black associations and movements that would begin to flourish in the second half of the 1970s. Black organizations, like the Frente Negra of the early 1930s or the Teatro Experimental do Negro of the 1940s and ’50s, had previously earned the attention of Rio’s secret police, yet only on an ad hoc basis; there was no formal category for black activism on the police’s lists. Their initial reports on the soul phenomenon, before the watershed publication of Lena Frias’s exposé, reveal the police recognizing soul as a potential threat to public order and safety but struggling to categorize the nature of that threat.

On April 19, 1975, DGIE agents infiltrated a large soul dance cohosted by music groups (*conjuntos*) named Black Power and Soul Grand Prix at the Portela Samba School. The resulting report, whose subject heading (*assunto*) “Black Power” conflated the name of the group with suggestions of black radicalism, reveals the police’s primary concern with the preferential treatment organizers showed to people of color:

The show was attended by close to six thousand people of color, and the entrance tickets were sold under the following conditions: white person, 15 cruzeiros; person of color, 10 cruzeiros. During the dance, . . . dancers shouted the names of famous *negro* figures, such as Luther King [*sic*] and Jimmy Hendrix. It was also observed that the few whites present were treated with hostility, through the application of a “cold war” against them, and that the dancers made use of great quantities of marijuana.

The group Black Power, the report alleged, had been banned from holding dances in another social club, the Gremio Recreativo Rocha Miranda, “because they [Black Power] did not want to grant entrance to white people.”¹⁶ Racial discrimination of this sort was technically a crime in Brazil, for it violated the Afonso Arinos Law (passed in 1951 in response to racism against people of

16. Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Fundo Polícias Políticas no Rio de Janeiro, sector DGIE, folder 241 (hereafter cited as DGIE followed by folder number), pp. 245–44, 29 Aug. 1975. The descending order of pagination in all cited DGIE documents reflects that of the originals.

color). Yet police in Brazil had never consistently prosecuted the many violations of this law when people of color were the victims of discrimination.¹⁷

In subsequent reports, the officials who discussed antiwhite discrimination in these soul dances were at odds about whether that form of discrimination was equivalent to or worse than the antiblack discrimination much more prevalent in Brazilian society. A year into the investigation, for instance, a police investigator submitted a report describing as “radicalism” the processes whereby soul dance producers “sought to hamper the entrance of . . . whites,” but he explained that such radicalism merely echoed the practices of rock clubs in the whiter Zona Sul, which routinely did the same thing to “negros.”¹⁸ In their marginal notes on this report, officials debated the question of racial discrimination in ways that reveal a lopsided vision of what it meant to defend Brazil’s racial democracy. Police delegate Nahli Jorge Hauat pressed the investigator to specify “in detail to what extent the organizers [of black and white parties] impose difficulties.”¹⁹ He received no responses regarding the soul dances, suggesting that the police still had no firm leads on the issue over a year after their initial investigations. But another high-ranking officer, Deuteronomio Rocha dos Santos, apparently felt compelled to respond to the passages in the report accusing white clubs of “radicalism” (passages someone marked with a bold “não” in the margins): “Such radicalism . . . consists in the practice, utilized in some associations and clubs of the Zona Norte and Zona Sul, of not permitting the entrance of people who are not members, or who are not conveniently dressed. This creates a series of scuffles between the clubs’ doormen and visitors. This occurs in clubs considered of the elite, such as the Iate Clube [Yacht Club] do Rio de Janeiro, Hípico Brasileiro [Riding Club], Clube Militar, etc.”²⁰ His dismissal of any distinctions made in admissions to “elite” white clubs as a matter of class or “membership” rather than race was a common trope in conservative defenses of Brazil’s racial democracy.

Even without much concrete evidence of antiwhite discrimination, the police’s initial investigations evince a sense that new forms of racial identification, unsavory and un-Brazilian, were at work among the soul dancers. The first

17. George Reid Andrews found one single successful instance of conviction for antiblack racism under the Afonso Arinos Law in the period between 1951 and 1988. Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil*, 318 n. 11.

18. DGIE 252, pp. 8–7, 23 Aug. 1976.

19. DGIE 252, p. 9v, 24 Aug. 1976.

20. Ibid.

report on the party at Portela went on to describe another dance in late April 1975, in which “the ‘Blacks’ promoted the concentration of four thousand people of color on the grounds of the Cascadura Tennis Club.” The police interpreted as suspicious what they saw as the *blacks*’ explicit attempts to concentrate people of color around a particular form of style and leisure. Their distinction between partygoers in general (*pessoas de cor*) and those they saw as instigators of racially organized styles and identities (*blacks*) suggests their sense of the fundamental political difference between diffuse local racial identities and defined imported ones. The report ends by raising a suspicion that frequently accompanied investigations into soul dances in this period: the possibility that a “*negro americano*” was involved in the Grupo Black (Black Power’s business division) or that the Grupo Black was being financed from abroad.²¹ Troubled by the blackness of soul, but unwilling to consider how Brazilians of color might have developed such oppositional ideas of race on their own, the police looked (in vain) for a foreign infiltrator who might be their source.

In fact, soul music had been an important part of Brazilian music and of Rio’s social scene at least since the beginning of the decade. Historian Bryan McCann traces the emergence of a Brazilian soul style from the transnational experimentation of musicians like Tim Maia, Tony Tornado, Gerson King Combo, and the band Abolição since the early 1970s. The soul dances in Rio’s suburbs, he argues, emerged somewhat independently of these musical trends, as part of the leisure activities of neighborhood soccer clubs (frequented by working-class people of color) or clubs for the middle classes of color, like the Clube Renascença. Though the exact origins of the soul dances are difficult to determine, McCann writes that by 1972, DJs in these recreational clubs were hosting dances that played U.S. soul music, and by 1974 dance promoters had begun to adopt a wider array of symbols denoting and affirming the styles and fashions of U.S. blackness.²²

By the middle of the 1970s, when the secret police began their investigations, the dances had become large-scale, well-organized affairs. The group Black Power had risen to fame among hundreds of soul groups in Rio, which, as McCann notes, increasingly took over from the social clubs as organizers and underwriters of the dances.²³ Members passed out flyers at dances or posted them on walls all over Rio’s suburbs and Zona Norte, advertising parties almost

21. DGIE 241, pp. 245–44, 29 Aug. 1975. See also DGIE 252, p. 10, 22 July 1976, and DGIE 250, pp. 728–27, 23 Aug. 1976.

22. McCann, “Black Pau,” 69–70, 77–82.

23. *Ibid.*, 82.



Figure 1. Flyer from 1976 advertising a soul dance in a Rio suburb featuring the group Black Power, among others. From the collection of the Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Fundo Polícias Políticas no Rio de Janeiro, sector DGIE, folder 252, p. 03. Reprinted with permission.

nightly. The flyers highlighted featured bands and sought to entice dancers by promising prizes for best outfits, raffles for newly released LPs, and the possibility of appearing on local radio and TV stations.²⁴ Venues ranged from smaller neighborhood social clubs to the spacious rehearsal halls of Rio's samba schools. At their height in the mid to late seventies, the soul dances drew audiences of up to 15 thousand people at a time, from an estimated total of one and a half million soul dancers.²⁵ Brazilian and multinational recording companies rushed

24. Some of these flyers appear in DGIE 252, pp. 6–2.

25. Hermano Vianna estimates that there were up to 15,000 dancers per event, held daily from Monday to Sunday. Hermano Vianna, *O mundo funk carioca* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1988), 21, 26. Frias estimated about 300 conjuntos in Rio, with almost nightly dances ranging in attendance from 5,000 to 15,000 people. The cultural supplement *Um e Meio* of Rio's *Jornal do Commercio* placed the total number of dancers in the "millions" ("Black Rio," *Um e Meio*, 20–21 Nov. 1977), while a DJ in Frias's article estimated between one and two million.

to tap into this lucrative market, issuing compilation albums of foreign songs as well as records by homegrown soul artists.²⁶

Soul's growing popularity and Black Power's rising visibility as a leading music group fed the secret police's fears that the dances might constitute the beginnings of a mass racial movement with organized backing. In August of 1975, the DGIE brought in for interrogation the members of Black Power—Paulo Santos Filho, Emilson Moreira dos Santos, and Adilson Francisco dos Santos. Confronted with the police's accusations and suspicions, the youths "denied the practice of any kind of racial discrimination, as well as the prohibition against performing at the 'Gremio Recreativo Rocha Miranda,'" and "claimed no knowledge of the presence of a *negro* American in the Grupo Black."²⁷ That the police called the suspects "*jovens de cor*" (youth of color) while referring to the potential U.S. ally as a "*negro*" once again suggests their sense of the difference that ought to exist between Brazilian and U.S. racial systems. The term *negro*, while not calling attention to itself as dramatically as *black*, still denoted a stronger, American-style group identity than "of color."

While the police's interrogation of Black Power members centered on relatively new concerns about racial movements and "racial discrimination," their archives still mostly held material relating to the longer-standing repression of the organized left. When the police ran the suspects' names through their files, they found, for instance, that Paulo dos Santos (the owner of Black Power) had previously signed a petition in favor of the legalization of the Communist Party, and that João Batista do Nascimento (a member of the Grupo Black) had promoted "subversive propaganda" during the left-center government of João Goulart in the early 1960s.²⁸ In an interview with historian Hermano Vianna several years later, another DJ named Nirto explained that he and his cousin Dom Filó (both of Soul Grand Prix) ended up in jail "because the political police believed that behind those music groups there were clandestine leftist groups."²⁹ In the context of shifting definitions of the political, the police tried to make sense of soul by adapting their established practices and knowledge base (surveillance of the left, links with foreign agitators) to the less familiar identity politics of soul.

The police's relatively narrow measures of "subversion" rendered them unable, at times, to fully articulate some of soul's culturally oppositional

26. Frias, "Black Rio." For more on the soul recording industry, see Ana Maria Bahiana, "Enlatando Black Rio," in *Nada será como antes: MPB nos anos 70* (Rio: Civilização Brasileira, 1980); and McCann, "Black Pau," 83–84.

27. DGIE 241, pp. 245–44, 29 Aug. 1975.

28. DGIE 241, p. 247, 29 Aug. 1975.

29. Vianna, *O mundo funk carioca*, 27–28.

aspects. This seems to have been at work in a report on a major soul party, the Third Soul Caravan, held in June 1976 at the Império Serrano club. The party's organizers, according to police records, screened the film *Wattstax* for the first time in Brazil.³⁰ *Wattstax* was the documentary of a soul and funk music festival sponsored by the Stax record label, held in 1972 in the iconic African American neighborhood of Watts (Los Angeles) to commemorate the racial uprisings that took place there in 1965. The film interspersed scenes from everyday life in the neighborhood (such as interviews with residents on issues of race and politics) with commentary from comedian Richard Pryor and clips from the music festival, where Jesse Jackson served as MC. In 1970s Brazil, the military government strictly censored films (particularly American ones) that dealt with racially explicit subjects. Censors were to be on the alert for any movies that, among other things, "depict racial problems in Brazil" or "deal with black power in the United States."³¹ Yet the secret police saw little to fear in the screening of *Wattstax* at soul dances. Their report on the Third Soul Caravan noted that "[the] exhibition of the film Watts Tax [*sic*] was completely truncated, with only some scenes being shown, without any kind of audio system working, in a merely visual presentation that was devoid of any demagoguery."³²

For the secret police to dismiss *Wattstax*'s political potential on the grounds of soundlessness suggests their limited abilities, at that point in their investigations, to perceive the power of visual images to inspire and communicate new kinds of racial and political identities. *Wattstax*—with its vibrant shots of almost a hundred thousand black Americans sporting Afros, dashikis, and distinctive soul and funk styles, and filling the LA Coliseum for a majority black community event during which Jesse Jackson led the audience (fists held high) in a rousing rendition of his poem "I am somebody" (its words flashing across the stadium ticker) and the Black National Anthem—communicates an affirmation of blackness and racial pride for which no soundtrack or political oration would have been necessary. Across Rio, soul dance organizers projected soundless slides with scenes from U.S. black movies like *Shaft* (1971), *Wattstax* (1972), and *Claudine* (1974) as a way of underscoring the theme of "black is beautiful." In the famous "Shaft Night" parties at the Clube Renascença, for instance, organizers

30. DGIE 250, p. 731, 2 July 1976. It is unlikely that this was actually the first screening of *Wattstax*. Lena Frias's article, published only a month after the Soul Caravan party, claimed that the film was already a classic among soul dancers.

31. James H. Kennedy, "Political Liberalization, Black Consciousness, and Recent Afro-Brazilian Literature," *Phylon* 47, no. 3 (1986): 203.

32. DGIE 250, pp. 731–29, 2 July 1976.

interspersed those images with pictures of dancers from previous weeks in order to create a proud identification between dancers and famous, beautiful people of color.³³ Having the soundtrack available, however, did appear to intensify the film's power. Just a month after the Soul Caravan, Lena Frias described a screening of *Wattstax* in Rio's Museu de Arte Moderna, where, she claimed, just as in similar screenings across Rio's Zona Norte, members of the audience followed Jesse Jackson, fists raised, as they intoned in unison, "I am somebody."³⁴ Frias added that phrases from the film "are memorized, repeated, embroidered onto clothing, sung, hummed, danced, whistled."³⁵

Yet the police, during their first viewing of *Wattstax* at the Third Soul Caravan, were less concerned with the potential politics of style than with the reassuring fact that "a climate of tranquility" seemed to characterize this and other dances, "without any kind of discrimination or animosity between people of any race, all of them enjoying the same privileges." Even the disproportionate presence of people of color at the dances was "admissible," since the music was from "North American ghettos," and therefore logically appealed primarily to people of color.³⁶ The police, in other words, were searching for concrete evidence of racial discrimination or organized racial movements, not symbolic threats. During their infiltration of the Soul Caravan, the secret police took Tony Tornado, a leading soul singer, at his word when he declared to the public that (as the police paraphrased it) "the movement had no political or social angle, aiming only to integrate people into the musical environment." They found additional confirmation when Tornado, "questioned by one of the observers, who identified himself as a student just arrived from Recife to see him (which satisfied [Tornado] very much), added nothing to what he had already said" about the movement's politics.³⁷

It is not clear whether the "observer" in question was a partygoer or one of the agents themselves, posing as an avid soul dancer. This was a technique the secret police in Rio and elsewhere used to infiltrate the meetings of a range

33. For more on the "Shaft Night" soul dances at the Renascença in the 1970s, see Sonia Maria Giacomini, *A alma da festa: Família, etnicidade e projetos num clube social da zona Norte do Rio de Janeiro, o Renascença Clube* (Belo Horizonte: UFMG / Rio de Janeiro: IUPERJ, 2006), 195–96.

34. The Museu de Arte Moderna was a site of cultural innovation and opposition to the regime, also closely watched by the police for its "subversive" activities. DGIE 252, pp. 125–22, 30.

35. Frias, "Black Rio."

36. DGIE 250, pp. 731–29, 2 July 1976.

37. Ibid.

of social and political organizations they deemed suspicious or subversive.³⁸ The likelihood that agents posed as dancers raises the question of the class and racial identity of the investigators. It would make sense for the agents selected to infiltrate the dances to be relatively dark skinned, given the conspicuousness of the few whites in attendance. It is also likely that the lower-level officers sent out to investigate events like the dances were of similar class backgrounds as the soul dancers—inhabitants not of *favelas* but of working- or lower-middle-class neighborhoods. Perhaps the agents' sense of the relative harmlessness of musical styles and fashions—as long as they remained within the boundaries of the law—stemmed from their close contacts with soul dancers they knew from their neighborhoods or families. Whether because of a blindness to the politics of style, then, or a sense of their relative harmlessness, it seems that by early July 1976, on the eve of the publication of Frias's article, investigators were willing to temper their vigilance of soul. It simply did not constitute a threat to what the police then imagined national security to be.

Black Rio: Lena Frias Takes the Pulse of the Nation

Lena Frias's article of July 17, 1976, alerted an array of Brazilian thinkers, including a few members of the secret police, to the possibility that Rio's soul culture had deeper political implications. Specifically, Frias's article spelled out the ways that the racial imaginary encoded in soul styles endangered cherished images of Brazilian national identity. Displaying an eye for the sensational, Frias opened her article on soul in the register of fear: soul was separatist in character and was gaining popularity. She wrote about soul with an almost anthropological eye, as if describing a truly different culture (or even a cult) that had dangerously infiltrated a "proper" Rio. The "initiates of soul," she explained, are "inhabitants of the *negro* city of Rio, an almost secret city, to the extent that it is unknown, but whose inhabitants know each other very well. They know and recognize each other through their own signs, their own ways of greeting, their ways of dressing and self-presentation." To illustrate this, Frias's article included multiple large photographs (by Almir Veiga) of the "types" that made up *Black* Rio—close-ups of young men and women wearing berets, Lennon specs, narrow-legged pants, platform shoes, and Afros. (In a clear example of

38. See, for instance, Antonio Luigi Negro and Paulo Fontes, "Trabalhadores em São Paulo: Ainda um caso de polícia," in *No coração das trevas: O DEOPS/SP visto por dentro*, ed. Maria Aparecida de Aquino, Marco Aurélio Vannucchi Leme de Mattos, and Walter Cruz Swensson (São Paulo: Arquivo do Estado / Imprensa Oficial, 2001), 166.

the ways that cultural and political symbolism blended, this hairstyle was sometimes called “*cabelo black-power*” in Portuguese). Another series of photos captured young men executing what Frias, in her exoticizing caption, called “stages of the complicated *Black* greeting ritual.”³⁹

Black Rio, Frias showed, was not just black in its separatist U.S. cultural references and practices; it was literally a black or majority nonwhite urban space. For Frias, as for many others who wrote about the soul movement after her, the category of physical space best captured the nature and troubling implications of soul’s racial separateness. The soul phenomenon took root in Rio’s working-class peripheral neighborhoods (the Zona Norte and Greater Rio), characterized by a greater percentage of inhabitants of color than the whiter, middle- and upper-class Zona Sul. In Frias’s and others’ treatments, the fact that mostly black and mulatto *cariocas* (natives of Rio) attended these dances reinforced images of those neighborhoods as primarily nonwhite (despite the actual ethnic diversity of their inhabitants), literally a black Rio. The comparison with the United States served to make a point about the foreignness to Brazil of such racial segregation. The neighborhoods in Rio’s Zona Norte were developing “an air of Harlem,” Frias wrote, describing a picture of walls covered in graffiti advertising soul bands with English names.⁴⁰

It would be difficult to argue that the soul dances had created Rio’s well-known patterns of spatial segregation, which dated at least to the early twentieth century. What observers like Frias implicitly lamented when they described the spatial separatism of *Black Rio* was its explicit reconfiguration of Rio’s popular culture—long imagined as unified and shared across social divisions—to match the city’s prevalent spatial segregation. Frias added musical taste to this schematic association between geography and racial identity to argue that it was soul that was dividing her city: “Today, in Greater Rio, soul is a synonym for *negro*, just like rock is a synonym for white.”⁴¹ A segregated city and a segregated musical landscape thus posed a direct danger to Rio’s (and by extension, Brazil’s) *mestiço* identity. Like the police captain who saw discrimination by people of color as a bigger threat than discrimination toward people of color, Frias worried less about white rockers’ imitation of foreign culture than about African descendants’ apparent alienation from the established symbols of an Afro-Brazilian national culture. *Black Rio*, she pronounced, was a “population that does not have *samba* [the national, African-derived music] and *feijoada* [the

39. Frias, “Black Rio.”

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

national, African-derived bean dish] among its quotidian and folkloric manifestations. Although they might even like samba and feijoada the way any foreigner would. A population whose eyes and whose interests turn toward models that are entirely un-Brazilian.”⁴²

The underlying assumptions about national identity that informed Lena Frias’s distrust of soul were widely shared among Brazilians in her time. Since the 1930s, Brazilian intellectuals and the state had promoted a national identity based on ideas of cultural and racial mixture. Most famously, Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre argued that a long history of intimate family relations dating back to the colonial period had softened Brazilian slavery, laying the foundation for a society with greater racial intermixture (*mestiçagem*), greater acceptance of African cultural influences, and greater racial tolerance than the United States—an attitude he would later call “racial democracy.”⁴³ Throughout the 1930s and 40s, populist leader Getúlio Vargas drew upon these ideas of a mixed cultural identity and racial harmony for his project of national unification. Under Vargas’s government, certain African-inflected cultural products—like the musical form samba or the staple of slave cuisine feijoada—became icons of a mixed, harmonious Brazilian identity.⁴⁴ As samba in particular rose to the status of national symbol, the city of Rio (samba’s birthplace) became increasingly identified with the ideals of *mestiçagem* and racial harmony. In official discourses, Rio’s samba became the musical form that Brazilians of all classes and colors shared; the proof that, despite the social inequalities embodied in Rio’s landscapes, Brazil’s culture was essentially democratic.⁴⁵ In the 1930s and ’40s, then, the contrast between a hybrid, racially democratic Brazil and a racially

42. Ibid.

43. Though Freyre most famously laid out his ideas concerning Brazil’s racial mixture and harmony in his classic 1933 *Casa-grande e senzala*, he did not coin the term “racial democracy” until his post-WWII publications, such as Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in Brazilian Civilization*, trans. Samuel Putnam (New York: Knopf, 1946). See Antônio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães, *Classes, raças e democracia* (São Paulo: Editora 34; Fundação de Apoio à Universidade de São Paulo, 2002), chap. 5.

44. Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2004); Peter Fry, “Feijoada e ‘soul food’: Notas sobre a manipulação de símbolos étnicos e nacionais,” in *Para Inglês Ver: Identidade e política na cultura brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1982); Hermano Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music and National Identity in Brazil*, trans. John Charles Chasteen (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999); Dain Borges, “The Recognition of Afro-Brazilian Symbols and Ideas, 1890–1940,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 32, no. 2 (1995): 59–78.

45. McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil*; Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba*.

dysfunctional United States was consolidated as one of the foundational tenets of *brasilidade*, Brazil's unique national character.⁴⁶

Over the next few decades, these ideals and icons of a unified national identity gained strength, permeating the nationalist thought of the left and the right. From the late 1950s until the coup of 1964, leftist academics at the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros (ISEB) developed a discourse of "authenticity" versus "alienation" that set the standards for assessing contemporary cultural production. Their theories of an authentic Brazilian culture drew upon ideas of colonized cultures and mentalities from the writings of contemporary leftist intellectuals (like Frantz Fanon, Octave Mannoni, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Georges Balandier) as well as previous ones (especially Hegel and the young Marx). As interpreted by the ISEB, much of Brazilian culture was "alienated." In other words, Brazilians—driven by a sense of inferiority produced by a peripheral position in a neocolonial world system—relied excessively on foreign models in their attempts to create a national culture. An authentic Brazilian "self" could only be recovered through a celebration of cultural products that emerged from Brazil's particular sociohistorical conditions and not, as in the case of soul, by copying the culture of the colonial center.⁴⁷ The work of leftist intellectuals in the 1950s and early '60s, then, added to the Vargas-era definition of *brasilidade* the imperative of defending this nationalist vision against foreign, imperialist cultural penetration.

Under the military dictatorship that began in 1964, ideologies of *brasilidade* and racial democracy took on an even more totalizing, indeed suffocating character. The military governments sought to enforce the image of a racially harmonious, Africanized Brazil at home and abroad, while preempting the development of homegrown or U.S.- or African-inspired, racially oppositional politics. These objectives led them to emphasize Brazil's Africanness in terms of a folkloric, ancient, and depoliticized African presence, heavily mediated by cultural and racial mixture and contained by processes of nationalization. In 1977, for instance, Itamaraty, the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, sent a delegation of diplomats, intellectuals, artists, filmmakers, and dancers to represent Brazil at the Second World Festival of Black Arts (FESTAC II) in Lagos, Nigeria. Itamaraty's official publication on Brazil's participation in the festival lauded (for Brazilian and African audiences) Brazil's harmonious incorporation of African traits, which the delegation displayed primarily through manifestations like

46. Andrews, "Brazilian Racial Democracy," 487–89.

47. Renato Ortiz, *Cultura brasileira e identidade nacional* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1985), 47.

samba and Candomblé. But this publication, titled *The Impact of African Culture on Brazil*, portrayed African culture as a thing of the past, no longer physically linked to Africa or even necessarily to people of African descent in Brazil. For its author, conservative art critic Clarival do Prado Valladares, the African “impact” was a sort of historical collision among cultures that bequeathed Brazil a mystical, intangible cultural sensibility: he wrote of “African prototypes” in Brazilian cultural forms and hailed the “heritage of the ur-culture of African origin.”⁴⁸ Even as the Brazilian government proclaimed its nation’s (disembodied) African heritage abroad, it continued to uphold laws (passed in 1968) prohibiting the discussion of racial issues in political, academic, or artistic mediums.⁴⁹ By the time of Frias’s writing, then, ideas about Brazilian culture, race, and national identity had congealed within a narrow mold of “national authenticity” shaped by the extreme (though unexpectedly overlapping) ideological concerns of the left and the right.

Conservative Nationalism and Soul’s Challenge to Brazilian *Mestiçagem*

Until Frias published her exposé, the police had never considered whether the soul dances might be a threat to this official cultural policy, contenting themselves with the conclusion that the dances fit none of their established categories of subversion. Just five days after Frias’s sensational report appeared in the *Jornal do Brasil*, however, military police delegate Antonio Viçoso Cotta Gomes sent a concerned letter to the DGIE asking them to investigate soul, a matter he considered “of supreme importance.” He attached Frias’s article, which, he explained, “shocked me for the sense of *opposition* that, in the future, might be created [by soul]. It provides an incentive for separation, through the emergence of several *exclusivist* social activities, beginning with the dances where ‘SOUL’ music (the favorite of *negros*) is played, whereas ‘rock’ is cited as [the favorite] of whites.” Gomes urged the DGIE to organize its investigation around a series of key questions. Who, for instance, was financing the visit to Brazil of black Americans, “whose ideology we do not know?” Could not, he continued, the music’s “exclusivity,” the “uniformity of dress and footwear,” give rise to “a political group, oriented toward racial prejudice?” Finally, Gomes—no doubt

48. Clarival do Prado Valladares, *The Impact of African Culture on Brazil* (Brasília: Ministério das Relações Exteriores / Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1976), 39, 58.

49. Thales de Azevedo, *Democracia racial: Ideologia e realidade* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1975), 53.

reacting to the picture of graffitied walls that opened Frias's article—remarked upon the “ostentatiousness” with which the “movement” had overtaken Rio, “blemishing the city’s physiognomy, in a way not even permitted for electoral campaigns.”⁵⁰ Soul was disfiguring the harmonious face of the city with its bold blackness.

Although it began with a familiar focus on outside agitation, Gomes's letter shows how quickly and clearly he perceived what DGIE officers had not fully glimpsed: soul's potential to provide a basis for the transformation of racial identities and for subsequent racial activism. Gomes's next lines reveal the extent to which Frias's argument about *Black Rio's* separatism had hit its mark, elevating perceptions of soul's threat to a symbolic attack on Brazil's mixed and harmonious identity. “It is fundamental,” Gomes continued, “to remember that in our country there was always harmony among Brazilians, independently of race or religion. The miscegenation of our people—white, *negro*, Indian—is, according to Gylberto [*sic*] Freyre in ‘Casa Grande e Senzala,’ a privilege.”⁵¹ Historians of the dictatorship have long underscored the extent to which its officials embraced, and enforced, national ideals of *mestiçagem* and racial tolerance as outlined by Freyre.⁵² But it is rare indeed to get a glimpse of a military police officer citing challenges to those ideals as offenses in a report—literally “policing” these ideas—and holding up Freyre's work as the symbolic foundation of national security.

Gomes was not the only figure on the political right to see Frias's article as a wake-up call. In the year that followed, commentators with a staunchly conservative stance toward national culture continued to express their dismay at the soul phenomenon. In an opinion piece for the Rio daily *O Globo*, titled “‘*Black power*’ in Brazil,” editorialist Ibraim De Leve informed readers that “a group in Brazil's music scene is trying to launch the ‘*black power*’ movement in Brazil.” De Leve, like the DGIE before him, was inclined to see soul as an organized political “movement,” though he took this diagnosis to an absurd level:

The leader is singer Gerson King Combo, and the vice-leader is Tony Tornado. The goal of the movement is to launch racism in this country, as it exists in the *States*. They call each other “*brother*,” and their greeting involves a closed, raised fist. In the shows they are promoting in Rio and São Paulo, they have managed to draw 10,000 people. Whites are

50. DGIE 252, p. 10, 22 July 1976. Emphasis in original.

51. *Ibid.*

52. For instance, Thomas Skidmore, “Race and Class in Brazil: Historical Perspectives,” in Fontaine, *Race, Class, and Power*, 12.

avoided, mistreated and even insulted. . . . In these shows, *negros* take the opportunity to engage in agitation, pitting *negros* against whites and preaching racial domination in Brazil, after the example of the *States*.⁵³

However exaggerated in his sense of the movement's formal organization (having a "leader" and "vice-leader"), and however reactionary in his distaste for U.S.-inspired black "agitation," De Leve's alarmed intervention suggests that he perceived soul to have the power to seriously destabilize the racial status quo in Brazil—that is, to attack the cherished dominant idea that "racism does not exist." Any existing social differences, De Leve quickly countered in a familiar conservative argument, were caused not by racial discrimination, but by class: "There exist people who reach higher or lower positions in society."⁵⁴

De Leve was not alone in his analysis of soul as a racist movement, fundamentally opposed to the basic Brazilian values of racial unity and harmony. An unnamed author also writing in *O Globo* several months before De Leve declared: "We cannot consider authentic or positive any movement—whether its pretext be music or sports or anything else—that, in the name of an artistic manifestation, or even in the name of simple entertainment, tries to divide Brazilian society with a racial wedge." He titled his article "Racism," suggesting the common conservative idea that any race-based manifestation by Brazilians of color constituted (reverse) racial discrimination, and was therefore an illegitimate and immoral attack on Brazil's racial unity. To make this argument, this writer relied on the leftist notion of alienation, but reconfigured it to speak to racial identities, rather than to fashions or commercialism. "It is typical of youth," he wrote,

to choose their own means of expression; and it is common for those means to be extravagant and eccentric. Thus it is not because of its picturesque aspects—sometimes bordering on the grotesque—that we should condemn this movement dubbed "soul" or, in its carioca version, "*Black Rio*." The problem is not in the clothes, the shoes, or the modes of address. It is, rather, in what hides behind all of that: an alienated vision of reality, artificially stimulated by clearly commercial interests, with an undisguised racism at its base.⁵⁵

The problem with soul lay not in its purported challenge to the autonomy of a uniquely Brazilian culture, political tradition, or national economy;

53. Ibraim De Leve, "'Black power' no Brasil," *O Globo*, 1 Oct. 1977.

54. Ibid.

55. "Racismo," *O Globo*, 26 April 1977.

rather, soul was “alienated” in its very vision of the “reality” of race relations that underlay those constructs. This “alienated” version of race relations, of course, was U.S.-style “racism,” by which the author clearly did not mean the racism that whites practiced against African Americans. Rather, in denouncing Brazilians’ “racist” emulation of black Americans, this author meant to criticize both the suggestion that Brazil’s racial system should be compared with that of the United States, and the related idea that Brazilians of African descent should seek to remedy their (perceived) exclusion by adopting the oppositional racial politics of their U.S. counterparts.

The unnamed writer in *O Globo* further argued that samba was the authentic reflection of Brazil’s racial harmony, in contrast to soul’s alienated, racist mistranslation of a foreign problem. “In the very venues where today we hear the imported rhythms of ‘soul,’” he explained, “there resound, at other times, the drumbeats of samba. This is irrefutable proof that music and fun, in Brazil, know no racial barriers.”⁵⁶ It was not long before Gilberto Freyre, the official spokesman for the theory of Brazilian racial exceptionalism, joined the debate on soul. His views resonated most closely with thinkers on the political right, for in his later years Freyre had become increasingly allied to military dictatorships in Brazil, Portugal, and Portuguese Africa. “Do my eyes fool me?” Freyre wrote with mock coyness, “Or did I really read that from the traditionally friendly United States there will arrive in Brazil (if they have not already arrived) Americans of color, deputed (by whom?) to convince Brazilians, also of color, that their African songs and dances should be ones of melancholy and revolt?”⁵⁷

Brazil’s conservative leadership, including Freyre himself, thus made Freyrian ideals of racial and cultural mixture into a tool for questioning the legitimacy of a cultural form that hinted at an independent racial movement or consciousness. In this vision, samba stood for the nation’s harmonious incorporation of African peoples and cultures through *mestiçagem*, in contrast to soul’s foreign, *black* separatist racial consciousness. The secret police, in the wake of Gomes’s alarmed letter, clipped these conservative articles and added them to their growing dossiers on soul. “The police are watching,” as Ibraim De Leve presciently put it, “for this could involve matters of national security.”⁵⁸

56. Ibid.

57. Gilberto Freyre (from “Atenção brasileiros!” *Diário de Pernambuco*, 15 May 1977), cited in “Black Rio,” *Um e Meio*, 20–21 Nov. 1977.

58. De Leve, “‘Black power’ no Brasil.”

Left Nationalism and Alienated Soul

Frias herself was a woman of color, and there are moments when her article seems poised to use the rise of *Black Rio* to expose racial segregation in Brazil.⁵⁹ At times, she reported neutrally or even positively the ideas and attitudes of the dancers, including their contention that *Black Rio* was a natural outgrowth of the social realities of segregation in Brazil, and that the repression of soul was racist. But more broadly, her politics echoed the left-nationalist ideas of the ISEB. Frias spent much of her career as a journalist staunchly defending icons of a mixed *brasileidade* like samba and carnival, and her article returned again and again to the idea that soul music was an alienated cultural form.⁶⁰ Frias's subtitle, "The (imported) pride of being *negro* in Brazil," captures her argument that the movement was ultimately derivative and failed to embody an authentic or even recognizable racial politics. She and other writers of a similar political perspective offered an array of articles in this vein, which the secret police also collected and considered in their attempts to sort out the phenomenon's subversive potential.

In consonance with other cultural critics on the left, Frias saw a close tie between the imported nature of soul music and its focus on commercial, and therefore trivial, stylistic symbols. The soul phenomenon, she wrote, was a fad in clothing and music styles, lifted (without its accompanying political context) from the United States. Frias depicted her subjects as obsessed fans who went to great lengths to put together outfits "in American styles," and who, as if by rote, "know everything about *soul* — historical details, dates of record releases, North American groups and singers." Soul dances, she showed, often included contests whose explicit goal was imitation, such as the Renascença's "Shaft Night" parties, which promised a prize for the person who most closely resembled Isaac Hayes. For Frias, the unthinking mimicry behind *Black Rio* made it somewhat less dangerous as a divisive racial movement. Its commercialism further undermined any political consciousness. "Operating in the midst of this mass of *blacks*," Frias recounted, were "businessmen, owners of dance venues, record sellers, shoe sellers, . . . record producers," and above all, the cornerstone of the soul phenomenon, the music groups. As white soul DJ and producer Ademir Lemos explained to Frias, the soul groups made up to 200,000 cruzeiros per party, an

59. On Frias, see Sansone, *Blackness without Ethnicity*, 115.

60. On Frias's political perspective, see the letter she circulated after being fired from the *Jornal do Brasil* in 2001, reprinted in *Opinião: De que morreu Lena Frias?* Web site of Associação de Músicos, Arranjadores e Regentes, www.amar.art.br/opiniao/opiniao_20.htm (accessed 11/12/07).

amount “unheard of even at a soccer game, unless it involves [the teams] Vasco or Flamengo.”⁶¹

A range of left-leaning writers for mainstream cultural supplements, popular magazines, and music journals immediately picked up and amplified Frias’s critique of soul’s imported commercial nature. The *Jornal do Brasil*, which had published Frias’s introductory report, followed up a couple of weeks later with a piece titled “Soul: Its Sociology and Market.” In it, author Tárík de Souza (a young white journalist who also wrote for the *Jornal da Música* and the leftist humor and politics magazine *Pasquim*) contrasted the complex history of jazz, funk, and soul music in the United States to the commercialized hodgepodge compilations targeted to Brazilian audiences. Souza called the soul records available in Brazil “10 percent soul and 90 percent planned marketing.”⁶² Tãrlis Batista, writing about soul for the national news magazine *Manchete*, spoke with disdain of the soul public’s sheeplike “fidelity” to “group initiatives,” ensuring multiple “benefits” not just for “recording studios, shoe sellers, and record stores,” but also for makers of the accessories that spruced up the *blacks’* outfits: “walking canes, pipes, hats, glasses, berets, jewelry, and combs, all specially manufactured.”⁶³ These accounts of the exploits of small to big businessmen cast the soul phenomenon as a huge commercial scam, with young, African-descended working-class cariocas as its innocent (and ignorant) victims.

Beyond criticizing soul as commercialized, these articles explicitly cast its commercialism as evidence against any possible political or racial consciousness among soul dancers. Samba composer Candeia (like Frias, a person of color), then one of the leaders of an alternative samba school (Quilombo) that famously struggled to avoid commercialization and links with the state, expressed this view of soul in an interview with the *Jornal do Commercio’s* Sunday cultural supplement, *Um e Meio*: “Behind all of it, there is a real driving force; the *negros* who are part of the movement are what we might call useful innocents. I have even found out that the owners of the sound groups are in their majority well-off kids from the Zona Sul.”⁶⁴ The reference to the Zona Sul, whether intended simply as a reference to economic status (as Candeia explicitly stated) or as an encoded

61. Frias, “Black Rio.”

62. Tárík de Souza, “Soul: Sociologia e mercado,” *Jornal do Brasil*, 27 Aug. 1976. This echoes several contemporary articles in the *Jornal da Música* in which authors sought to distinguish between “real” soul and inauthentic deformations; for example, “O que é Soul de verdade?” *Jornal da Música*, 11 Nov. 1976.

63. Tãrlis Batista, “Os Blacks no embalo do soul,” *Manchete*, 11 Sept. 1976.

64. “Black Rio,” *Um e Meio*, 20–21 Nov. 1977.

reference to whiteness, clearly calls into question the legitimacy of soul as a genuine form of black cultural or political expression. For Tarlis Batista, soul was an “adhesion to musical formulas produced in an assembly line, abroad,” and “could hardly suggest anything beyond the mere conformity of a simple people, unprepared perhaps to resist being bombarded with fads by the media.” Batista concluded this after a conversation with a young *black*, who reportedly “barely knew the meaning of some of the English expressions he repeats to everyone: ‘I’m somebody.’ ‘White Power.’ ‘The Beautiful Black’” —which Batista called “mere repetition of foreign words, with an incorrect pronunciation.” Similarly, Lélia Gonzalez, a feminist and Marxist thinker and a woman of color, told Batista in 1976, “I am sure that this does not represent a clear position on the part of *negros*, but simply an identification provoked by the phenomenon of mass culture, which Americans do very well.”⁶⁵ For people of color like Frias, Candeia, or Gonzalez in the mid-1970s, leftist cultural nationalism still seemed a promising path for addressing issues of race, though this would begin to change in the second half of the decade.

The most scathing accusations of soul’s inauthenticity came in the irreverent semi-underground leftist magazine *O Pasquim*. In one article, music critic Roberto M. Moura wrote that “what we are dealing with is an insidious, neo-colonialist publicity campaign that aims simply to create subjects who will consume the excess of what is produced abroad. . . . It is clear that this social group is not thinking: it is being thought, from the outside in. If there suddenly came an order calling for a different kind of clothing, they would get rid of their jackets and take off their platform shoes.”⁶⁶ Another *Pasquim* article, titled “Safari,” described the author’s visit to a soul party as a trek into darkest Africa (echoing Frias’s ethnographic theme). He described the soul dancers he met as being in the thrall of a tyrannical tribal leader (speaking pidgin Portuguese interspersed with English phrases, like “oh yeah”), who in turn idolized the supreme white gods of soul, the record executives.⁶⁷ If right-wing commentators worried that soul was dangerous for the ways that it might inspire social revolution, especially racial revolution, left-wing commentators lamented soul for the ways that its commercial nature distracted from authentic class-based revolutionary activity.

As with conservative critics, left-leaning writers articulated their rejection

65. Batista, “Os Blacks no embalo do soul.” See also J. R. Tinhorão, “Protesto ‘Black’ é fonte de renda ‘White,’” *Jornal do Brasil*, 14 June 1977.

66. Roberto M. Moura, “Carta aberta ao Black-Rio,” *Pasquim*, 2–8 Sept. 1977.

67. Aldir Blanc, “Safari,” *Pasquim*, 5–11 Aug. 1977.

of soul most clearly in the contrast with samba. While right-wing critics saw samba as an expression of Brazilian social stability, many on the left saw it as the only true, progressive expression of an African-inflected national identity. Moura, the writer for the leftist *Pasquim*, followed his invective against soul with the assertion that if, rather than being “swept along by a collective unconscious,” these masses of people actually thought for themselves, they would turn the energies they were wasting on soul to the task of revitalizing true black values and cultures in Brazil. That is, they “would have to turn once more toward samba.”⁶⁸ Many left-wing writers, like nationalist proponents of folk culture across Latin America, believed in samba’s political power as an authentic popular form of expression. Even those who might have imagined a specifically black politics or cultural position within the Brazilian *povo* (people) dismissed soul as an imported commercial fad, an inauthentic artifact of U.S. cultural imperialism. At best, therefore, they argued that the phenomenon known as *Black Rio* was buffoonish and politically toothless; at worst, it represented a betrayal of Brazil’s true cultural patrimony by people of color who, embracing foreign soul instead of national samba, were shirking their duties as cheerful caretakers of an appropriate, authentic Afro-Brazilian heritage.

From Danger to Derision: The Secret Police Channels the Left

Ironically, it was these writers’ derision (rather than conservative cultural nationalists’ alarm) that ended up influencing the secret police’s investigations on soul. As they read Frias and other left-leaning writers, police investigators initially balanced the two ideas: that soul’s foreign origin made it a threat as a racial movement, and that its commercial nature and foreign origin made it politically toothless. In September of 1976, a *pedido de busca* or investigation request summed up the “known facts” on soul. Citing articles by Frias, Souza, and Batista, the document explained that soul “seems to be a movement centered around elements of the *raça negra*, with apparently commercial interests, after the example of what occurs in the United States, from where it seeks inspiration.” Despite the reference to commercialism in this report, the symbolic threat still loomed. In the language of the police investigators, soul dancers were no longer people of color but *negro* racial activists. Soul, the report literally underlined, “explores, in a certain way, pride in ‘blackness’ [negritude], the confrontation between whites and pretos, and social and economic rivalries between the North Zone and the South Zone of Rio de Janeiro.” Echoing military police delegate Cotta

68. Moura, “Carta aberta ao Black-Rio.” The end of Gonzales’s quote to Batista also suggests a return to samba. Batista, “Os Blacks no embalo do soul.”

Gomes, the writer concluded that soul “could easily be exploited for ends other than those until now presented.”⁶⁹

The secret police’s files in this period show a renewed flurry of activity. They assiduously searched their archives for information on anyone linked to the movement—from DJs and singers like Monsieur Lima, Tony Tornado, Big Boy, and members of their teams; to journalists like Tárík de Sousa, Lena Frias, Tarlis Batista, and photographer Almir Veiga; to producers like Ademir Lemos. Despite the fact that several of their searches on these individuals turned up links to communist groups, investigators no longer identified these connections as the principal threat.⁷⁰ Instead, following the lead of right-wing commentators, they focused on soul’s “psychosocial” implications and potential class and racial rivalries, as well as on unspecified implications that the movement targeted “police corruption.”⁷¹

Yet the police increasingly dismissed soul’s racial overtones as mere market manipulation, ultimately reflecting the influence of the left-wing writers whose articles they had also read and collected. In a report from October of 1976, for instance, they explained that “Though our ‘*Black Power*’ movement assumes a certain racially oppositional and discriminatory character . . . , the primary objective of these groups is to make money; they don’t really care about the ethnic type of their followers.”⁷² In other words, black DJs drew a black audience because they knew how to exploit the lucrative commercial niche of soul music. Marketing, rather than an explicit racial politics, accounted for the dances’ almost all-black character. This kind of commercialism, a report from late August 1976 explained, was not even specific to black entrepreneurs; it happened in the discos of the Zona Sul as well. “The goal, for these DJs, is to create entertainment sites where only the privileged [by race] would be able to organize dances and obtain a select public, thereby using whites as well as *negros* as objects of consumption, and using music to centralize their control over a specific sector of the public.”⁷³ Leftist nationalists could not have said it better.

The police report that closed investigations into soul further echoed the language of left-wing commentators. It not only concluded that any confrontation between black and white Brazilians was ultimately a matter of music and fashion marketing, rather than of a conscious politics, but it also translated the

69. DGIE 250, p. 734, 13 Sept. 1976.

70. They called one member of an unspecified *conjunto* a “communist from Belo Horizonte” and accused another of links to “communist peasant” groups in Minas Gerais. DGIE 252, pp. 66–64, 9 Nov. 1976.

71. DGIE 252, pp. 72–70, 19 Oct. 1976.

72. DGIE 250, pp. 69–67, 5 Oct. 1976; see also DGIE 250, pp. 8–7, 23 Aug. 1976.

73. DGIE 250, pp. 728–27, 23 Aug. 1976.

left's regret that soul displaced real revolutionary consciousness into a sort of smug relief that soul dancers were never able to constitute a real threat to the state. The report declared that despite soul's "oppositional and racist cast," it had "not yet managed to achieve greatness or depth, for it has failed to achieve a sociopolitical character." What the police earlier saw as a potential musical and cultural link with Black Power styles they now explained in condescending terms:

Soul music originates in black North American neighborhoods, with roots in the period of slavery in the United States. Corrupted by diverse factors such as the influence of other rhythms, it maintains an intimate relationship with the American "*Black Power*" movement, out of fidelity to a common ethnological origin, and is deliriously applauded by its followers . . . all of color. . . . *Negro* Brazilians, due to atavism, display remarkable sensitivity to said "soul" music. Here in Rio many of them—in part out of emulation, in part out of snobbery, but always aiming to make a profit—have organized themselves into musical groups to which they give picturesque or bombastic names.⁷⁴

To the left's critiques of soul's buffoonish commercialism and mimicry, this author added a new explanation—atavism—drawn from the toolbox of nineteenth-century criminal anthropology, suggesting some kind of primal response among people of African descent to black music. Policing the image of Brazil's racial democracy, it seems, involved construing any challenges not as just dangerous or illegitimate but ultimately as irrelevant.

Soul Power? Activists, DJs, and Dancers Assess Soul's Politics

As journalists and policemen investigated the phenomenon of soul, they interviewed and quoted dozens of participants in the movement. Their voices emerge with remarkable clarity from among the dense ideological debates. Promoters, DJs, dancers, black activists, and intellectuals often suggested, directly or indirectly, that soul was a productive site through which to challenge the narrow ideas of black citizenship encoded in dominant views of national culture—and particularly in samba.

In their comments to the press, soul enthusiasts were quick to point out the

74. DGIE 252, pp. 69–67, 5 Oct. 1976. Though police investigations into soul continued (albeit less intensely) until mid-November, this report reappears on 25 November 1976 as the police's final word on the movement (DGIE 252, pp. 63–61).

racist presuppositions behind views of soul as antithetical to “authentic” Afro-Brazilian culture. In an interview with the weekly news magazine *Veja*, DJ Dom Filó of Soul Grand Prix asked:

Why is it accepted as completely natural for the youth of the Zona Sul to wear jeans, dance rock, go to discos, and revere Mick Jagger, while *negros* can't dress up in lively colors, dance soul, and revere James Brown? . . . Why must *negros* from the Zona Norte accept white people from the Zona Sul (or from the Zona Norte) telling them what is authentic and autochthonous to *negro* Brazilians? After all, we *negros* never took an interest in determining what is authentic and autochthonous to white Brazilians.⁷⁵

Dom Filó, as these sharp comments suggest, was a particularly eloquent and educated defender of soul. An engineer by profession, Filó had spent much of the '70s involved in black cultural activism, primarily theater and dance groups.⁷⁶ But young soul dancers, from a range of social backgrounds and with varying levels of education, frequently made similar critiques of the racial double standards governing soul in their interviews with the national press. José Alberto Carneiro, a 19-year-old mechanic from Rio, told Lena Frias: “Man, they start with us over everything we do. Even over the name of the group *Black Power*, which is my favorite, they start with us. If it were ‘*White Power*,’ they would think everything was fine.”⁷⁷ In this light, even dancers’ and DJs’ frequent insistence that soul was not political reveals an astute political criticism of their society’s inconsistencies on race. As DJ Nirto of Soul Grand Prix told Lena Frias, “That business is very delicate. There is nothing political in it. It’s just people who aren’t a part of soul and happened to walk by and saw, so to speak, a lot of black people together, and got scared. They get scared and stay that way, without knowing the how or why of it. So they start talking about political movements. But it’s none of that. . . . It’s just people enjoying themselves and having fun.”⁷⁸ By manipulating the meanings of the political (in Nirto’s case, intentionally defining politics in the narrow sense that the secret police originally did), soul participants were able simultaneously to deflect criticism or police attention, while making a political point about the workings of Brazilian racism.⁷⁹

75. “Black Rio,” *Veja*, 24 Nov. 1976.

76. Ibid.

77. Frias, “Black Rio.”

78. Ibid.

79. For instance, though the secret police cited soul star Tony Tornado on the apolitical nature of soul, in another report, they mention picking him up for having

Some of the most vocal denunciations of racism in public reactions to soul came from members of the budding black movement. In Rio de Janeiro, as in other major Brazilian cities during the period of *distensão*, young people of color (increasingly represented among university students by the mid-1970s) organized associations aimed at developing a politics that, unlike the traditional left, dealt specifically with the problem of race. Groups like the Society for African-Brazilian Exchange (SINBA) or the Institute for Research in Black Cultures (IPCN), both linked to Rio's private Cândido Mendes University, drew up reading lists, staged teach-ins and rallies, and published newsletters expressing their oppositional politics of race.⁸⁰ As the left and the right maintained equally totalizing ideas of national culture and "authenticity" based on a hybrid Afro-European past, activists and intellectuals in the emerging black movement began to criticize ideas of racial democracy and *mestiçagem* as oppressive "myths" obfuscating a racist reality. Many also spent their weekend nights at soul dances.⁸¹

The young people in SINBA and IPCN were thus ideally situated to provide critical analyses of society's widespread rejection of soul. Writers for SINBA's activist newspaper, for instance, asked why critics were so quick to dismiss soul, a specifically black form of leisure, as "alienated," while mainstream U.S. movies and music freely inundated the Brazilian media. The idea that soul dancers suffered alienation, they argued, masked discrimination against a black cultural form by the left as well as the right.⁸² Without arguing that soul was an authentic movement toward racial consciousness, writers in the emerging black movement also pointed out the political value in soul's challenges to the cultural expectations of nationalists. If the "zealous defenders of 'Brazilian racial democracy'" had "attempted through all means to ridicule the movement, accusing the youth of racism," SINBA writers explained in another of several articles on soul, it was precisely because soul dancers "audacious[ly], spontaneous[ly], and unconscious[ly] . . . threw Brazil's deep problems of race relations in the face of 'respectable society.'"⁸³

Some activists further argued that critics' dual discourses of authenticity

"performed in the Teatro Copacabana, where he took the opportunity to air some ideas about racial discrimination in Brazil." DGIE 252, p. 66, 9 Nov. 1976.

80. See Turner, "Brown into Black"; Mitchell, "Blacks and the *abertura democrática*"; Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power*; Lélia Gonzalez, "O Movimento Negro na última década," in *Lugar de negro*, ed. Lélia Gonzalez and Carlos Hasenbalg (Rio de Janeiro: Marco Zero, 1982).

81. Gonzalez, "O Movimento Negro na última década," 34.

82. "Por que o Black-Rio incomoda?" *Jornal SINBA*, July 1977.

83. "Descansem em paz," *Jornal SINBA*, April 1979.

and alienation served specifically to police upwardly mobile people of color. In his interview with *Veja*, for instance, Dom Filó rhetorically asked, “Why do *negros* have to be the last strongholds of national identity, or of Brazilian musical purity? Might this not be a backlash against their having abandoned the *morro* [the hillside shantytowns that figure prominently in the lyrics and symbolism of samba]? Against their eventual competition in the labor market?”⁸⁴ For Filó, the commercialism that suggested to Frias or the police that soul was apolitical was in fact its most politically challenging aspect. Frias’s and others’ extensive accounts of the exploits of black fashion suppliers, DJ groups, and music entrepreneurs revealed a thriving and well-organized economy by and for Brazilians of color. The entrepreneurs who created this economy resented the argument that their success, unlike the success of whites in the mainstream entertainment industry, represented an unhealthy deviation from their proper folkloric role of samba dancing in the *favelas*. Indeed, several scholars have suggested that this visible and successful entrance of working-class Brazilians of color into a market for leisure goods and services (as entrepreneurs and consumers) was one of the characteristics that made soul so shocking to mainstream Brazilians, who typically saw people of color primarily as poor and outside such a market.⁸⁵

Though less successful than DJs and promoters, soul dancers were also not from the radically poor *favelas* of Rio; instead, they hailed from the city’s working-class neighborhoods. Frias described the *blacks* as people with somewhat stable, if humble, employment: they were domestic employees, baggage carriers, errand boys, messengers, salespeople, itinerant vendors, and workers in odd jobs (and students, others have noted).⁸⁶ Given their limited resources, soul dancers used a combination of consumption and creativity to achieve their style. Though “the great expense of the [platform] shoes leaves Rio’s *black* population . . . with little margin for additional luxuries,” soul aficionados managed to complete their desired “exotic” look with homemade objects like “T-shirts roughly painted by hand” or “old jackets embroidered with key phrases from soul music.”⁸⁷ Viewed as a black commercial endeavor supported by enthusias-

84. “Black Rio,” *Veja*, 24 Nov. 1976.

85. McCann, “Black Pau,” 84; Monteiro, “O ressurgimento do Movimento Negro,” 71–72. For an analysis of contemporary advertisements and their complete exclusion of blacks as consumers or businesspeople, see Carlos Hasenbalg, “O negro na publicidade,” in *Lugar de negro*, ed. Lélia Gonzalez and Carlos Hasenbalg (Rio de Janeiro: Marco Zero, 1982), 103–14.

86. Frias, “Black Rio,” and Gonzalez, “O Movimento Negro na última década.”

87. Frias, “Black Rio.” For more on homemade soul clothing, see Giacomini, *A alma da festa*, 193–94.

tic black consumers, *Black Rio*—far from being apolitical—might be read as a significant and meaningful form of politics, in which the freedom to consume was linked to claims for a modern form of citizenship.⁸⁸ As Bryan McCann has shown, participating in soul festivities allowed youth of color from Rio's periphery at least to invade the chic nightclubs and respectable cultural institutions of the South Zone, transgressing social and spatial boundaries.⁸⁹

Participants in the dances also expressed a sense that their new shared identity as consumers of *black* culture was attractive because it allowed them to embrace their African heritage in a way that communicated distinctiveness and pride rather than mixture.⁹⁰ As one dancer explained to Lena Frias, when asked why he danced soul: "I don't know how to explain it. It's mine. It's *black*. It comes from the blood and from the heart."⁹¹ Though not an articulate politics of race, this kind of response (common among many soul dancers) suggests that soul was meaningful to many dancers as a source of racial and personal identification. It also suggests that soul resonated with dancers' positive feelings of connectedness with the peoples and cultures of the African diaspora (a connection this young dancer phrased as coming from shared "blood," but which the secret police had interpreted as "atavism").⁹²

Young activists in the black movement were generally optimistic that the positive feelings of connectedness generated through soul might help unite people around an oppositional black identity. For Carlos Alberto Medeiros, an activist at IPCN, soul provided "a fertile area for cultural work . . . that will contribute to the emergence of a black Brazilian identity that was attempted . . . through samba, but without success." Echoing the opinions of commentators on the right (though giving them the opposite political valence), Medeiros identified samba as a cultural form that stood for racial and cultural assimilation. He saw soul as a form whose distinct style could eventually provide the touchstone for a solidly black identity, untainted by internalized shame or the lure of individual whitening:

88. Cf. Néstor García Canclini, *Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2001), and George Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2003).

89. McCann, "Black Pau," 84–85.

90. See Turner, "Brown into Black," and Mitchell, "Blacks and the *abertura democrática*."

91. Frias, "Black Rio."

92. It is worth noting that the Brazilian soul craze took place against a backdrop of the "proliferation of commodified forms of African American popular culture throughout the Third World, with especially strong resonance in postcolonial African and Caribbean nations." Dunn, *Brutality Garden*, 178.

These teens preferred to adopt as their image one transmitted (obviously exaggerated and distorted) from their Northern brothers. And whoever would express interest in these youths—and not in that diffuse and diversely defined thing that is Brazilian culture (stolen from *negros*)—would not be able to deny the beneficial effects of this new image upon people who, today, are no longer ashamed to look in the mirror. Of course, dancing soul and using certain kinds of clothing, hairdos, and greetings does not, in itself, solve anyone's problem. But it could provide the necessary amount of emulation for [these youths] to come together and, together, begin to solve their problems.⁹³

It was Medeiros's group, the IPCN, which had hosted the screening of *Wattstax* in the downtown Museu de Arte Moderna as part of its first anniversary celebrations. Members of the group also frequently attempted to give speeches at the soul dances, circulated flyers educating dancers on discrimination in Brazil, and invited revelers to join the black movement.⁹⁴ Their hopes that soul would provide the organizational "spark" for the eventual political mobilization of Brazilians of color were thus the mirror image of the right wing's initial fears. Gilberto Gil, a major musical figure and self-identified *negro* who had also come under media attack for his overtures to "un-Brazilian" diasporic music like reggae, explained his sense of soul dancers' promise for social change: "At some point, suddenly, they will become conscious of their role in the world and they will begin to look for new paths, better living conditions for themselves and others. Music is like that—it takes you over entirely, and by surprise."⁹⁵ And Lélia Gonzalez, who in her interview with Tarlis Batista had dismissed soul as a foreign imposition, later remembered the dances as an important step in her own transition from traditional leftist to race-based activism.⁹⁶

Like Medeiros, defenders of soul frequently portrayed it as a powerful political alternative to samba. For some, the soul/samba opposition was part of a

93. "Black Rio," *Um e Meio*, 20–21 Nov. 1977.

94. See *Boletim do IPCN*, July 1976.

95. Batista, "Os Blacks no embalo do soul." Gil and musician Caetano Veloso openly expressed their support for soul, which in their view shared the goals of their own musical movement, Tropicália: to challenge what Christopher Dunn calls "state-sanctioned forms of national culture." Tropicália similarly came under attack from both left and right for its foreign references. Dunn, *Brutality Garden*, 178–80.

96. Gonzalez, "O Movimento Negro na última década," 31–33; Carlos Alberto M. Pereira and Heloísa Buarque de Hollanda, eds., *Patrulhas ideológicas, marca reg.: Arte e engajamento em debate* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1980), 202–12.

growing critique of the dictatorship's commercialization of samba and carnival as tourist attractions:⁹⁷

"Why don't those kids go and dance samba?" ask the idiots of objectivity. Because the oppositional power of samba has already been completely annulled by its own institutions. It's been a while now since the samba schools lost their swing. As they transformed themselves into businesses that promote shows for foreigners' eyes [*para inglês ver*], even having accepted a shameful contract to provide services for Riotur [the tourism ministry of the state of Rio], whatever was left in terms of "authentic popular expression" has gone down the drain.⁹⁸

This valuation of soul over samba also reflected a generational shift in musical taste among cariocas of color, as in the dance salon of the Clube Renascença, where older members' *rodas de samba* competed for space with the younger crowd's Shaft Nights.⁹⁹ But above all, the critique of samba was part of a broader political exposé of the ways that "authentic" forms of national culture in Brazil, and the position they presumed for African-descended people in the nation, masked a racism more insidious than that of the United States or even South Africa. As a graduate student living in Brazil during the dictatorship, the English anthropologist Peter Fry developed a classic version of this comparative analysis of race relations, tracing the fate of African-derived cookery in post-slavery Brazil and the United States. Because of the United States' violent history of racial discrimination, he argued, soul food had largely remained the culinary heritage of African Americans. In post-abolition Brazil, the absence of legal discrimination and the Freyrean celebration of cultural mixture had promoted feijoada to the status of national dish. Despite appearances of inclusiveness, "the conversion of ethnic symbols into national symbols not only hides a situation of racial domination [in Brazil], but makes the task of denouncing it much more difficult [than in the United States]."¹⁰⁰

It is important, however, to situate this perspective in the particular racial politics of the late 1970s rather than to see it as an instance of Brazilians awakening to the reality that samba or feijoada bred false consciousness and that

97. See "Candeia, agora no Orum," *Jornegro*, Nov. 1978; "E o povo não viu o carnaval! (o samba não é para quem o faz)," *Jornegro*, Mar. 1978.

98. *Última Hora*, 27 May 1976, cited in *Boletim do IPCN*, July 1976.

99. Giacomini, *A alma da festa*, 207–42.

100. Fry, "Feijoada e 'soul food'," 53. See also Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power*, 82.

soul was a revolutionary alternative.¹⁰¹ There is no doubt that the soul episode reveals the ways that nationalist intellectuals used samba and ideas of racial harmony both to construct soul as a threat and, eventually, to discount it as alienated. It is also clear that some in the soul marketplace and some in black movements used soul's U.S. referents as a way to expose the discord within Brazil's presumed racial harmony. But if commentators were wrong to overlook the ways that *black* resonated better with local social arrangements (such as spatial segregation) than national ideas of *mestiçagem*, we should also not assume that soul's U.S. racial referents could wholly explain, replace, or triumphantly fix the complex dynamics of racism in Brazil. As Bryan McCann has shown, some soul participants embraced its styles even as they defended the idea of the relative absence of race or racism in Brazil.¹⁰² Perhaps Dom Filó best captured many soul dancers' attitudes toward the African Americans they so openly admired: "We feel we are their brothers, but as Brazilians. Conditions here are different from those there."¹⁰³

Indeed, despite the enthusiasm of many contemporary black activists toward soul, a few expressed the belief that in order to have their claims understood and taken seriously, Brazilians of color needed to develop an oppositional cultural politics in a homegrown rather than imported language. The most eloquent of these was a self-styled "Afro-Reporter" who wrote under the pseudonym Jamu Minka. Through a letter to the editor of IPCN's newsletter, he sent the following "message to the soul crowd":

I've heard that you guys are only into African Americans, right? . . . Why only privilege the folks up there? If they're better off than us, you can believe none of that happened by accident. Everything they accomplished was through lots of hard work and mutual support. Look, just consuming what they're doing over there isn't going to create the conditions for us to get to where we need to get. . . . Only by valorizing [national African-derived cultural forms] can we have an art that is a vibrant and up-to-date expression of the Afro-Brazilian experience.¹⁰⁴

101. Peter Fry offers historical perspective on his early interpretation of soul in "‘Feijoada e soul food’ 25 anos depois," in *A persistência da raça: ensaios antropológicos sobre o Brasil e a África austral* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2005), 147–66.

102. McCann, "Black Pau," 85–86.

103. "Black Rio," *Veja*, 24 Nov. 1976.

104. Jamu Minka, "Recado para a turma do soul," in *Boletim IPCN*, July 1977.

For Jamu Minka, the ideal form of Afro-Brazilian music was the one composed by Jorge Ben, who updated samba with other African and diasporic beats (including soul and funk) and whose lyrics sought to celebrate national black heroes like soccer star Pelé or the seventeenth-century warrior Zumbi dos Palmares. To adopt cultural poses from the United States as the basis of a Brazilian racial liberation struggle was to stand wholly outside the local conversation about race. To really pose a threat to Brazilian racial ideologies, he argued, activists should attack them at their very base by challenging folkloric ideas about Africa that lay at the heart of notions of *mestiçagem* and by redefining Africa as a model for modern political and racial action.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, despite contemporary and subsequent claims that African-based politics were backward-looking and ineffectual, activism built around the redefinition of Africa in Brazilian public life (a staple of groups like SINBA and IPCN) was one of the dominant concerns for secret police officials who spied on black organizations in the late 1970s.¹⁰⁶ Whereas the secret police ultimately dismissed soul, they maintained intense interest in activists' campaigns of solidarity with antiapartheid or Marxist pro-independence movements in Africa into the early 1980s.¹⁰⁷ Without making the secret police's attention the litmus test for the political effectiveness of varying forms of activism, this discrepancy suggests that, in the suffocating political climate of the dictatorship, Jamu Minka may have had a point.

The debates about *Black Rio* in mid-1970s Brazil reveal the narrow and rigid spaces of "national authenticity" to which Brazilians of African descent and their cultural manifestations were confined during the dictatorship. In part, the ultimate inability of commentators across the political spectrum to "read" soul as a political phenomenon, even when they initially perceived it as a threat, sheds light on the particular conjuncture of the *distensão* and its shifting definitions of politics. Faced with a vigorous and independent commercial and cultural scene run by young people of color who claimed modern, internationally inflected identities, as well as with a much smaller new political movement based on racial identities, both the right and the left voiced totalizing and at times overlapping

105. Jamu Minka was a contributor to the socialist magazine *Versus* (São Paulo), whose "Afro-Latino-América" column regularly covered developments in Brazil's emerging black movement alongside decolonization struggles in Africa.

106. For criticism of African-oriented black politics by activists in the early 1980s and by the author himself, see Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power*.

107. For more on the African-oriented politics of these groups (and the secret police's surveillance of them), see Alberto, "Terms of Inclusion," chap. 6.

visions of national culture that sought to keep black cultural expressions within the boundaries of established folkloric representations. In this sense, rejections of soul's political content by both the left and the right should not be interpreted as a diagnosis of its nature, but as a symptom of the struggle to define legitimate spaces of political contestation toward the end of the dictatorship. Participants in the dances and in the emerging black movement emphasized this point, making the defense of soul an explicitly political gesture.

More importantly, however, the *Black* Rio episode provides an opportunity to rethink a long history of U.S.-Brazil comparisons through the varied perspectives of Brazilian actors themselves. It allows us to consider the ways that these actors used comparison (or contrast) as a political tool for a range of purposes, and cautions us against equating expressions of similarity with similarity itself. In soul dancers' and activists' critiques of Brazil's racial situation, *black* was a useful term to borrow from the U.S. context. But its untranslated use—the fact that people understood its difference from the Portuguese word *negro* and kept the two separate—shows that *black* could not explain everything about the Brazilian context. Rather, *black* and *negro* coexisted in the attempts of politically active people of color to analyze, communicate, and contest the particular outlines of race and national identity in 1970s Brazil, just as an awareness of Brazil's similarities to the U.S. in terms of racial dynamics coexisted with a clear sense of their differences. In their creative use of *black* to reshape national discussions of race, Brazilians of color show themselves to have been “duped” neither by U.S. standards of racial consciousness nor by hegemonic Brazilian ideas about racelessness and harmony. By the same token, despite *black*'s powerful international connotations, it was the local context of 1970s Brazil that shaped the possibilities and limitations of its political meanings.



Figure 1. Reinas indígenas and supporters protest a massacre of Mayas by the Guatemalan army in Panzós. *El Gráfico*, July 30, 1978.

Subverting Authenticity: *Reinas Indígenas* and the Guatemalan State, 1978

Betsy Konefal

A photo of 22 young Mayas covered the front page of Guatemala's daily *El Gráfico* on July 30, 1978, accompanied by an unexpected headline: "Reinas Indígenas [Indigenous Pageant Queens] Condemn This Year's Folklore Festival." As the pageant queens and supporters announced a boycott of the state-sponsored festival, they protested intensifying army violence against indigenous communities, referring explicitly to a recent army massacre of Q'eqchi' Maya campesinos in the community of Panzós, Alta Verapaz. While the blood of "genuine Guatemalan *indios*," as the protestors pointedly termed the Panzós victims, still soaked the ground, "all the . . . festivals . . . in supposed homage to the indio of Guatemala are unjustified . . . because in daily reality the right to life is not respected, [nor] the right to our ancestral lands, [nor the right] to our cultural practices without paternalism."¹

The protestors' confrontational declaration would have been intriguing under any circumstances, but considering the context of mounting government repression in 1978, its appearance in the press is stunning. Amid growing state violence against oppositional organizing, what was the significance of such a

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1. *El Gráfico*, 30 July 1978. This and all newspapers cited, except for the *New York Times*, were published in Guatemala. The use throughout the declaration of the term "indio"—a label typically holding negative connotations of dirtiness, laziness, and backwardness—was a purposeful act. Indigenous activists adopted the term in the 1970s, challenged to do so by Q'eqchi' intellectual Antonio Pop Caal in his December 1972 article in the journal *La Semana*, "Replica del indio a una disertación ladina."

protest? Who were these young people, and how had they—coming from disparate communities and linguistic groups—become connected to one another?² Why queens and pageants to protest state killings?³

Pairing Massacre and Folklore

The Panzós massacre, a deadly marker in the chronology of state violence in Guatemala, represented a turning point in the country's bloody civil war that began in the 1960s. Death squads had been targeting activist leaders well before the 1978 killings, but the massacre in Panzós ratcheted up tensions and gave state violence a decidedly ethnic cast.⁴ On May 29, 1978, hundreds of Q'eqchi' campesinos had entered the Panzós town square to present a document to the mayor regarding land claims. In one of the first large-scale counterinsurgency assaults against Mayas, army soldiers fired into the crowd of men, women, and children, killing at least 35 and wounding dozens more. Within three years of the Panzós killings, racialized counterinsurgency practices that equated "Maya"

2. Given the community-specific dress of the reinas and several of the young men, it would have been clear to newspaper readers that they came from distinct municipios and linguistic groups. Reinas in the photo came from Quetzaltenango, Cantel, and La Esperanza in the department of Quetzaltenango; Chichicastenango, El Quiché; San Sebastián, Retalhuleu; San Pedro Soloma, Huehuetenango; and Nahualá and Santiago Atitlán, Sololá. Supporters in the photo came from Quetzaltenango, San Sebastián, Nahualá, and Santiago Atitlán.

3. Beauty pageants and questions of gender, race, politics, and identity that play out within them are explored in a wonderful array of contexts—Nicaragua, Tibet, Guatemala, Minnesota, Belize—in a collection edited by Colleen Ballerino Cohen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje, *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1996). See also Maxine Leeds Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen? Black Women, Beauty, and the Politics of Race* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), for an examination of race, beauty, and politics in U.S. pageantry; and Rick López, "The India Bonita Contest of 1921 and the Ethnicization of Mexican National Culture," *HAHR* 82, no. 2 (May 2002): 291–328, for a discussion of the relevance of that contest to changing ideas of Indianness in Mexican nationalism.

4. The Maya, who make up a little over half of the Guatemalan population (with a greater proportion in the highlands), were disproportionately represented among the civil war's dead and disappeared due to practices that identified entire indigenous communities as likely sources of support for the *guerrilla*. Of 200,000 dead and disappeared in the conflict (an estimated 93% at the hands of the state), the UN Truth Commission established that some 83% were Maya. See Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH), *Guatemala: Memoria del silencio*, 12 vols. (Guatemala: UNOPS, 1999), "Conclusiones y recomendaciones," par. 1 and 82.

and “subversive” would reach a level that the UN Truth Commission determined to be genocide.⁵

Yet at the same time and in the same department of Alta Verapaz, the Guatemalan government maintained its *indigenista* tradition of folkloric homage to the nation’s Maya “soul,” most visibly in the national Folklore Festival held each July in the departmental seat of Cobán. The festival aimed to showcase the nation’s Mayan heritage, one folklorist explained, and to “keep watch over [velar] its authenticity.”⁶ As symbols of authentic Mayan identity (as judged by non-Mayan folklorists), indigenous women—and especially reinas indígenas—played a central role in state indigenismo and in the annual festival. Since 1971, festival organizers had summoned local indigenous queens from across Guatemala to compete in the Folklore Festival’s centerpiece, a national competition for the title of Rabín Ahau.⁷ Through dress, language, and dance, contestants were called on to embody Mayanness for the nation. Government officials including the president typically attended the pageant. The Rabín Ahau was held up as the national representative of the indigenous “race,” embraced by the president himself.⁸

In Guatemala, indigenismo had long involved a supposed valorization of the country’s pre-Columbian heritage, primarily through folklore and homages to long-dead Mayas, but the same sentiments did not necessarily extend to living Mayas themselves. Guatemalan officials were not alone in this—such incongruities underlay indigenismo everywhere—but in the late 1970s, discrepancies in attitudes toward past and present Mayas in Guatemala were extreme. Similar to other instances when repressive governments have professed to celebrate elements of the nation while in fact assaulting them, the very contradictions inher-

5. On the massacre, see CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 6:13–23. See also Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004); and Victoria Sanford, *Buried Secrets: Truth and Human Rights in Guatemala* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). National press coverage was extensive. See Guatemalan newspapers *El Gráfico*, *La Nación*, *La Tarde*, *El Imparcial*, and *Diario de Centro América*, 1–4 June 1978. Violence reached its height in the early 1980s. All told, the Guatemalan army destroyed 626 indigenous communities in “scorched earth” massacres. For discussion of “acts of genocide,” see CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 5:48–51.

6. Marco Aurelio Alonzo, “Los objetivos del Festival Folklórico,” unpublished. Interview with Marco Aurelio Alonzo by the author, Cobán, 25 Jan. 2002.

7. “Rabín Ahau” means “Daughter of the King” in the Q’eqchi’ language.

8. For a fascinating discussion of the Rabín Ahau contest, see Carlota McAllister, “Authenticity and Guatemala’s Maya Queen,” in Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje, *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage*, 105–24.

ent in state actions created a means of resistance. As Jennifer Schirmer writes of “motherist” movements in Latin America, the states’ “contradictory doctrine of at once valorizing and destroying the family . . . made [mothers’] resistance possible.”⁹ In Guatemala after the 1978 massacre of Q’eqchi’s, the state’s own celebration of Mayan folklore provided protestors with compelling language and imagery with which to denounce the crass inconsistencies in government actions. It was no accident that the protestors, too, positioned the gendered symbol of indigenous identity—Maya women in community-specific dress—as the focal point of their protest. The group set out their demands in the name of the indigenous communities the women as queens represented. Drawing on but contesting the state’s ideas of Mayan authenticity, they argued that the dead in Panzós were “genuine” Mayas and their “brothers.” They displayed Mayan identity through dress, yet protested against the state as they did so: several of the reinas wore Mayan clothing symbolic of mourning; one young man in traditional dress raised his clenched fist in the air.

In the eyes of the military, the dead in Panzós had nothing to do with “genuine” Mayan heritage. Politicized campesinos in Panzós were not Mayas to be celebrated; officials charged instead that they were *engañosos* [duped], the tools of leftist insurgents. The protest offers a snapshot, then, of contestation between a repressive state and Maya activists over issues of identity and injustice, both cultural and political. By staging their protest within the government-sanctioned space of Maya women’s pageantry, could these young people get away with confronting an abusive state? Could “authentic” activists, ironically, manage to subvert the state’s definition of *lo auténtico*?

After learning of the protest in the pages of *El Gráfico*, I traveled through the Guatemalan highlands seeking out the queens and fellow protestors who had posed for the camera a quarter-century before. The newspaper article provided no names, but I began with the communities listed in the photo’s caption, eventually knocking on doors in 20 pueblos in the western highlands and the Verapaces to the northeast. With the help of people in each community, I identified 18 of the 22 protestors.¹⁰ I talked with 16 of those photographed and with

9. Jennifer Schirmer, “‘Those Who Die for Life Cannot Be Called Dead’: Women and Human Rights Protest in Latin America,” *Human Rights Yearbook*, vol. 1 (1988): 45.

10. Almost all of the former reinas stayed in their original communities, and residents could often tell me the names of the reinas indígenas of the 1970s in a sequence of two or three. The reina indígena contests of the era may have been “play” or make-believe, as Robert Lavenda suggests in his study of Minnesota pageants, but the fact that people remember them reflects the intensity of that politicized moment. Robert Lavenda, “‘It’s Not a Beauty Pageant!’ Hybrid Ideology in Minnesota Community Queen Pageants,” in Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje, *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage*, 44.

dozens of others who had been involved about their decisions to protest and the historical moment captured in the image.

The protestors were a diverse lot, not only geographically but politically. In 1978, these women and men had been teachers and students, Catholic Action catechists, literacy workers and radio broadcasters, campesino leaders, and young people who would become revolutionary combatants and supporters. Such an array of organizing experiences makes the group difficult to place within scholarly understandings of the civil war period. In particular, the group's union of economic and political demands with cultural rights claims stands out and belies a tidy differentiation between them.¹¹ The protest is important, I find,

11. The few studies of Maya political engagement published in the 1970s and early 1980s seemed to share the left's frustration with Mayas who called attention to indigenous identity. A focus on cultural or ethnic issues was generally construed as counterrevolutionary. See Ricardo Falla, "El movimiento indígena," *Estudios Centroamericanos* 23, no. 356/357 (June/July 1978): 437–61; and Arturo Arias, "El movimiento indígena en Guatemala: 1970–1983," in Rafael Menjívar and Daniel Camacho, eds., *Movimientos populares en Centroamérica* (Costa Rica: FLACSO, 1985), 62–119. Due to repression, fieldwork examining political differentiation among indígenas was virtually impossible in the 1980s and early 1990s, and studies of the violence rested on assumptions of Mayas as homogeneous and apolitical. For portrayals of Mayas' civil war experiences of violence and terror, see Robert M. Carmack, ed., *Harvest of Violence: The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1988); and Carol A. Smith, ed., *Guatemalan Indians and the State, 1540–1988* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1990). For the view that Mayas wanted nothing to do with either state forces or the insurgency, see David Stoll, *Between Two Armies in the Ixil Towns of Guatemala* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1993). During the 1990s peace process, scholars chronicled the rise of a culturally focused indigenous rights movement but raised few questions about more diverse organizing by Mayas, connections between cultural concerns and demands for socioeconomic change, or the roots of current indigenous struggles. See Demetrio Cojtí Cuxil, *Políticas para la reivindicación de los Mayas de hoy: Fundamento de los derechos específicos de pueblo Maya* (Guatemala City: Editorial Cholsamaj, 1994); Edward F. Fischer and R. McKenna Brown, *Maya Cultural Activism in Guatemala* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1996); Diane M. Nelson, *A Finger in the Wound: Body Politics in Quincentennial Guatemala* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1999); and Kay B. Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1998). Recently, scholarship has begun to focus more fully on Maya participation in political life during the civil war. See Carlota McAllister, *The Good Road: Conscience and Consciousness in a Postrevolutionary Guatemalan Village* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, forthcoming); and Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre*. See also Greg Grandin's *Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2000) and "To End with All These Evils: Ethnic Transformation and Community Mobilization in Guatemala's Western Highlands, 1954–1980," *Latin American Perspectives* 24, no. 2 (Mar. 1997): 7–34. Santiago Bastos and Manuela Camus chronicle Guatemalan indigenous movements from 1986 to 2001, with

not because it succeeded in its aims (it did not), but because it reveals a moment when pan-Maya organizing in Guatemala was relatively new and qualitatively different from what reemerged in the aftermath of genocide. During the 1990s peace process, culturally focused demands by Mayas became abstracted from broader social justice claims. Many Mayas distanced themselves from social struggles, even their own, and a history of political activism became taboo. We learn from the queens' protest that in the 1970s things had been quite different. Before the terrible effects of violence reshaped relations among Mayas, culture was not apolitical. "Indigenous activism" was not always or only about culture.

Highland Organizing in the 1970s

The young people involved in the 1978 protest were not representative of most Mayas in Guatemala. Spanish-speaking and literate, many of them a step away from subsistence agriculture, and engaged in at least this instance of pan-community activism, they had access to schools and time to dedicate to political struggles. Although a minority, their numbers grew steadily in the 1970s, and much of the responsibility for this lay with the Catholic Church. During the previous two decades, parish priests had set up schools for Mayas in towns all over the highlands.¹² They directed promising students, often with scholarships, to regional seminaries and secondary schools. Among the most important of these were two schools exclusively for indigenous students: the Instituto Indígena Santiago for boys and its sister school for girls, the Instituto Indígena Nuestra Señora del Socorro. Both of these schools, attended by young Mayas from across Guatemala, generated among students new ideas about indigenous identity, rights, and justice.

Parish priests, many of them inspired by liberation theology, simultaneously offered leadership training in indigenous communities. They established Mayan-

attention to the historical development of organizing by Mayas and diversity among them. See Bastos and Camus, *Quebrando el silencio: Organizaciones del Pueblo Maya y sus demandas, 1986–1992* (Guatemala City: FLACSO, 1993); Bastos and Camus, *Abriendo caminos: Las organizaciones Mayas desde el Nobel hasta el Acuerdo de Derechos Indígenas* (Guatemala City: FLACSO, 1995); and Bastos and Camus, *Entre el mecapan y el cielo: Desarrollo del movimiento maya en Guatemala* (Guatemala City: FLACSO, 2003).

12. U.S. Maryknoll missions established schools for Mayas throughout Huehuetenango; Spanish Sacred Heart priests supported education in El Quiché; U.S. and Belgian priests did likewise in Alta Verapaz; and an Oklahoma mission led by the young priest Stanley Rother, assassinated in 1981, generated educational opportunities in Santiago Atitlán, Sololá.

language radio schools with literacy programs run by young Maya catechists. Priests helped set up agricultural cooperatives and credit unions even in small communities, again staffed by young Mayas.¹³ Indigenous campesinos, catechists, and students from different areas became linked to each other through church-sponsored organizing, agrarian movements, and secondary schools. Growing numbers of activists came to see themselves as not only rooted in their communities but part of a larger pan-Maya community, a *pueblo indígena* in Guatemala.¹⁴

Such politicization took shape while a leftist guerrilla movement developed in the highlands. In this context, two tendencies among activist Mayas emerged: those known as *culturalistas* emphasized questions of indigenous identity and “race,” focusing on the needs and demands of “la raza maya.” *Clasistas* tended toward class-based organizing with ladinos (non-Mayas). Yet close attention to activists’ ideas and efforts shows that such distinctions obscure the nature of organizing in the 1970s. In practice, culturalista demands were seldom divorced from issues of social and political justice, and some culturalistas called for revolutionary change. Mayas involved with class-based organizing (through the Comité de Unidad Campesina or CUC, trade unions, or guerrilla organizations) did not see these efforts as wholly abstracted from ethnicity. Many, like clasistas in the 1978 protest under discussion here, took part in

13. Increasing numbers of priests in rural parishes made such changes possible. There were only 132 priests in Guatemala in 1950, and this number jumped to 346 by 1959, then to 608 in 1970; most of them were foreigners. Recovery of Historical Memory Project, REHMI, *Guatemala: Never Again!* (Guatemala: Archdiocese of Guatemala, 1999), 188, 204. For a description of the changes in indigenous communities brought by Catholic Action, see Douglas E. Brintnall, *Revolt against the Dead: The Modernization of a Mayan Community in the Highlands of Guatemala* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1979); and Kay B. Warren, *The Symbolism of Subordination: Indian Identity in a Guatemalan Town* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1978).

14. In a more abstract way, some Guatemalan Mayas also saw themselves as linked to native groups beyond the nation’s borders, and in the 1970s a few began to attend international Indian congresses.

15. See Grandin, “To End with All These Evils,” for a discussion of ethnic identity within CUC. Examination of connections between ethnic and class identities among activist indígenas in Mexico, Peru, and Ecuador can offer important comparisons to the Guatemalan case. See Jan Rus, Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, and Shannan L. Mattiace, eds., *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias: The Indigenous Peoples of Chiapas and the Zapatista Rebellion* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); and Shannan L. Mattiace, *To See with Two Eyes: Peasant Activism and Indian Autonomy in Chiapas, Mexico* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 2003). For the Andes, see Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919–1991* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2000); and Laura Gotkowitz, *A Revolution for Our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia, 1880–1952* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2007).

efforts to revitalize Mayan culture.¹⁵ As I will show, in reina indígena pageants, which were embraced by culturalistas and clasistas alike, the queen contestants' very words wedded concerns about ethnic identity, land, and violence. Activists of different types disagreed about strategy and priorities in the 1970s; some felt strongly that Mayas could not achieve justice within Marxist movements that subordinated ethnicity to class struggle. Yet such differences did not preclude discussions among activist Mayas of different persuasions or informal alliances in what many saw as collective defense of the pueblo indígena. In July 1978, differences of opinion about ethnicity and class did not preclude queens and campesino leaders, culturalistas, and revolutionaries from standing before the same camera, together opposing a manipulative and violent state.¹⁶

The Community Reina Indígena Pageant: Identity and Politics on Display

Over the course of the 1970s, reina indígena pageants and the women who competed in them became part of broader processes of highland politicization and a means by which activists, mostly young men, could publicly convey new ideas about Mayan identity and rights. Maya women had long served as visual markers of indigenous identity in Guatemala, weaving and wearing *huipiles* (blouses), skirts, and elaborate hair wraps whose designs and colors signify culture, place, and, in the eyes of the world, nation. Within Guatemala, each weaving pattern is recognized as specific to a given locale, and a woman wearing traditional clothing (*traje*) is identifiable not only as indigenous but as a member of a certain community. Since most men no longer wear traditional dress, men and indigenous communities as a whole depend on Maya women to produce and display the symbols that mark them all as indigenous.¹⁷ The indigenous queen's

16. As military violence reached genocidal levels in the early 1980s, such alliances among diverse Mayas did break down, their differences seemingly irreconcilable. For a detailed examination of pan-community organizing among Guatemalan Mayas, see Betsy Konefal, *A History of Activism by Mayas in Guatemala, 1960–1990* (working title), forthcoming from University of New Mexico Press.

17. A few exceptions exist. Some men in communities such as Sololá, Santiago Atitlán, and Todos Santos and within a new class of urban professionals wear traditional and “neotraditional” clothing. See Carol Elaine Hendrickson, *Weaving Identities: Construction of Dress and Self in a Highland Guatemala Town* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1995). Representations of indigeneity are not limited to traje, though it is the most visible marker. Language is also important, and many Mayas claim that certain traditions, values, and worldviews also denote Mayanness.

symbolic role was even more explicit: as a chosen representative of her community, she embodied local identity. What that meant—what she stood for—was undergoing important change in the 1970s.

There are two distinct kinds of reina indígena contests in Guatemala: local pageants, some of which began in the 1930s, and the national Rabín Ahau pageant, established in 1971. Despite similarities between local and national contest formats, community reina indígena pageants were independent affairs, usually held during annual festivals in honor of a local patron saint. Before the establishment of reina indígena contests, even towns with indigenous majority populations typically had ladina beauty queens presiding over local fairs. To counter exclusion from such festivals in the 1930s, Mayas fought for the establishment of their own queen pageants in towns such as Cobán and Quetzaltenango, though ladino mayors and judges typically officiated, and indigenous reinas in these years adopted some of the European-style adornments of ladina queens.¹⁸ Mayas did not, to my knowledge, push for inclusion in ladina contests, but instead advocated parallel, racially separate indigenous pageants, which exist to this day. These gave an indigenous representative a spot beside the ladina queen (or behind her, in a community parade). Soon common even in small highland municipalities, the pageants staged a community's indigenous identity as separate and distinct from ladino identity.¹⁹

Community reina indígena pageants varied somewhat from place to place, but most shared a basic structure. Unmarried Maya women could take part, sponsored by a community group or institution. Contests were held in a town's central plaza or theater, which was set up with a stage, microphone, and marimba and decorated with symbolic renderings of the Mayan past. The contests drew large crowds and garnered press coverage. People speak nostalgically of plazas

18. In Quetzaltenango, the first reina indígena was elected in 1934 due to efforts by the indigenous Sociedad El Adelanto. The 1934 naming of the reina indígena of Quetzaltenango was "the first time the pueblo indígena of Xelajú [Quetzaltenango] was permitted to take part directly in the fair." Gloria Virginia Tzunun M. and Olegario Obispo Nimatuj I., 1934–1984: *Historial del certamen de la belleza indígena de Quetzaltenango* (Quetzaltenango: Casa Publicitaria "GOF," 1985), n.p.

19. We see similar parallel pageants established in other locations, including neighboring Belize in the 1940s. Richard Wilk explains that "tall, charming, beautiful and dignified Honduran beauties" competed for the title of Queen of the Bay, while Garifunas held a Queen of the Settlement contest emphasizing native dances and indigenous languages and culture. Richard Wilk, "Connections and Contradictions: From the Crooked Tree Cashew Queen to Miss World Belize," in Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje, *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage*, 220–21.

20. From the author's interviews with spectators and participants in Quetzaltenango, San Cristóbal Verapaz, and Santiago Atitlán.

overflowing with spectators and recall the festive feel of the nights.²⁰

The pageants would begin with each contestant making her way through the crowd amid clouds of incense. Wearing ceremonial dress, each young woman would move forward slowly to the sound of marimba, carrying a basket loaded with goods symbolic of her pueblo and the fecundity of the land, or with her head bent and arms clasped behind her, dancing a traditional dance called the *son*. The final component of the pageant, and the one that changed most significantly in the 1970s, involved a speech by each candidate given first in her maternal language and then in Spanish. It was a unique and likely often daunting opportunity for women to speak before an entire community. Spectators cheered on their favorites and hissed at the less articulate or those unable to speak Spanish well. Successful speeches have been described as highly poetic, full of symbolism, and delivered with passion.

At issue even in local reina indígena pageants was whether a contestant represented the community and *la raza*—"the race" as locally understood—with authenticity. Not surprisingly, in the politicized 1970s this could be a contentious subject. Activist Mayas, culturalistas and clasistas alike, made local reina indígena pageants a focal point of their cultural revitalization efforts, a means to introduce new ideas and foster pride in *la raza*. Activists demanded and won changes in the events. Struggling with ladino officials, they first pressed for equality with ladina queens in terms of prize money and titles.²¹ Soon they focused on questions of symbolism and the meaning of "authenticity." What would be represented in the contests? Would Mayas or ladino "experts" plan and judge the events? In community after community in the late 1970s, activists gained control of the pageants and designed contests that they considered to be more culturally appropriate.

At the same time, themes of rights and justice made their way into some queens' speeches alongside frequent references to a broad pan-Maya identity. As Greg Grandin notes, the tomb of Thelma Beatriz Quixtán Argueta, the 1970

21. As Arturo Arias noted in his study of Guatemala's indigenous movement in the 1970s, Maya community activists in Santa Cruz del Quiché (who would later found CUC) demanded that their pageant winner receive prize money equal to what the ladina queen received. Arturo Arias, "Movimiento indígena," 76. In many communities, such as Santa Cruz, Quetzaltenango, Santiago Atitlán, and San Cristóbal Verapaz, students won changes in the winner's title, changing it from *princesa* (or even the diminutive *princesita*) or *india bonita* to *reina indígena*, again on equal footing with the ladina "reina." Interviews about queen pageants in Santa Cruz conducted by the author with the 1974 reina indígena of Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz del Quiché, 18 Apr. and 4 Nov. 2002, and former catechists and founders of CUC: Emeterio Toj Medrano, Guatemala City, 24 Aug. 2002; Gregorio Chay Laynez, Guatemala City, 5 Sept. 2002; and Pablo Ceto, Guatemala City, 28 Sept. 2002.



Figure 2. Reina Indígena of Quetzaltenango, 1978–79. *La Nación/Quetzaltenango*, August 14, 1978.

reina indígena of Quetzaltenango who died shortly after being named queen, is inscribed with the epitaph, “We have been beaten and humiliated, but the race was never defeated.”²² Perhaps not coincidentally, Quixtán, the 36th indigenous queen of Quetzaltenango, was shown in a commemorative history of the contests not in a formal portrait, but speaking into a radio station’s microphone,

22. Grandin, *Blood of Guatemala*, 4.

addressing the pageant's audience in the theatre and beyond its walls.²³ In a similar image of the 1978 Quetzaltenango reina (figure 2), the photographer and his newspaper readers again seem to have been interested in the queen as speechmaker. The image also reflects changing ideas about authenticity: in 1978 the queen cast aside the elaborate crowns, collars, and flowing capes that had adorned "Europeanized" indigenous queens of earlier decades.²⁴ By 1979, the indigenous representative was no longer called "reina" but was renamed U-mial Tinimit, "Daughter of the Pueblo" in K'iche'.²⁵

"May All Rise Up!" Envisioning the Pueblo Indígena

In a surprising number of communities, activists went beyond symbolic changes and managed to appropriate reina indígena contests for political ends, as stages for the expression of oppositional discourses. Leftist community groups growing at the time sponsored queen candidates and shaped pageant speeches. Not all contestants' speeches in the 1970s, or even a majority, could be construed as voicing resistance. But opposition groups could and did put forward contestants who protested racial discrimination, poverty, and exploitation, and, increasingly, state violence. A new type of discourse took its place alongside traditional speeches. The words of activist-sponsored contestants were poetic, as tradition dictated, but politically charged as well.

One young K'iche' Maya woman, a student at the Instituto Indígena Nues-

23. Photos of the first 50 reinas indígenas of Quetzaltenango were published in Tzunun and Nimatuj, *Historial del certamen de la belleza indígena*.

24. For early contests in Quetzaltenango, see Grandin, *Blood of Guatemala*, chap. 7, and Tzunun and Nimatuj, *Historial del certamen de la belleza indígena*. A Europeanized Indianness was similarly reflected in contests in Cobán, Alta Verapaz. The 1958 India Bonita Cobanera was a woman of mixed German and indigenous descent, María Elena Winter Flor, who has been involved in the Folklore Festival since its inception. Interview by the author with María Elena Winter Flor, Cobán, Alta Verapaz, 8 Dec. 2002. Rick López has noted that in early "India Bonita" contests in Mexico, the public had difficulty conceptualizing "indias" who were "bonitas," substituting photos of white women in Indian costume. López, "India Bonita Contest," 301.

25. Similarly, the reina indígena of Santiago Atitlán was renamed Rumam Tz'utjil Pop, "Grandaughter of the King" in Tzutuhil, in 1978. That same year activists campaigned in San Cristóbal Verapaz, and in other areas to replace their representatives' cape and crown with adornments specific to their communities—in the case of San Cristóbal, a ceremonial huipil and skirt, a red tape for the reina's hair, a woven belt, and silver necklace. Interviews by the author with Pedro Esquina, Santiago Atitlán, 6 July 2002; and with the 1978 reina indígena of San Cristóbal, Amalia Coy Pop, San Cristóbal, 17 Mar. 2002.

tra Señora del Socorro and reina indígena of Quetzaltenango in 1973, provides an example. In her farewell speech in 1974, the reina indígena intertwined references to Maya blood lineage with explicit calls for economic justice. In a reference to class conflict in and beyond indigenous communities, she called for an end to economic exploitation of campesino “brothers,” whether by “foreigners” (meaning non-Mayas) or fellow members of la raza:

I, a genuine representative of the Mayas, feel proud to be a descendant of the greatest civilization of the Americas, . . . the race that will never die, a race that . . . clamors for justice, an oppressed and bitter race. . . . My race, become once again free and powerful . . . ! [Ancestors] illuminate our path and our understanding, [so we may fight for] the well-being of our campesino brothers who are vilely exploited, not only by foreigners but also by our own race . . .²⁶

Another K'iche' reina from San Sebastián, Retalhuleu, who later participated in the 1978 protest, demanded in a 1977 speech that Mayas recognize their own worth.²⁷ She called for pan-Maya unity in Guatemala and for indigenous people to rise up together in common political cause: “Our pueblo suffers so much exploitation, . . . so much violence,” she told a reporter. “My pueblo will only move forward by unifying, because in unity is strength.” Like many other reinas of the 1970s would do, the San Sebastián queen drew on the sacred K'iche' account of origin and conquest, the *Popul Vuh*: “I exhort . . . the pueblo indígena . . . of Guatemala,” she said, “to take up the counsel of our ancestors, ‘may not one nor two be left behind, may all rise up together.’”²⁸

The idea of pan-indigenous unity in Guatemala developed as activists from different areas were in fact coming together. By 1974, a newly formed Coordinadora Indígena Nacional brought together activists—culturalistas and clasistas—for meetings and workshops. A devastating earthquake in 1976 connected activists to each other as young people from distant communities worked

26. The 1973 reina indígena of Quetzaltenango, in her farewell speech, 7 Sept. 1974. Parish archives, Momostenango. Interview by the author with the 1973 reina indígena, Quetzaltenango, 7 Oct. 2002.

27. Interview by the author with the 1977 reina indígena of San Sebastián, Retalhuleu, Guatemala City, 25 Aug. 2002.

28. *La Nación/Sur*, 14 Oct. 1977. Variations of the quotation from the *Popul Vuh* appear in many reinas' speeches, likely due to the influence of K'iche' linguist Adrián Inés Chávez. These were also the final words of the Iximché Declaration in February 1980 protesting the Spanish Embassy massacre, and CUC subsequently used the reference in its public statements.

together in relief efforts. In 1977, indigenous students founded the periodical *Ixim: Notas Indígenas* as a means of pan-community activism and communication. That same year, a strike by miners from Ixtahuacán, mostly Mayas, drew the attention of local organizers all along Guatemala's Pan-American Highway. Soon the nationwide campesino organization Comité de Unidad Campesina (CUC) was founded, linking local agrarian activists, both Mayas and ladinos, to each other and to national opposition movements.

In these same years, reinas indígenas became involved in pan-community organizing. Beyond sponsoring their own candidates, local Maya organizers invited reinas and their supporters from other municipalities to their pageants. Sometimes visiting reinas spoke on stage about experiences in their own communities. Queens and their sponsoring groups met in regional meetings planned by indigenous students and funded by the Catholic Church, and organizers offered workshops for the women and supporters, inviting teachers and other professionals to take part. Adrián Inés Chávez, an indigenous linguist and translator of the *Popul Vuh*, was an influential figure in these efforts. He traveled to communities far and wide to introduce young people to the text, which helps explain its quotation in many speeches.

As connections among pan-community activists grew, reina indígena pageants became a convenient place for people from different areas to get together. And with the growth of highland mobilization in its many forms came increasing state repression. By the late 1970s, few places remained for students or campesino organizers to meet. Fairs and pageants, held throughout the year on local community patron saints' days, could provide cover. At the same time, pageants were cultural and gendered events (and therefore deemed nonpolitical) so they represented a relatively safe means by which activists could speak out. As one organizer explained, "the reina indígena [pageants] were a space we appropriated for political action. We were using the girls [*señoritas*], we have to admit that. But there were no alternatives left."²⁹ When the military labeled most other forms of activism "subversive," indigenous queen contestants like those in the 1978 protest became activists' symbolic spokeswomen.

Consequently, queens like those quoted above delivered speeches that advocated mobilization. A few urged their listeners not only to rise up, but to join a class struggle that united them in common effort with poor ladinos. A contestant in the 1978 Quetzaltenango pageant, sponsored by the activist group Acción Juvenil, embraced class struggle and condemned the racial politics that

29. Interview by the author with Ricardo Cajas Mejía, Quetzaltenango, 21 Feb. 2002.

divided indigenous and ladino campesinos.³⁰ With a leftist insurgency growing in strength, her speech was practically a call to arms.

Certainly not all pageant spectators would have agreed with the sentiment she and others like her voiced. Regarding the contestant from Acción Juvenil (who did not win the contest), one Maya observer commented that she seemed “to forget that she was participating in an indigenous event, . . . [speaking] with resentment against her Indian brothers.”³¹ Similarly, members of other communities, Mayas among them, sometimes reacted negatively when queens advanced an unwelcome political opinion or overstepped the bounds of appropriate speech. Critics charged that by such displays reinas rendered themselves not representative, but inauthentic. These moments of local contestation over authenticity offer an important message: radicalized speeches represented only one facet of a complex story, as intensifying violence deepened divisions within indigenous communities.³²

Activists or *Patojas*?

Politicized pageants raise an obvious question: Were the young women who gave voice to oppositional politics being used by activists, as the organizer suggests above? (In interviews, he referred to reinas not only as señoritas but also *patojas*, “little girls.”) Queens could be as young as 15, but most were a few years older, sometimes even 20 or 21. Many outspoken queens had experience in community groups and in contemporary newspaper interviews seemed quite savvy. Yet women’s roles as activists were and are less visible than men’s. As Grandin observes of activism by Q’eqchi’ women in Alta Verapaz, “Women’s actions tended to be more covert, as planters, military commissioners, and the like were less likely to recognize them as agitators than they were men.”³³ One woman active in the 1970s noted an invisibility that made her organizing possible: “As an indigenous woman, I lived a clandestine life.”³⁴

30. “Reina Indígena de Quetzaltenango electa el 12 de agosto,” *Ixim: Notas Indígenas* 1, no. 11 (Aug. 1978).

31. Ibid.

32. See Grandin’s *Blood of Guatemala*, “Conclusions” and “Epilogue,” for a discussion of widening divisions among indígenas in Quetzaltenango at this time, as “indigenous elites lost the ability to fulfill their historical role as brokers,” 223. Similar divisions developed in other communities and show themselves again and again.

33. Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre*, 134.

34. Ibid. Grandin writes that another woman, amid the devastation of army violence in 1982, commented to a ladino Communist Party organizer that “women can do more than ‘throw a handful of beans into water.’”

Gender ideologies that allowed women's activism to go unseen acted in concert with both local cultural practices and indigenista zeal for folklore to further render queens apolitical. Of course, the protestors (like the Q'eqchi' woman above) leaned on those very understandings to create a space for political activism. The protest participants I spoke with, women and men, were aware that queens' symbolism gave all of them room to speak out. Interviews suggest, moreover, that the women knowingly and willingly lent their "authenticity" to the group.³⁵ Consider the composition of their photo, taken by one of the organizers. Nearly all of the reinas, framed by their male supporters, wore solemn and composed expressions. The men's mannerisms were strikingly different: two smiled as they exchanged glances in the back row, another grinned with his fist clenched. The single woman without a serious expression (in the center) had long been challenging gendered norms as a land activist in her community. Yet the more composed women, their expressions dutiful markers of indigeneity, seem to authenticate both her and the male activists.

Given these gendered stereotypes, politicized speeches by queens sometimes aroused suspicion and accusations that their words were not their own. It is true that the women typically prepared speeches in consultation with their sponsors, and their speeches generally reflected sponsors' aims. There is also remarkable similarity in the themes voiced by reinas, which suggests that pan-community and church-based organizing efforts had significant effects. Yet it is not safe to assume that the messages delivered by reinas were simply memorized, or that the women did not take ownership of them. A majority of the reinas I spoke with insisted that they were the ones to give voice to the words on paper.

What the women as reinas actually did was not wholly determined by their assigned role, their sponsors, or any given script. Those I interviewed accepted rather than challenged their position as symbolic queens, but several of them used that position in surprising ways. While some of the women limited their participation (or it was limited for them by family or local authorities) to speaking with relative caution on the pageant stage, others went beyond what might have been scripted to graphically protest racism and terror. One reina in the 1978 protest, for example, stood before a plaza filled with spectators shortly after the Panzós massacre. With an intensity that was remembered by another participant 25 years later, she paid tribute to the dead by internalizing and giv-

35. The reina from Santiago Atitlán, who was 15 years old in 1978, may have been an exception. She did not want to discuss the event with me and deferred most of my questions to the men who had sponsored her candidacy.

ing voice to their suffering: “Hermanos de Panzós,” she said, “su sangre la tenemos en la garganta [Brothers of Panzós, your blood is in our throats].”³⁶ Young women like her pushed the boundaries of what the reina indígena stood for and conveyed to the community and the state.

Authentic Mayas at the National Level

As local contests became more politicized, folklorists and successive Guatemalan military governments adopted the local pageant format as their own, staging a reina indígena pageant at the national level for the first time in 1971. The Rabín Ahau contest grew out of an indigenista folklore movement in Cobán. The National Folklore Festival of which it became a part had been created two years earlier by Cobán resident Marco Aurelio Alonzo, a ladino teacher and folklore promoter. Alonzo organized the festival to celebrate Guatemala’s Mayan heritage, he explains, and save it from “inevitable” decline and corruption.³⁷ Soon other folklorists took control of the festival, including the wife of soon-to-be-president General Kjell Laugerud García. Along with the change in organizers came the new highlight of the festival, the contest for Rabín Ahau.

The National Folklore Festival, while a Cobán-area inspiration, fit perfectly into the government’s symbolic efforts to forge a nation of the fragments within Guatemala’s borders, a modern nation of *guatemaltecos*, but one with a glorious Mayan heritage. State indigenismo celebrated a “Day of the Indian” and paid homage to the conquest-era K’iche’ leader Tecún Umán.³⁸ The selection of a national indigenous queen was a natural addition, an opportunity to personify, for Guatemalans and tourists, the “indigenous spirit” of Guatemala.³⁹

State officials became enthusiastic patrons of the Rabín Ahau contest. Local reinas indígenas were called to the national competition from towns all over the highlands, sometimes forced to attend by local ladino mayors. The army press office printed pageant brochures. Presidents gave speeches and posed for the

36. From a speech by a reina indígena in 1978, as remembered by the 1977 reina indígena of Cantel. Interview by the author with the reina indígena of Cantel, Cantel, 13 July 2002.

37. Marco Aurelio Alonzo, “Los objetivos del Festival Folklórico.” Interview by the author with Marco Aurelio Alonzo, Cobán, 25 Jan. 2002.

38. An official Día del Aborígen was first celebrated in 1959, and in 1960, a day honoring Tecún Umán was established. For more on this figure and indigenous resistance to nationalist myth, see Irma Oztzy, “Tekum Umam: From Nationalism to Maya Resistance” (PhD diss., Univ. of California, Davis, 1999).

39. From *Prospecto del Festival*, printed by the Army Editorial, July 1976.

camera with queens. During his presidency (1978–82), General Romeo Lucas García, a Cobán-area landowner, attended and reportedly even paid for the festival himself.⁴⁰ Appearing in the 1981 official Folklore Festival program, a captioned photo shows a smiling Lucas García, president during some of the deadliest years of counterinsurgency in the indigenous highlands, “contentedly” embracing a Rabín Ahau contestant.⁴¹

Like the local reina indígena pageants, the Rabín Ahau contest has since its beginning been racially segregated from the national, exclusively ladina Miss Guatemala pageant.⁴² Like her local counterparts, the national Rabín Ahau was understood as a symbol not of beauty but of Mayanness. A Folklore Festival organizer explained that the Rabín Ahau was not just another beauty pageant, “not the same as the election of a ladina queen, chosen for her physical beauty. The Rabín Ahau,” he insisted, “is chosen for the way she expresses her *identity*, manifested by . . . her maternal language, . . . the purity of her traje . . . , and her . . . dance.”⁴³ She was an idealized symbol of Mayan essence, a symbol, as Carlota

40. See Carlota McAllister, “This Pageant Which Is Not Won: The Rabín Ahau, Maya Women, and the Guatemalan Nation” (MA thesis, Univ. of Arizona, 1994), 79–80.

41. Program of the 13th Festival Folklórico Nacional, Cobán, 23–26 July 1981.

42. In stark contrast to the Guatemalan case, Rick López writes that people in Mexico in 1987 “remembered” (mistakenly) that the India Bonita of 1921 was the first Miss Mexico. While those two categories had been “incompatible” in the 1920s, by 1987 such racial boundaries had been dropped from national memory. López, “India Bonita Contest,” 292. It is doubtful that Guatemalans even today would make the mistake of conflating the racially separate titles of Miss Guatemala and Rabín Ahau.

43. Letter by Padre Esteban Haeserijn, no addressee, 23 Nov. 1974 (emphasis in original). Haeserijn, a Belgian priest in Alta Verapaz, saw the contests as an opportunity for young indigenous women to speak for their communities. Other festival organizers disagreed, permitting contestants to speak only of “culture,” but since the beginning of the pageants, contestants have violated rules against political speeches. Recently former queens have taken to meeting together, and several have spoken out against the Folklore Festival. Mercedes García Marroquín, elected Rabín Ahau in 2000, denounced the festival in the press; while at the 2001 Rabín Ahau pageant, she condemned discrimination and accused the festival committee of using indigenous women for commercial gain. The candidate chosen as the 2001 Rabín Ahau, Manuela Pol, then refused the crown “*por dignidad*” and the committee was forced to crown the runner-up. See *Prensa Libre*, 25 May 2001 and 30 July 2001. As Richard Wilk notes, “Pageants as an institution can serve the state’s goals of ‘domesticating difference,’ of channeling potentially dangerous social divisions into the realm of aesthetics and taste. But they can also fail in getting this message across, and can end up emphasizing and exacerbating the very divisions they are meant to minimize or control.” Wilk, “Connections and Contradictions,” in Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje, *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage*, 218.

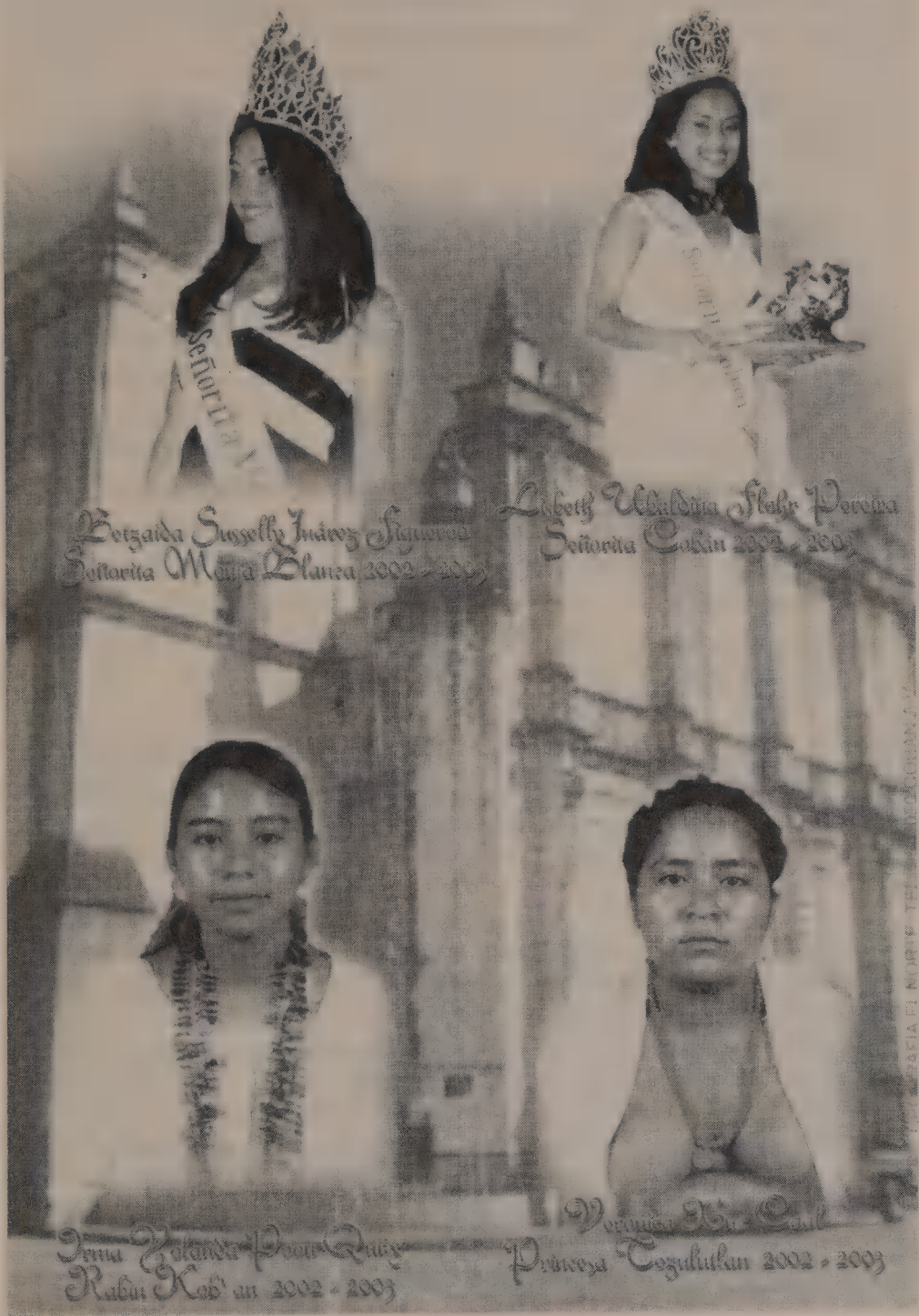


Figure 3. “Beauty” versus “authenticity”: Ladina queens (upper photos) and their indigenous counterparts (lower photos). *Programa General de Feria 2002*, Cobán, Alta Verapaz.

McAllister has argued, understood as separate from and subordinate to national ladina beauty.⁴⁴ A striking contrast remains between images of ladina and Maya queens even in recent years, as represented on the back cover of the 2002 Rabín Ahau pageant program. Mayan authenticity, as embodied by Princesa Tezulutlán on the lower right, continues to require an open blouse.⁴⁵

For the Guatemalan military regime in 1978, symbolic Maya women were viewed both as essential and safe, an apolitical way to celebrate Guatemala's Mayan soul and attract tourists. As noted, however, the same officials applauding candidates for Rabín Ahau applied a very different label to Mayas in general. The familiar and ugly underside of indigenismo had long held the contemporary Indian (read as male) to be a dead weight on society. With the rise of the guerrilla insurgency in the highlands, state and military officials went a step further and defined entire Mayan communities as potentially subversive and a danger to the nation. It was this shift in thinking that paved the way for genocide.

The state's hypocritical positioning on the Maya—embracing and appropriating a female essence, while defining the broader population first as a problem and then as subversive—stood out in especially sharp relief in 1978.

Denouncing Paternalism and Massacre

Many activist Mayas were involved in local reina indígena pageants, but bitterness toward the state-sponsored Rabín Ahau event was intense. Countering official or family pressures on reinas to participate, activists tried to prevent their local queens from going to the festival pageant.⁴⁶ They recounted rumors

44. McAllister writes that Miss Guatemala, the nation's symbol of idealized beauty, is "invariably among the whitest of the nation's young women." The indigenous queen's "task," she adds, is "to represent what makes Guatemala most distinct: her tradition, her Indian past. Authenticity marks the Maya Queen's particularity as an aesthetic property, subordinate to the truly beautiful." McAllister, "Authenticity and Guatemala's Maya Queen," 106.

45. Marisol de la Cadena provides another example of tests of "authenticity" in indigenous beauty pageants in Cuzco, Peru. Contestants (date unknown) "had to prove their indigenous 'racial' authenticity," she wrote. "The judges required that the participants in the beauty contest pose nude; short legs, small breasts, and scant pubic hair were the physical characteristics that the gentlemen organizers chose as markers of the bodies of *real* Indian women." De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 81.

46. One queen explained that her family wanted her to attend so they could see her on television! (She didn't go.) I don't have a figure for how many Guatemalan municipios elected reinas indígenas in the 1970s or a corresponding rate of participation in the national Rabín Ahau contest, but it appears that a majority did not take part. The major indigenous

about mistreatment of reinas in Cobán, of inadequate food and housing, and of disrespect and disregard for the women wearing the celebrated traje. They condemned the event as manipulation of the Maya by the government for its own gain.⁴⁷

In May 1978, shortly before the Panzós massacre, a group of Mayas published an article in the indigenous periodical *Ixim*, taking aim at the National Folklore Festival.⁴⁸ The authors' critique in "Requiem for Homages to the Maya Race" was fierce. Blasting the Folklore Festival as a modern vestige of colonialism and exploitation, the authors charged that under the pretext of maintaining cultural authenticity, the state sought to obstruct social change, to halt the development of the Mayan community at a stage of history convenient for ladino domination. The festival, the authors asserted, since it required Mayas to compete with each other to be the most culturally authentic, turned indices of exploitation—bare feet, heavy loads, the alcohol abused by the campesino worker—into cultural elements to take pride in. "Poverty is art," they wrote, "a constitutive part of the authentic indigenous culture." The ladino contemplates the beauty of indigenous poverty, they asserted, becoming a "connoisseur" of the misery of the Indian. With biting irony that highlighted the gulf that separated indigenous queens from their ladina counterparts, they wrote, "¡Viva la belleza de la pobreza [long live the beauty of poverty]!"⁴⁹

The authors observed the contradictions in celebrating as folklore what was repressed in real life. While folkloristas praised and judged Rabín Ahau contestants for their maternal language fluency, Mayas were prevented from using

municipios typically held local pageants, as did many smaller ones. (There are over 200 municipios in ten highland departments with majority indigenous populations.) The national-level Rabín Ahau contest attracted 25 participants in 1972, and the number grew to 30 in 1974. The government claimed that 49 queens participated in 1978, though the outgoing Rabín Ahau contested that figure (see below). In the first 35 years (1971–2005) of the Rabín Ahau contest, winners came from 25 communities in 14 departments.

47. Rigoberta Menchú made this same critique in *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (New York: Verso, 1983), 204–9. For contestation over mestizo folklorists' appropriation of Monimbó culture in Nicaragua, see Katherine Borland, "The India Bonita of Monimbó: The Politics of Ethnic Identity in the New Nicaragua," in Cohen, Wilk and Stoeltje, *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage*, 75–88.

48. "El colonialismo cultural: Requiem por los homenajes a la Raza Maya," *Ixim: Notas Indígenas* 1, no. 8 (May 1978): 4, 5, 8. There are striking similarities between the authors' 1978 critique and that advanced much earlier by K'iche' elites in efforts to contest class definitions of Indianness. See Grandin, *Blood of Guatemala*, chaps. 6, 7.

49. "El colonialismo cultural," *Ixim: Notas Indígenas*, May 1978.

indigenous languages in schools, in the workplace, even in church. While the most authentic clothes were prized in the contest, indigenous women routinely faced rules prohibiting them from wearing traje in state and private institutions and the workplace. And who were ladinos, the authors demanded, to judge and value indigenous culture? They suggested in a footnote that perhaps Mayas should begin to hold events to elect a “pretty ladina,” or offer homages to the ladino race. Or why not establish a “Ladino Institute” to “teach [ladinos] not to live at the expense of indígenas,” a reference to the Instituto Indígena Nacional, established in 1945 and dedicated to observation and documentation of indigenous life.⁵⁰

The piece is extraordinary for the boldness of its tone and for the ideas it expressed, several of which remain key components in the discourse of the pan-Maya movement today: the persistence of colonialism, assertion of rights to the use of indigenous languages and dress, allegations of the absence of any true ladino identity and culture, and most forcefully, the conception of a modern Maya race in Guatemala which rejects an identity circumscribed by the past. In the passage that gives the piece its name, the authors wrote, “may HOMAGES TO THE MAYA RACE rest in peace, now that the Mayas of today need no type of homage . . . [and] have no confidence . . . in false actions in favor of the indígena [which] . . . never . . . give real benefit to the pueblo indígena.”⁵¹ Already in May 1978, the authors of this piece and like-minded activists strongly opposed the National Folklore Festival. The subsequent massacre in Panzós proved their critique to be shockingly prophetic: a government that purportedly embraced Guatemala’s Mayan past murdered Mayas in the present.

Activist Mayas involved in a variety of efforts—organizing campesinos, working with reinas, writing for the publication *Ixim*, participating in ongoing discussions of indigenous identity and rights—were at the center of public protests against the killings in Panzós.⁵² Those who had worked with queens in the past devised a plan to stage a boycott of the upcoming national Folklore Festival. They convinced a significant number of reina contestants to speak

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., emphasis in original. Many of the ideas central to this piece had been presented five years earlier in the article by Pop Caal, “Replica del indio a una disertación ladina,” *La Semana*, Dec. 1972. Pop Caal did not deny a role in writing “Requiem” but said it was a joint endeavor and the authors will remain anonymous. Interview by the author with Antonio Pop Caal, Cobán, 23 Jan. 2002. See also Carlos Guzmán Böckler and Jean-Loup Herbert, *Guatemala: Una interpretación histórico-social* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1970).

52. The *Ixim* writers dedicated the entire June/July 1978 issue to the massacre. Mayas in CUC helped organize massive street protests in Guatemala City on June 1 and 8, 1978, and issued a public denunciation in *La Nación*, 4 June 1978.

out against the massacre and denounce the festival. Women took to stages in their own communities to demand justice and joined together for the symbolic national-level denunciation featured in *El Gráfico*. The events were organized primarily by young men, and the reinas once again lent their services as spokeswomen. Yet the reinas' words and stories suggest that they, too, became invested in the struggle against repression.

Condemning Massacre on the Local Stage

In Carchá, Alta Verapaz, the contest for local reina indígena took place just days after the Panzós massacre, and one local Q'eqchi' woman used her presence in the pageant to condemn the killings.⁵³ The reina candidate, sponsored by a local development committee, approached the stage walking slowly through the crowd, refusing to dance the son as required, as a sign of mourning and protest. With this gesture, she asserted her own understanding of the pageant's traditional dance: rather than a symbol of authenticity, it was a display inappropriate at a time of tragedy. She continued her protest in her speech, drawing parallels between the lives of those in Panzós and in her community. Her speech was preserved in a church publication, which now hangs on the wall of her living room:

Señoras y señores, brothers, . . . I am here with sadness. . . . I did not enter dancing because our pueblo is living a tragedy. Why am I sad? You know why, because of what our brothers of Panzós just experienced; you know that they were killed, and we don't know why. It could be because they are indígenas, or it could be because they are poor. . . .

I could not dance . . . knowing that my brothers and sisters are crying for their loved ones. . . . I feel . . . what [they] are experiencing. They have not a piece of earth to live on and for this they were demanding their rights to what truly belongs to them, their lands, and for this they have been killed. You have heard the news on all the radios, . . . read it in all the papers, we all know it. . . . Tomorrow it could be us, *verdad?*⁵⁴

Intertwining questions of ethnicity and class in her speech, she asked why the campesinos were killed: was it because they were indigenous or because they

53. Interview by the author with a 1978 reina indígena candidate, Carchá, Alta Verapaz, 29 July 2002.

54. *Boletín Misionero: Noticiero Trimestral de la Actividad Misionera de la Iglesia en La Verapaz*, no. 25 (Oct. 1978): 4.

were poor? She answered the question herself: it was both. They were killed because they were Mayas pressing claims for land.

After requesting a minute of silence to honor the dead, she invoked a now-famous refrain from the *Popul Vuh*, calling for all to rise up and walk forward together, leaving no one behind.⁵⁵ She was then promptly disqualified by the (ladino) jury of the contest for her refusal to dance. She believed her message about Panzós was also unwelcome, though the jury refrained from comment. They simply pointed to a pageant requirement that she failed to fulfill, rather than dispute the content of her speech. Whatever its reasoning, the jury sought to silence her. The young woman would not be queen, she would not represent the community locally or in the Rabín Ahau pageant.

The press supported the candidate's interpretation of events, publishing an article with the headline, "Reina Candidate Disqualified for Requesting a Minute of Silence for the Victims of Panzós."⁵⁶ The young woman went into hiding for a few days, she told me, but then returned home, saying, "if they come, they come." Her fears were not unfounded, because the army targeted people for less. But no one came.

In another town in Alta Verapaz, the Pocomchi' Maya community of San Cristóbal, a reina indígena candidate named Amalia Coy Pop was sponsored by cooperative leaders, men who sought to transform the local fair and reina contest into "indigenous" events.⁵⁷ Young people from many communities attended, as did Adrián Inés Chávez, the K'iche' linguist and teacher. People remember the evening vividly—the decorations, the traditional feast, marimbas, and women and men from all over the highlands dressed in vibrant traje.

Again, the timing of the community's festival and pageant was significant: just six weeks had passed since the massacre in Panzós. Coy Pop and her sponsors saw the pageant as an opportunity to call attention to the violence. She remembers the pageant well, describing the other candidates' speeches as "pretty" and "poetic." "Then I came, brave me! And my message was very different." She spoke about identity and discrimination, economic exploitation, and repression.

55. The reina candidate did not recall meeting Adrián Inés Chávez and assumed that she had heard the slogan from her priest. Interview by the author with the reina indígena candidate, Carchá, 29 July 2002.

56. *Prensa Libre*, 10 June 1978.

57. The following account comes from author's interviews with the 1978 reina indígena of San Cristóbal, Amalia Coy Pop, San Cristóbal, 24 Jan. and 17 Mar. 2002; the 1977 reina indígena, San Cristóbal, 18 Mar. 2002; and others in the community. My thanks to Victoria Sanford for first telling me of this case.

She mentioned the Panzós killings explicitly: “our brothers [in Panzós] are suffering, too, for speaking out,” she remembers saying to the crowd. “We cannot be afraid . . . and no one can silence us, no one can take away who we are.”⁵⁸

San Cristóbal was experiencing important political changes in 1978. Coy Pop’s sponsors had formed a strong agricultural cooperative, politicizing area campesinos. A Maya man, a relative of Coy Pop’s, had recently won election as mayor. In this context, the outspoken reina candidate was named queen. The festival committee presented her with ceremonial traje and took photos. There was marimba music and visiting with guests. After midnight she went home.

San Cristóbal’s activist Mayas had indeed made gains, but the events that followed show how tenuous they were. That very night, residents of the community (remembered as mostly ladinos, but including some Mayas as well) gathered in the town square to protest her election. They charged that the young woman was a *guerrillera*, a member of the insurgency, and this time the speech itself was condemned. The protestors demanded that the title be taken from Coy Pop and that she not represent the community. Military officials arrived from nearby Cobán to investigate the “content and meaning” of her speech.

The committee in charge of the festival quickly moved to appease the protestors and military officials, stripping Coy Pop of her crown. They named the previous year’s queen as representative for a second time, despite the young woman’s unwillingness since she was planning to marry.⁵⁹ In a long line of reinas’ photos in the Casa Cultural in San Cristóbal, Amalia Coy Pop is absent. Under her predecessor’s picture are two printed cards: “1977” and “1978.”

Despite threats, the young woman was unharmed. She returned to the secondary school she was attending in Sololá on a government scholarship. There she was urged by her teacher Otilia Lux (recently Guatemalan minister of culture), to go to the press with her story. She did, and *El Gráfico* printed an article about the events in San Cristóbal, reporting that ladinos in the community had pressed for the removal of her crown.⁶⁰ It is unclear whether Coy Pop had not mentioned Maya opposition to her election, or whether the paper gave the story a “ladinos versus Mayas” slant. In any event, this version of events was immediately contested in another national daily by an association of women from Alta Verapaz, many of them ladinas living in the capital. They asserted that Mayas and ladinos together had opposed the queen, and that the local festival commit-

58. Interview by the author with Amalia Coy Pop, San Cristóbal, 24 Jan. 2002.

59. Interview by the author with the 1977 reina indígena, San Cristóbal, 18 Mar. 2002.

60. “Privar de su corona a reina indígena de San Cristóbal AV,” *El Gráfico*, 25 July 1978.

tee had rescinded her election “for the dignity of the [indigenous] race.” Their explicit reference to the recent massacre in Panzós reveals the tremendous racial and political tensions that underlay events in San Cristóbal: “Considering the events of Panzós,” they asserted, “it was incorrect to blame ladinos, or the army, or the government [for what happened in San Cristóbal]. . . . Only disastrous events occur when there are resentful persons counseling the indígena to act outside the law. . . . Not wanting to turn our pueblo into a bloodbath [*campo de sangre*], we consider it prudent . . . to assign responsibility to those who try to destroy the peace and order in San Cristóbal.”⁶¹

Insisting that outside instigators must be behind any Maya action “outside the law” (without, in fact, specifying any illegal act), the Alta Verapaz women accused these same unnamed people of wrongly converting “a cultural and social act [the indigenous queen contest] into a political meeting” in a community known for its “cordial and fraternal” relations between Mayas and ladinos. And in a scarcely veiled threat against the young woman and her school, they added, “Hopefully . . . [she] will realize that the studies . . . she is pursuing in the school of Santa Lucía Uatlán in Sololá as a student with a government fellowship [are] not a weapon to bring indígenas against ladinos, . . . unless that is the orientation she is receiving there, which would be distressing for the progress of education in Guatemala and for the prestige of said institution.”⁶²

Repression and bloodshed in San Cristóbal became severe in the next few years. Coy Pop’s two sponsors were among the victims of state violence, likely targeted for their work organizing campesinos. One of them, Vitalino Calel, moved his family away from San Cristóbal after receiving threats but was dragged from his new home and disappeared by the army in 1982. The army disappeared a second sponsor, Ricardo Policarpio Caal, in the early 1980s. Amalia Coy Pop feared returning to San Cristóbal and lived in another area of the country until 1998.

National Protest

The 1978 Panzós massacre was met with massive public outcry. Several indigenous organizations criticized state-sponsored folklore in light of the killings; among them were groups in the Verapaces region (home both to Panzós and the Folklore Festival) and in Comalapa, Chimaltenango. Representatives from

61. “Damas de San Cristóbal V., explican lo que ocurrió con la reina indígena,” *Prensa Libre*, 29 July 1978.

62. Ibid.

communities in the Verapaces notified *Inforpress* that they would not send their local reinas indígenas to participate in the Cobán festival because “they did not want [them] to serve as entertainment for those who killed” campesinos in Panzós.⁶³ In the indigenous publication *Cha'b'l Tinamit*, an article signed simply “Kekchíes” held that if the Folklore Festival took place, the Rabín Ahau should bind her skirt with a black belt of mourning for the death of her brothers, “her crown and staff should be soiled with Kekchí blood, her eyes should shed . . . tears like the waters of the Polochic, darkened with blood.”⁶⁴ The Polochic River runs through Panzós and after the massacre bore bodies of the dead.

Activists in Comalapa requested the festival’s suspension in a message to the new president, General Romeo Lucas García, stating, “the Association of Indigenous Students and Professionals of Comalapa . . . respectfully requests that in the interests of national dignity, the Folklore Festival of Cobán be suspended due to the bloody tragedy of Panzós, which our country is mourning.”⁶⁵ This time, the letter to Lucas García was not anonymous but was signed by the group’s president, Antonio Mux Cumez. The army abducted him a few years later, and he, too, is counted among Guatemala’s disappeared.⁶⁶

Activists organizing the festival boycott meanwhile met with the Quetzaltenango reina indígena to ask for her help. It was important that the Quetzaltenango indigenous queen participate in the protest since she was something of a celebrity at the Folklore Festival due to the importance of Quetzaltenango as Guatemala’s second largest city. She readily accepted. As she told the press, “Due to . . . the massacre in Panzós, I have become part of the general protest [against] . . . this bloody act. . . . I will not participate in the festival in Cobán. . . . [It] would not be acceptable, while our brothers in Panzós suffer the irreparable loss of their loved ones . . . that we their blood brothers would be traitors participating in a fiesta like that.”⁶⁷

Another valued participant was the previous year’s Rabín Ahau, a young woman from San Francisco El Alto, Totonicapán. To the delight of organizers, she agreed to participate in the boycott, to join protesters rather than travel to

63. *Inforpress*, no. 301, 20 July 1978.

64. *Cha'b'l Tinamit* 2, no. 23 (June 1978): 6.

65. The letter addressed to Lucas García was published in *El Gráfico*, 25 July 1978, and *Prensa Libre*, 26 July 1978.

66. Interview by the author with a local activist, Comalapa, Chimaltenango, 1 Nov. 2002.

67. “Solidaria protesta por lo de Panzós; La reina indígena de Xelajú no irá a Cobán,” *La Nación/Quetzaltenango*, 29 July 1978. Interview by the author with the 1977–78 reina indígena, Quetzaltenango, 14 Feb. 2002.

Cobán to coronate her successor. She took an active role in the group, attending local pageants to protest the Panzós killings. The group considered the Rabín Ahau crown, then in her possession, to be the key to the protest. They contemplated using it in a counterfestival of their own in Quetzaltenango (no such event took place) or presenting it with their declaration to the press in Guatemala City. It would *not*, they insisted, be used to crown another Rabín Ahau.

Reinas and supporters met in San Cristóbal, Totonicapán, for a boycott-planning event that participants remember involved over one hundred people, as usual held under the auspices of the community's fair and reina indígena pageant. Many reunited in Quetzaltenango a week later. The 22 most "valiant" of the group, as one organizer put it, assembled for the photo that would appear on the front page of *El Gráfico*.

The group, however, faced a disappointment. The 1977 Rabín Ahau in the final moment was unwilling or unable to boycott the Folklore Festival. Rumors circulated that she had been threatened or paid off by army officials with links to the festival. According to one organizer, such pressure was applied indirectly through two young women—both wealthy Mayas, in fact—whose families were close to the government and army. I met with both of these women, and one remembered that she had visited and talked with the Rabín Ahau about the importance of her participation in the festival.⁶⁸ (This development, like the combined ladino and indigenous opposition to the dethroned Coy Pop, once again underscores growing divisions within Mayan communities as violence rose.) Ultimately the protestors decided to go through with the boycott even without the Rabín Ahau and her crown. Some 20 or 30 of them—memories vary on this point—boarded a night bus and made their way to the capital, about six hours away, to deliver their declaration to the press.

As the queens and their supporters expressed in the declaration, the state's celebration of Maya "authenticity" a mere two months after the killings of indigenous campesinos in Panzós reeked of hypocrisy. "The reinas indígenas believe," the press article stated, "that considering the events of Panzós, in which genuine Guatemalan Indians [*verdaderos indios guatemaltecos*] lost their lives, this Festival should be suspended." The queens declared:

68. Interviews by the author, Quetzaltenango, 6 Nov. 2002 and 14 Nov. 2002.

Interview by the author with the 1977 Rabín Ahau, San Francisco El Alto, Totonicapán, 12 July 2002. The 1977 Rabín Ahau also spoke with the local press after the pageant and mentioned her family pressuring her to attend. *La Nación/Quetzaltenango*, 9 Aug. 1978.

That the recent massacre of our Indian brothers of Panzós . . . [represents] the continuation of centuries of negation, exploitation, and extermination initiated by the . . . Spanish invaders.

That the Folklore Festival of Cobán is an example of [an] . . . oppressor indigenismo that . . . makes the reinas indígenas into simple objects for tourists to look at, without respect for our authentic human or historic values.

That while the wound of Panzós still bleeds, the failure of the organizing committee of this “show” [written in English] . . . to suspend it . . . demonstrates . . . the degree of disrespect [they have] for the lives of us, *los indios*.⁶⁹

Government officials’ comments following the Panzós killings make it clear that they viewed massacred campesinos quite differently. Like the women of Alta Verapaz decrying the politicization of the San Cristóbal pageant, the mayor of Panzós stated that the campesinos in his community were incited by “agitators” who deceived them with strange ideas about land rights. The outgoing president General Laugerud García expressed a similar sentiment: “I know the campesino as peaceful, honest, and hardworking, but he has been incited, . . . indoctrinated.”⁷⁰ In statements to the press, officials chose not to describe the victims in ethnic terms at all.

The protestors directly contradicted these positions. By using the very image embraced by the state, the revered indigenous queens, the protestors refuted characterizations of massacred Mayas as *engañados*, duped, by insisting that they and the dead in Panzós were one and the same, *los verdaderos, los indios*. The protesting queens, they claimed, and not the officially sanctioned Rabín Ahau, represented true Guatemalan Mayas—Mayas who lived and breathed, bled and died.

69. *El Gráfico*, 30 July 1978.

70. For Mayor Overdick, see “Subversores disfrazados lanzaron a los campesinos a chocar con los soldados,” *Diario de Centro América*, 2 June 1978. For General Laugerud, see “‘Lo sucedido en Panzós es el resultado de un plan general de subversión’: Kjell,” *La Nación*, 1 June 1978; and “Panzós: Conmoción sigue; Presidente señala a los culpables de la Matanza,” *El Imparcial*, 1 June 1978. Laugerud, president from July 1974 through June 1978, explicitly placed the blame for the incident on the Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres (EGP). In doing so, he was not denying that the army did the actual killing; on the contrary, his explanation was that because of suspected guerrilla presence in the region, the guerrillas were responsible for an army massacre of unarmed civilians.

Lessons from 1978

A 1978 protest organizer noted that the violence and repression following the Panzós massacre included the disappearance and killing of scores of people linked to reina indígena pageants, but the queens themselves were spared. "It was for the best," he had concluded, "that we did not manage to 'kidnap' the crown." Given the military involvement in the Cobán festival, he suggested, especially with the indigenista General Lucas García assuming the presidency in July 1978, the response against the reinas could have been deadly.⁷¹

The reinas did, in fact, remain safe in 1978. To return to a question posed earlier—could purportedly "authentic" Mayas be subversive?—the boycott suggests that the answer is both no and yes. Notions of a gendered authenticity prevented reinas—and the men around them, at least temporarily—from being seen by the state as subversive. Yet that same quality gave them the space and voice to challenge the very definition of "genuine" Mayas and to do and say things that others could not.⁷²

That was not the case for the campesino victims of the Panzós massacre, women among them. It was not the case for the thousands of Maya men, women, and children killed in "scorched earth" campaigns during the next few years. In those campaigns, military thinking about ethnicity and gender was quite different. As investigators have documented, the army massacred indigenous women along with whole communities to prevent the "seed" of insurgency from reproducing. Pregnant women could receive especially brutal treatment. But in the infamous words of General Efraín Ríos Montt, that was not "scorched earth," it was "scorched Communists."⁷³ Not, we might add, authentic Mayas.

As a tool to confront a genocidal military regime, ideas like authenticity are painfully limited. The National Folklore Festival of 1978 was not cancelled. The festival organizers were able to assert, in the same newspaper that had published the protestors' statement, that the festival was not linked to politics.⁷⁴ The

71. Interview by the author with Ricardo Cajas Mejía, Quetzaltenango, 21 Feb. 2002.

72. The infamous case of Rogelia Cruz, the 1959 ladina Miss Guatemala brutally killed in 1968 for suspected guerrilla involvement, should remind us that such symbolic protection had its limits. As Miss Guatemala, Cruz was a symbol even more revered than the reina indígena. She was, nonetheless, murdered by the state she represented for her ties to the 1960s revolutionary group Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes. See coverage in the Guatemalan press in January 1968, and Mary Jane Treacy, "Killing the Queen: The Display and Disappearance of Rogelia Cruz," *Latin American Literary Review* 29, no. 57 (Jan.–June 2001): 40–51.

73. *New York Times*, 6 Dec. 1982.

74. "Sí se realizará el X Festival Folklórico éste fin de semana," *El Gráfico*, 28 July 1978; and "Festival Folklórico de Cobán está desvinculado de la política," *El Gráfico*,

1977 Rabín Ahau, despite her short-lived role as a protestor, passed the crown to her successor.⁷⁵ Reina indígena pageants would no longer provide activists with cover as Guatemala became an outright terror state from 1981 to 1983. As part of counterinsurgency strategies to control the rural Maya population, ladino officials and military commissioners in conflictive highland zones took over direction of local reina indígena contests in the 1980s.⁷⁶

The protestors who assembled for the 1978 photo, too, did not emerge unscathed from the violence. Several of them followed the campesino organization CUC underground; several joined or aided the guerrilla insurgency or splinter indigenous revolutionary groups; a few went into exile, where one still remains; another continues to live clandestinely in Guatemala, despite a tenuous peace; yet another wanted no part in discussing this painful history. As I searched the faces and clothing in the photo, I had been particularly concerned about the young man grinning in the back row with his fist in the air. Felipe Vásquez Tuíz, a musician and linguist, community activist, literacy worker, and eventually a member of the guerrilla insurgency, was disappeared by the Guatemalan army in 1982 after being taken forcibly from his community, Santiago Atitlán. His body has not been recovered.⁷⁷

1 Aug. 1978. The outgoing Rabín Ahau claimed that most reinas from the western highlands boycotted the event, but the government recruited other women to take their places and there were a total of 49 contestants. In *La Nación*, a government spokesman stated that “despite the negative criticisms and the pressure exerted on indigenous delegations not to participate, the festival surpassed that of the year before, both in number of participants as well as the presentation of the folkloric acts. It was an eminently folkloric program . . . without any political taint.” President Lucas García met personally with the reinas, a fact publicized in the press. “Those indigenous delegations that were present,” the article continued, “were received in a special audience by the President of the Republic. The interview lasted more than three hours, and the president had the opportunity to learn [directly from] . . . the representatives of the indigenous race their problems and their concerns.” *La Nación*, 1 Aug. 1978.

75. The press reported that she urged organizers and the public not to allow partisan politics to enter an “eminently folkloric” event. *La Nación*, 1 Aug. 1978. For her own description of the evening, see *La Nación/Quetzaltenango*, 9 Aug. 1978.

76. For military involvement in pageants in Santa Cruz del Quiché, see Carmack, “The Story of Santa Cruz del Quiché,” in Carmack, *Harvest of Violence*, 62, 66. In a 1983 publication entitled “Guatemala” by a group calling itself Movimiento Indio, a drawing depicts an army officer, a rural massacre, and indigenous queen contestants side by side. The officer holds a grenade in one hand and with the other, crowns a reina indígena. Movimiento Indio, *Guatemala*, Jan. 1983, p. 7.

77. Interviews by the author with the family of Felipe Vásquez Tuíz, Santiago Atitlán, July 2002. See also CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, case no. 4245.

In 2002, María Elena Winter Flor, an intriguing figure in the history of Alta Verapaz indigenismo and the Folklore Festival, echoed the 1978 festival organizers' assertion that the event was not political. The protesters had been misguided, she told me, because the Panzós massacre and the state's Folklore Festival had nothing to do with each other.⁷⁸ The young Mayas protesting in 1978, on the contrary, had felt themselves and the pueblo indígena violated by both.

78. Interview by the author with María Elena Winter Flor, Cobán, 8 Dec. 2002. As mentioned above, Winter Flor was India Bonita of Cobán in 1958. She recently married cobanero General Benedicto Lucas García, brother of President Romeo Lucas García and the Guatemalan Minister of Defense during one of the bloodiest periods of counterinsurgency. For a journalist's interview with Benedicto about ethnic relations, see the documentary film *Memoria del viento*, directed by Felix Zurita and Yvan Patry (Alter-Ciné, Inc. and Alba Films, 1993).

“To condemn the Revolution is to condemn Christ”: Radicalization, Moral Redemption, and the Sacrifice of Civil Society in Cuba, 1960

Lillian Guerra

Regardless of how one interprets the Cuban Revolution or its legacies, the year 1960 surely represents the most controversial and pivotal moment in its development. Punctuated by a rapid ideological radicalization of state policy, 1960 culminated in the rupturing of all diplomatic ties with the United States and Cuba’s official embrace of the Soviet Union, as well as a series of sweeping decrees that left over 80 percent of the Cuban economy under direct state control.¹ Traditionally, scholars and observers have interpreted the radicalization process of 1960 and Fidel Castro’s decision to “go Communist” in one of two ways. Many analysts contend that Fidel Castro and other top leaders of the revolution deliberately betrayed the liberal democratic principles that defined the struggle against the Batista dictatorship in order to consolidate their own power.²

The author is especially grateful to Gil Joseph, William Taylor, Roberto González Echevarría, James Green, Jana Lipman, Will Brucher, and Andrés Candelario for their comments on earlier versions of this manuscript.

1. Edward Boorstein, *The Economic Transformation of Cuba: A First-Hand Account* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968), 27–33. For a time line of events in 1960, see Jane Franklin, *Cuba and the United States: A Chronological History* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1997), 24–33.

2. Theodore Draper may have founded the betrayal school with his classic works *Castro’s Revolution: Myths and Realities* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), and *Castroism: Theory and Practice* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965). For other examples, see Manuel F. Artime, *¡Traición! Gritan 20,000 tumbas cubanas* (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1960); Mario Llerena, *The Unsuspected Revolution: The Birth and Rise of Castroism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1978); Teo A. Babún and Victor Andrés Triay, *The Cuban Revolution: Years of Promise* (Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida, 2005); Carlos Alberto Montaner, *Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution: Age, Position, Character, Destiny, Personality, and Ambition* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989, 2007).

Others assert that U.S. covert policies of subversion and commitment to a neo-colonial status quo were responsible for forcing the hand of Cuba's leaders, who then reacted defensively to protect Cuban sovereignty by seeking new allies and trading partners in the USSR.³ Today, evidence continues to mount in support of both views, that Cuba's leaders manipulated the geopolitical conditions of the Cold War to serve their own ends and that U.S. officials attempted to subvert any kind of change in Cuba, not only after 1959 but throughout the anti-Batista war. Indeed, questions remain as to exactly when, why, and how Fidel and other leaders decided to channel the revolution toward state Communism.⁴ This essay seeks to enrich rather than undermine traditional approaches by examining closely the discursive process of radicalization that preceded practical shifts of policy. It argues that events and conflicts in the realm of symbols and discourse helped catalyze support for those policies in dramatically militant ways.

Specifically, top leaders constructed the revolution as a millenarian moral paradigm in order to justify ever more authoritarian control over political expression, forms of speech, and the economy throughout 1960. They did so primarily to obfuscate the need for any public endorsement of Communism and to silence open debate over ideology. Ultimately, the willingness of supportive citizens to conceive the revolution as a militant struggle for collective redemption entailed the gradual sacrifice of civil society. In addition to exploring how civil society began to disappear, this essay asks and attempts to answer the vexing historical question of why the vast majority of Cubans did not seem to care.⁵ This question remains particularly relevant given the central role that civic

3. See José A. Benítez Cabrera, *David, Goliath, siglo XX* (Havana: Ediciones Granma, 1967); Thomas G. Paterson, *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994); Richard E. Welch Jr., *Response to Revolution: The United States and the Cuban Revolution, 1959–1961* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1985); Morris H. Morley, *Imperial State and Revolution: The United States and Cuba, 1952–1986* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 40–130; and Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999), 61–75.

4. Samuel Farber, *The Origins of the Cuban Revolution Reconsidered* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2006).

5. Following the work of Philip Oxhorn, this essay defines civil society as the spectrum of organizations, institutions, and spaces for self-expression that remain relatively autonomous of the state. See Oxhorn, "From Controlled Inclusion to Coerced Marginalization: The Struggle for Civil Society in Latin America," in *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison*, ed. John A. Hall (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 249–53; Harold Dilla and Philip Oxhorn, "The Virtues and Misfortunes of Civil Society in Cuba," *Latin American Perspectives* 29, no. 4 (July 2002): 11–30.

organizations, workers' unions, and student associations had played in Cuban politics before 1959, especially in the latest struggle against Batista.⁶

While Fidel himself may have demanded unconditional support from citizens as early as July 1959, explanations remain vague as to why so many Cubans responded to his 1960 call for "unanimity" by applauding the sacrifice of such long-sought goals as freedom of the press and the autonomy of Cuban universities. This is particularly true of the first months of 1960, when workers' militias began launching assaults on the independent media, and the Cuban Communist Party (then known as the Partido Socialista Popular, or PSP) continued to enjoy exclusive rights to organize, despite the fact that all other parties were banned. Importantly, public complicity with the erosion of opportunities for self-expression, protest, and political plurality took place *before* May 1960, setting these developments apart from the subsequent elimination of the autonomy of schools, social clubs, and associations that followed generalized nationalization.

As most scholars concur, class interests proved central to citizens' support or alienation from the revolutionary state and its policies. However, with the exception of Cuba's landowning elite, most Cubans, including the vast majority of the middle class, stood solidly behind radical reforms and state intervention in the economy through the early months of 1960. The new government's remarkable legislative velocity seemed to cause most Cubans to marvel more than to worry. After decades of political stagnation and increasing class disparities, passage of more than 1,500 revolutionary decrees in just nine months cut electricity rates, drastically reduced rents, renegotiated labor contracts, confiscated properties from corrupt public officials, and raised wages.⁷ When combined with state intervention in labor disputes, incentives for investment in industrialization, honest taxation, and the creation of state-run Tiendas del Pueblo (People's Stores) offering low-cost goods to the rural poor, such reforms laid the foundations for profound economic growth and a more harmonious society. As prices fell and salaries increased, the Instituto Nacional de Ahorro y Viviendas (INAV) began building low-cost, prefabricated homes in order to

6. While civic activism reached a high-water mark in the 1920s and '30s, the diversity of sectors making up civil society continued to grow and took on new militancy in the 1950s. See Robert Whitney, *State and Revolution in Cuba: Mass Mobilization and Political Change, 1920–1940* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2001); Louis A. Pérez Jr., *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality and Culture* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999); and Ramón L. Bonachea and Marta San Martín, *The Cuban Insurrection, 1952–1959* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1974), esp. 41–60.

7. Louis A. Pérez Jr. *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), 319–20.

improve conditions of life in the countryside and to clear city slums around Havana and Santiago.⁸

Few of the state's early projects would have succeeded without the political and financial support of Cuba's middle class. Indeed, middle-class citizens made possible massive government spending on INAV and other social programs in three ways: by volunteering to pay the back taxes that they had owed for years, by supporting the confiscation of properties seized from *batistianos*, and by making direct donations to fund such controversial programs as the May 1959 Agrarian Reform.⁹ According to the Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria (INRA), private donations for the purchase of farm machinery and supplies for a new class of small farmers totaled over \$8 million.¹⁰ By January 1960, minister of the treasury Rufo López-Fresquet announced that the Cuban state was literally awash in cash: its new annual budget had reached \$600 million.¹¹

Perhaps not surprisingly, Fidel Castro and other top leaders came to view middle-class Cubans' role in facilitating socially transformative projects with increasing contempt. They drew this conclusion during the closing months of 1959 just as a coalition of U.S. intelligence agents and batistiano exiles increased the number of violent assaults they launched on Cuba from bases in Florida. Apparently, leaders became convinced that the anti-Communist, socially democratic, and pro-capitalist aspirations of the middle class severely limited the state's ability to crush the counterrevolution, silence potential rivals to Fidel's leadership, and impede the efforts of the United States to intervene in the revolutionary process as it had done so many times before.

In fact, by December 1959, the enthusiastic activism of middle-class organizations, often affiliated with the Catholic Church, gave revolutionary leaders ample reason to be concerned: their monopoly on power and credit for producing dramatic social change was coming to an end. Not only had Catholics joined Christians of other sects, Masons, and Jews to form an "anti-Communist and anti-capitalist" civic movement modeled after Latin America's Christian Demo-

8. Rufo López-Fresquet, *My 14 Months with Castro* (New York: World Publishing Co., 1966), 97; Regino Martín, "Construye el INAV: Casas para todos," *Carteles*, 9 Aug. 1959, p. 59.

9. López-Fresquet, *My 14 Months with Castro*, 85–87, 98–99; "Ministerio de Hacienda: Honradez con honradez se paga," *Revolución Anuario* 1960, 11–12; "Informe al pueblo: Colecta de la libertad: \$2,111,628,94," *Bohemia*, 5 July 1959, pp. 74–77.

10. Antonio Nuñez Jiménez, "Dos años de reforma agraria," *Bohemia*, 8 May 1961, p. 37; and "Llamamiento a las clases económicas para el engrandecimiento de la escuela rural cubana," *Carteles*, 4 Oct. 1959, pp. 40–41.

11. "Ministerio de Hacienda."

cratic Parties, but progressive Catholic activists were also competing aggressively with state agencies in the distribution of clothing, food, and health care among slum dwellers and the rural poor.¹² Moreover, in November 1959, Juventud Católica organized its own mass demonstration in honor of Cuba's national patron, the Virgin of Charity, and its first (and last) National Catholic Congress. Although Juventud Católica counted a national membership of only 10 thousand men and 14 thousand women, observers estimated that at least 1 million Catholics participated in the congress and attended the religious mass/rally held in Havana's Plaza Cívica, the primary visual stronghold of Fidel's power to draw crowds of (previously) unparalleled size.¹³ According to Javier Arzuaga, a Franciscan priest who presided on the altar-stage, the sight of a million Catholics chanting "¡Caridad, Caridad, Caridad!" and the fact that Arzuaga refused to silence them so annoyed Fidel that he quickly decided to leave.¹⁴ Events like these revitalized formal participation in religious life as churches became highly politicized sites of autonomous national consciousness.¹⁵

Thus, middle-class mobilization in favor of a socially transformative but anti-Communist and pluralist state apparently prompted Fidel Castro to adopt a highly Christian, messianic discourse and related set of Catholic-inspired rituals in 1960. Fidel's claims to represent the radical fulfillment of Christianity justified an authoritarian, pro-Communist vision whose inherent millenarianism directly challenged the church's power to bring about social change. As this essay shows, the adoption of this discourse proved critical to the marginalization of middle-class activists and progressive Catholics from the revolution. More importantly, it also propelled the radicalization of the revolution's stated goals and the criteria for judging who could be included within revolutionary ranks and charged with defining and achieving such goals.

By constructing the revolution as a divinely sanctioned struggle to create

12. Gervasio G. Ruíz, "Nace una organización: Movimiento Demócrata Cristiano," *Carteles*, 10 Jan. 1960, pp. 48, 68; "Exposición del Congreso Católico," *El Mundo*, 18 Nov. 1959, p. C-8.

13. Gervasio G. Ruíz, "Una cruz gigantesca arderá sobre la Habana," *Carteles*, 22 Nov. 1959, p. 30.

14. Taped interview with Javier Arzuaga, San Juan Puerto Rico, 16 May 2008.

15. Margaret E. Crahan, "Salvation through Christ or Marx: Religion in Revolutionary Cuba," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 21, no. 1 (Feb. 1979): 161; see also "Testimony of Crahan, M. E.," *Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, Ninety-Fourth Congress, First Session, H.R. 6382* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), 274-88.

a uniquely moral society on earth, Fidel Castro actively substituted discussions of ideology with celebrations of the moral rectitude that leaders and loyal citizens shared. These celebrations effectively silenced possible questioning of the implications that many government decisions held for the future direction of the Cuban state. They also defined leaders' decisions as so innately "good" that no paradox, contradiction, or reversal of position mattered, since only "true revolutionaries" were capable of understanding the revolution's sacred meaning. Within this official *fidelista* frame, all institutions' traditional claims to moral authority and conventional vehicles for participation in the political process were equally discredited as ideological dead-ends and impediments to long-lasting change. In short, Fidel's campaign to define loyalty to the state and the state itself as the truest expressions of Christianity pushed all Cubans to choose sides long before government standoffs with the United States ensured that they would. At the same time, various currents of fidelismo emerged in response to Fidel's self-constructed myths of divinity and messianic self-sacrifice. These popularly crafted forms of fidelismo further consolidated the framework of the revolution as a moral paradigm. Yet, they also empowered the most disenfranchised Cubans, especially those of African descent, to reconceive Cuban identity itself, placing the explosively contentious legacies of slavery, poverty, and pride in blackness at its center. Thus, class interests alone account neither for the revolution's radicalization nor for the deep well of support that it tapped among marginalized sectors. Struggles over the politics of morality within the discursive field of symbols, performance, and words may have played an equally vital role.

Revolutionary Pilgrimage and the Holy War of Words

During the first six months of 1960, Fidel and other top state officials worked hard to discredit any rivals within the national media and the Catholic Church who claimed that they could uphold what Fidel called the revolution's "truth." Fidel explained that truth before hundreds of thousands of rural workers in December 1959. In this speech, Fidel acknowledged that the financial support and activism of affluent and educated Cubans had been principally responsible for the triumph of the movement against the dictator Fulgencio Batista in January of that year. But he also insisted that their past actions gave them no special influence over the state.

Many pound their breasts making themselves out to be great Christians, but they are just a bunch of scoundrels [*descarados*], because more Christian is a *guajiro* who is born poor like Jesus. [The affluent] cannot be

Christians. They have feelings only for their own egoism and they are all hypocrites. . . . They speak ill of me because I have spoken the truth. They crucified Christ for speaking the truth. I am not interested in friendship with the *suciedad* [filth], but with the *sociedad* [society] that is the people.¹⁶

In other words, the truth was that Fidel and the humblest of the revolution's supporters represented the incarnation of Jesus. They were the revolution's Chosen People, the saviors of Cuba.

Because Fidel gave this speech only a few weeks after the National Catholic Congress, he undoubtedly meant to challenge Catholic activists who had long claimed as their own both anti-Communism and the right to determine the ideological direction of the state through electoral and civic participation.¹⁷ Yet, he also directed this and all subsequent speeches in which he invoked the figure and message of Jesus Christ to the poor and working-class Cubans who made up the bulk of his live audience—in this case, the half-a-million highland peasants whom organizers had assembled to hear him. Although in 1960 Cuba had the lowest proportion (72.5 percent) of nominal Catholics in Latin America, according to a nationwide survey, Fidel's declaration that poor Cubans should compare themselves (and him) to Christ rested on a number of deeply inscribed national traditions.¹⁸ The most important of these was the secular cult of the ideas of José Martí. Equally given to self-identifying with Jesus's mission during his lifetime, the nineteenth-century ideologue had become, by 1960, Cuba's universally sanctioned messiah, the "Santo de América," whose anti-imperialist mantle and promise to found a republic "with all and for the good of all" no figure would pursue as relentlessly as Fidel Castro.¹⁹ Fidel's invocation of Christianity in defining his revolution "*para los humildes* [for the humble]" also resonated with a set of values for redefining democracy that he had articulated earlier. These values displaced "bourgeois" privileged concerns from this new definition's core.

16. Vicente Martínez, "A Cristo lo crucificaron por decir la verdad," *Carteles*, 13 Dec. 1959, p. 21.

17. For examples, see Angel del Cerro, "O Cristo o Wall Street," *Carteles*, 13 Dec. 1959, pp. 62–63, 82; Andrés Valdespino, "La ley de reforma agraria: ¿Comunismo o justicia social?" *Bohemia*, 19 July 1959, pp. 58–59, 93.

18. Crahan, "Salvation through Christ or Marx," 162.

19. Ottmar Ette, *José Martí, apóstol, poeta, revolucionario: Una historia de su recepción*, trans. Luis Carlos Henao de Brigard (Mexico City: UNAM, 1995); Lillian Guerra, *The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2005).

What were these concerns? By early 1960, fears were growing that Fidel's defiance of the United States would eventually entail an alliance with the Soviet Union and the elimination of not only individual property rights but autonomous forms of expression, education, and assembly. As early as March 1959, Fidel had predicted that such freedoms were meaningless for the 40 percent of the population that was chronically hungry, illiterate, and socially marginal.²⁰ For them, he argued, personal guarantees from leaders rather than structural, constitutional checks on the state or an independent civil society were the best way to ensure and build a truly moral democracy.²¹ Exactly one year later, growing evidence of popular belief in the incontestability of Fidel's rule and the revolution's "truth" among poor Cubans seemed to prove he was right.

That March, Fidel accused his critics of not knowing how to combat "those things [that the revolution does that] are so evidently good . . . so they invent what is unknown, then they begin to say: communism, communist. . . .they cling to the vague word, to the confusing word, which is applied to anything, which they apply to any policy. . . . But this is not a revolution of many words; this is a revolution of many deeds."²² Many Cubans agreed with Fidel: words could not account for the unprecedented miracles the revolution seemed to have wrought. For example, INAV built 10,000 homes in 1960 alone and planned to build 20,000 more in 1961.²³ If such deeds made the leaders' right to rule uncontested, it also placed the ideals that they espoused beyond the reach of mere political categories, in the realm of the sacred and unspeakable.

Testifying to this, Fidel and other leaders soon encouraged Cubans to choose sides on the "battlefield of ideas" that the revolution opened up in every sector of society. Genuine participation and influence in the structures of government, they argued, could only be achieved through its defense. Joining armed workplace militias, making pilgrimages to newly designated "holy sites" of fidelismo, and shouting down the voices of the revolution's enemies, whoever they may be—all of these actions constituted new criteria for admission to revolutionary ranks. Through them, citizens could become part of the government

20. Pérez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution*, 295–96.

21. Fidel Castro, "Democracia: Gobierno de las mayorías," in *El pensamiento de Fidel Castro*, vol. 1, part 2 (Havana: Editora Política, 1983), 393.

22. "Acuden a la palabra para confundir y dividir," *Noticias de Hoy*, 29 Mar. 1960, p. 7.

23. Francisco Baeza, "Construyen viviendas confortables para el pueblo," *Boletín Cultural* 1, no. 5 (Apr. 1960): 2–3; "Instituto Nacional de Ahorro y Viviendas (INAV): Un techo para cada cubano," *Revolución: Anuario de 1960*, 8–10; "Estas casas son trincheras contra la contrarrevolución," *Revolución*, 2 May 1960, pp. 20, 22.

and consolidate the place of "the people" in a new, improved version of direct democracy.

On January 1, 1960, Fidel Castro, Celia Sánchez, and other commanders of Fidel's original guerrilla column launched this new vision of participatory democracy with a dramatic re-enactment. Joined by a large "brigade" of male and female students who belonged to university militias, Fidel went to Oriente, where the group climbed the highest mountain, Pico Turquino, with rucksacks and rifles strapped to their backs.²⁴ Upon arriving at the summit, the group paused for pictures at the spot where Celia Sánchez's father, a wealthy doctor and landowner from Manzanillo, had erected a large bust of José Martí. Finally, Fidel ordered the entire brigade to fire their weapons "to celebrate the conquest" and teased breathless members of the troop by saying that he was ready to climb an even taller peak.²⁵

Although it represented an ascent of scarcely 2,000 meters, climbing Pico Turquino was an unusual activity in a society where mountaineering had never taken hold and where white-collar workers generally engaged in less adventurous sports, such as baseball, basketball, or volleyball. In 1960 and afterward, the ascent of the mountain functioned much like classic rites of Catholic pilgrimage to holy sites by allowing self-professed revolutionaries to enter into the life of Fidel, much as Catholic pilgrims entered the life of Jesus by literally following in his footsteps.²⁶ In ascending Pico Turquino, pilgrims emulated Fidel's supposed sufferings during the anti-Batista war in ritualistic, deliberate form.²⁷ Moreover, in making the pilgrimage to Pico Turquino, Cubans publicly recognized the enormous sacrifice Fidel had once made and performed self-imposed political "penance" for having failed to join him during the real, historic struggle against Batista.²⁸ Also like a classic Catholic pilgrimage, accounts of Fidel and other ascents of Pico Turquino invariably involved stories of personal injury acquired along the way and evidence of having achieved a state of "communitas" among

24. Antonio Nuñez Jiménez, *En marcha con Fidel*, 2nd ed. (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1998), 9–14.

25. Nuñez Jiménez, *En marcha con Fidel*, 19–20; José Pardo Llada, "De la escalinata al Turquino," *Bohemia*, 10 Jan. 1960, p. 52.

26. Glenn Bowman, "Christian Ideology and the Image of a Holy Land," in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, ed. John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (London: Routledge, 1991), 112.

27. John Eade and Michael Sallnow, "Introduction," in *Contesting the Sacred*, 4, 21, 25.

28. This discussion of penitential pilgrimage draws on concepts discussed in Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1975), 98–100.

pilgrims that temporarily inverted normal hierarchies of power.²⁹ For example, the magazine *Bohemia* noted that "Aleida, a black girl" had managed to switch roles with Fidel, becoming the very first to arrive at a key point along the route. When Aleida proudly hollered her triumph, Fidel shouted back his congratulations for beating the revolution's Comandante en Jefe at his own game.³⁰

After Fidel's New Year's Day ascent of 1960, hiking up Pico Turquino became a ritualized standard of self-purification and penitential meditation open to all Cubans who recognized the need to purge themselves of any adherence to the political values of the past. Demonstrating this, a group of architects who had formed a workplace militia made the hike up the mountain within days of Fidel's expedition. The architects added another element to the ritual: the swearing of an oath to "die for the ideals of the Revolution" before the summit's bust of Martí. Because temperatures reached just two degrees Celsius that day, only 13 out of the 140 architects managed to finish the climb. "Now more than ever, we comprehend the moral and spiritual greatness of our grand leader Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz," one of the militiamen commented to a reporter from *El Mundo*.³¹ So popular did the pilgrimage become in 1960 that the University of Havana consequently postponed final exams for law students who had joined militias so they could also go to the Sierra.³²

While such trips were supposed to be voluntary, getting a job in Cuba's Foreign Service as of 1960 required not just one but *five* pilgrimages to the top of Pico Turquino.³³ In 1961 at the first congress of la Unión de Artistas y Escritores Cubanos (UNEAC), it was even proposed that artists and writers be subject to the same requirement.³⁴ The obligatory number of hikes corresponded to the five times Fidel had ascended to the summit during the war against Batista, although Fidel admitted that the first time he did so was for "psychological" reasons: he had hoped to impress television reporters who were there to interview him.³⁵

29. Nuñez Jiménez, "Hacia el Pico Turquino," *INRA*, Feb. 1960, pp. 15–17; Pardo Llada, "De la escalinata al Turquino," 80; Victor W. Turner, "Pilgrimage and Communitas," *Studia Missionalia* 23 (1974): 305–27.

30. Pardo Llada, "De la escalinata al Turquino," 80.

31. "Recorriendo la Sierra Maestra: Solicitan arquitectos que se reconstruya Zona de La Plata," *El Mundo*, 7 Feb. 1960, p. A-5.

32. "Estiman terminada y aprobada la reforma de la Universidad," *El Mundo*, 11 Feb. 1960, p. A-12.

33. José Antonio Portuondo, "Sobre la crítica y el acercamiento recíproco de los artistas y el pueblo," in *Estética y Revolución* (Havana: Ediciones Union, 1962), 75.

34. *Ibid.*

35. "El conflicto de los diarios lo han creado las . . .," *Revolución*, 19 Jan. 1960, p. 13.

Making the trip up Pico Turquino evinced a particular interpretation of the role that citizens should play in consolidating the revolution that officials came to consider essential in the pivotal early months of 1960. It was not *dialogue* that the government sought to establish through such rituals but a dynamic of engagement with the mythic foundations of the revolutionary state, which sur-rendered one's individual will to government control in the name of national defense. Just as Catholic doctrine distinguished itself from early sects of Protestantism by advocating the need for "good deeds" as a proof of conviction, in 1960 the revolution demanded actions, not simple testimonials of belief as it had in 1959. On the other hand, a common thread linked these new rituals to activities previously established as emblematic of support in 1959, such as participation in mass rallies. All disavowed traditional political discourse and spaces for public engagement of the state on which middle- and upper-class sectors had historically relied.

By establishing these alternative practices, revolutionary leaders offered not only new vehicles and fora for political participation but instilled them with distinctive cultural values long associated with workers and peasants, not the bourgeoisie. Exerting one's body; suffering hunger, cold, or hardship; wielding weapons; even sweating and going without a bath while marching in a militia or hiking Pico Turquino suddenly became marks of honor, not shame. These discursive elevations of the everyday experiences of the poor complemented state policies that endorsed greater austerity and condemned activities associated with bourgeois decadence and moral depravity. Such policies included severe restrictions on the importation of goods like television sets and Cadillacs.³⁶ They also included preliminary efforts to rehabilitate Havana's thousands of prostitutes and putting an end to the U.S. Mafia's control over casinos. Singer Carlos Puebla chronicled the popularity of both actions in his famous song lyric of 1960, "Se acabó la diversion, llegó el Comandante y mandó a parar [The good times are over, the Commander arrived and ordered them stopped]."

The logic that inspired pilgrimages to Pico Turquino soon generated other rituals and acts of self-purification to determine inclusion in the revolution, which simultaneously undermined the need for public debate on the nature of Fidel's rule. Ironically, battles over the revolution's new emphasis on the need for actions—not words—first emerged among typographers in the national press, who called for an end to the independent ownership of their own newspapers. Given typographers' unions long association with the PSP, it is likely that some coordination among workers and Fidel Castro's new crop of uncon-

36. Pérez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution*, 320.

ditionally loyal PSP advisors was to blame. Yet, the closure of most newspapers and television stations that followed did not, on the surface, result from specific acts on the part of the Council of Ministers. On the contrary, public sanction for a decidedly deliberate and organized process of demonizing the nongovernment press enabled not only its elimination through worker takeovers but ritual celebrations of its disappearance. These celebrations quickly became fidelista sacraments of revolutionary faith.

Beginning on the day before Christmas in December 1959 and culminating in mid-February of 1960, a rash of unprecedented attacks on national newspapers swept the island, alarming journalists, editors, and subscribers alike. Without police or judicial interference of any kind, organizations supportive of the government had begun holding public burnings and symbolic "burials" of newspapers known for their anti-Communism and often critical coverage of the Cuban state. In Camagüey, women wearing the badge of Vilma Espín's recently organized Unión Revolucionaria Femenina (URF) held a public burning of *Diario de la Marina*, *Prensa Libre*, *Avance*, and *Life* magazine in the city's main plaza. On the day after Christmas in 1959, PSP leader Roberto de la Osa performed a public "burial" and mass burning of the same national dailies in San Antonio de los Baños.³⁷

These first incidents coincided with an anonymously organized campaign to prevent the public from reading certain newspapers. Four days after the first reported newspaper burning in Camagüey, *Diario de la Marina*'s staff filed charges against a young man in Corralillo whom they had caught stealing the package of that day's edition and trying to burn it. In Cienfuegos, anonymous fliers circulated around the city, urging a boycott of almost all nongovernment newspapers, including *Diario de la Marina*, *Avance*, *Crisol*, and *Prensa Libre* as well as the deeply anti-Castro foreign magazines *Time* and *Fortune*. In Bahia Honda, a cane workers' union passed a resolution prohibiting the entrance of all nongovernment newspapers in the still privately owned sugar mill where they worked.³⁸

What made these newspapers subversive in the eyes of Cuba's Communists and "true" revolutionaries? They regularly reprinted news articles from the Associated Press and other wire services in which U.S. officials denounced the revolution as increasingly Communist. For the Cuban Communist newspaper *Hoy*, the burnings were justified: as early as January 13, 1959, its editors had claimed that the anti-Communism of U.S. officials and other enemies of Cuba was the same thing as "counterrevolution." Thus, according to *Hoy*, permitting anti-Communists

37. "Palabras de Fidel," *Diario de la Marina*, 24 Jan. 1960, p. 1.

38. Ibid.

to accuse the government of being either Communist or pro-Communist in the Cuban press or elsewhere was the same thing as endorsing anti-Communism and counterrevolution.³⁹ In this sense, Cuba's own Communists echoed Fidel's position on the question of whether Cuba's government was actually pro-Communist or Communist. It was better to say nothing at all; so pure were the revolution's guiding principles that they should remain unspeakable and unspoken. To speak them was to betray the revolution's central unquestionable truth: that it was morally pure and unquestionably "good."

Throughout the month of January, incidents like December's newspaper burnings and anonymous boycotts would continue, punctuating a struggle for control over political discourse and the national press that laid bare the moral dividing line around appropriate speech that Fidel himself would draw. Critically, the burnings of newspapers coincided with an increasing number of attacks from abroad: At the height of the sugar harvest, planes piloted by batistiano exiles living in Miami had been deliberately firebombing Cuba's cane fields, regardless of whether they were privately or publicly owned. In response, editors of newspapers like the right-wing, pro-business journal *Diario de la Marina* and the center-left, heroically anti-batistiano *Prensa Libre* called on Fidel to declare as "counterrevolutionary" the burnings of *both* Cuba's sugar cane fields and Cuba's newspapers. Fidel refused. His refusal launched and tacitly endorsed a war over who had the right to control words and voices published in Cuban newspapers that ended with forcible takeovers by armed workers of all independent newspapers, radio, and television stations.

The first of these confrontations in the press occurred at the newspaper *Información* in mid-January. At the height of the conflict, both workers and editors filed charges against each other at the same police station for violating each other's constitutional right to freedom of the press. In the end, workers abandoned their insistence that editors refuse to publish any foreign wire reports and instead demanded the right to insert an editorial statement after each article with whose source or perspective they disagreed. Known as a *coletilla* (little tail), such statements soon began to pepper the pages of most major dailies, beginning with *Información*. Claiming to speak for the newspapers' graphic workers and journalists, each *coletilla* attacked the "truth" of the article it followed and indicted it for lacking "the most minimal journalistic ethics."⁴⁰

39. "Anticomunismo," *Noticias de Hoy: Hoy Domingo*, 13 Jan. 1960, p. 53. The article was probably written by Mirta Aguirre.

40. "Protesta de la prensa por el incidente de 'Información': Todos los diarios independientes se unen a la repulsa," *Diario de la Marina*, 17 Jan. 1960, pp. 1, 2-A; see also

Fidel's response to the conflict at *Información* ensured that its example would not be contained. In an interview broadcast over radio the next day, Fidel took the side of the workers, pinning blame for the conflict on editors and owners, whom he accused of participating in a secret international plan to "defame" Cuba. Publishers and editors were deliberately trying to provoke worker take-overs of their own businesses, Fidel declared, in order to make it look as if the Cuban government practiced censorship, when that charge was untrue. Evidence that freedom of the press existed lay in the fact that the revolution tolerated such anticommunist publications as *Selecciones*, the Spanish version of *Reader's Digest*. The revolution had even allowed *Avance* to publish the letters of exiled "traitors" such as Pedro Díaz Lanz, the former chief of the Revolutionary Air Force who had denounced Communist infiltration and left Cuba for Miami in May 1959.⁴¹

Fidel's remarks did not go unnoticed. Interpreting his remarks to mean that attacks on the press should be considered revolutionary acts, Cubans in the central coastal town of Caibarién inaugurated a new round of public newspaper burnings.⁴² In fact, so effective did the Cuban staff of *Selecciones* find Fidel's harsh criticism that they felt compelled to issue a lengthy apology for articles they had published in their magazine from the pages of its rival *Bohemia*. *Selecciones* staff described their own articles as an "unjust act of [discursive] aggression."⁴³ Moreover, in an apparent show of belated outrage over the publication of Díaz Lanz's letter months before, *Avance's* worker militias took over operations from its owner and editor, Jorge Zayas, the very next day.

As the grandson of former president Alfredo Zayas, Jorge Zayas had supported the 26th of July Movement ever since Fidel's then obscure guerrilla movement was ensconced in the Sierra Maestra, becoming the only newspaper in the country to stop publication during the failed general strike called by Fidel in April 1958.⁴⁴ But shortly after the fall of Batista, Zayas noticed that his correspondents refused to send him "information about happenings which were unpleasant for the government." While some were fearful of reprisals, oth-

Gregorio Ortega, *La coletilla: Una batalla por la libertad de expresión, 1959–1962* (Havana: Editora Política, 1989), 70–75, 94–96.

41. "El conflicto de los diarios lo han creado las . . .," *Revolución*, 19 Jan. 1960, p. 13.

42. "Realizada otra quema de periódicos en la ciudad de Caibarién," *Diario de la Marina*, 19 Jan. 1960, p. 1.

43. "Declaraciones del sindicato de *Selecciones* del *Reader's Digest* y de Bibliotecas de *Selecciones*," *Bohemia*, 24 Jan. 1960, p. 70.

44. "Castro Looked Good for Cuba, but . . .," *Miami Herald*, 24 Jan. 1960, p. 1.

ers "who are devoted Cuban patriots . . . censored themselves [by refusing] to report anything bad about the new revolutionary government or its administrators." Nonetheless, *Avance* took a number of risks in its coverage, reporting, for instance, that the government had imported two thousand tiny pocket tape recorders, allegedly intended for a program of domestic spying.⁴⁵

When Zayas went into exile and began publishing accounts of his experience in the *Miami Herald*, Fidel appeared on the still independently owned television station Telemundo to denounce Zayas's claims. Fidel also displayed checks in the amount of \$5,000 each that Zayas had supposedly received from Batista and accused Zayas of now being on the payroll of the Miami right wing.⁴⁶ Subsequently, the PSP's *Hoy* and the 26th of July Movement's *Revolución* echoed one another in confirming the idea that *Avance*'s renewed commitment to serve the government exclusively was a victory for a new kind of freedom. "'Freedom of the Press,' for what and for whom?" *Hoy* asked. Freedom, as the "magnates" of the press defined it, had previously existed only "for the use and convenience of the enemies of the Cuban Revolution."⁴⁷ *Avance*'s new worker-editors themselves claimed that just because they supported the government on every issue did not mean that they were government controlled. Rather, it meant that they were on the side of the revolution that "supported the humble ones and that rescued national sovereignty, civic freedoms, and respect for human rights."⁴⁸

These events soon inspired *Revolución* to suggest that *Prensa Libre* surrender control to its workers as well. Sarcastically attacking its supposedly self-righteous family owners as "The Holy Family," *Revolución* announced that two simple lessons should be learned. First, "that all those news agencies [that publish wire reports from abroad] are the enemies of the Revolution." Rather than letting readers evaluate the reports for themselves, "suppressing [the reports] or simply commenting on them would suffice," *Revolución* contended. A second lesson was that "formerly omnipotent gentlemen who managed all the media of the country as they liked" were now no more than six or seven isolated individuals facing thousands of hostile workers who "today, unite firmly with [the whole population of] six million Cubans who are willing to die for the Patria and for the Revolution."⁴⁹

45. "Castro: The Dark Side of Cuba's Two-Faced Life," *Miami Herald*, 25 Jan. 1960, p. 1.

46. "Traidor, y además cínico y caretudo," *Revolución*, 25 Jan. 1960, p. 1.

47. "Nuestra opinion: 'Libertad de prensa' ¿para qué, para quienes?" *Noticias de Hoy*, 17 Jan. 1960, pp. 1, 11.

48. "Declaración de los compañeros de 'Avance,'" *El Mundo*, 8 May 1960, p. B-2.

49. "Zona Rebelde: La libertad de prensa de 'La Sagrada Familia,'" *Revolución*, 19 Jan. 1960, pp. 1, 2.

In launching its counterclaims, *Diario de la Marina*'s editors relied on the same discourse of self-sacrifice that official news agencies used to praise defenders of the government. Apparently convinced that their days were numbered, editors declared that the pro-government press was conspiring to kill *Diario de la Marina* for being "counterrevolutionary."⁵⁰ If *Diario* died, its editors assured readers, it would die "for faith in Christ and the Catholic Church . . . for a democratic representative government . . . for the defense of the Republic and its institutions against all totalitarian threat."⁵¹

Offering its own, still independent assessment of the turbulence, Miguel Angel de Quevedo's *Bohemia* attempted to put recent incidents in the past: "There was no doubt: a war of words had begun in the heart of the national press. And what was wrapped up in it could only bring on new conflicts: there was a divided criteria, an opposing set of criteria for understanding the national interest." While certain owners and editors could not grasp the "demoralizing effect" of publishing foreign reports, however "insulting they might be to the patriotic sensibilities of Cubans," the staff of such newspapers understood that "what was at stake was too serious and *even too sacred*" to be taken lightly by any responsible citizen.⁵²

Far from seeking to put recent events aside, however, Osvaldo Dorticós, a longtime Communist Party member whom Fidel had appointed president of Cuba the year before, announced a new front in the war against discursive subversion the day after *Bohemia* went to press. While attending a national assembly of the Colegio de Periodistas that had gathered to elect a new governing board, Dorticós clarified who would be admitted to the revolution's side. According to the organization's new director, Aníbal Maestri, only "good journalists" who would "help the revolution" had been selected as candidates.⁵³ In his speech, Dorticós refused to define freedom of the press in traditional terms, that is, as the right to criticize, evaluate, or assess events and policies independently of the government, but rather as "the right of journalists to defend the integral interests of the Cuban Revolution," that is, to support government policy. By implication, journalists who criticized the revolution did not exercise freedom of the press; they inhibited it. Against verbal and written attacks of any kind, Dorticós concluded, "the Cuban Revolution assumes and aspires to see every

50. "Por qué no morirá el DIARIO," *Diario de la Marina*, 26 Jan. 1960, p. 1.

51. Ibid.

52. "Conflicto: En la Prensa," *Bohemia*, 24 Jan. 1960, p. 71. Emphasis added.

53. "Libramos una pelea entre la Patria de Martí y la de Weyler," *Revolución*, 25 Jan. 1960, pp. 1, 2.

Cuban journalist as a rank-and-file soldier in this great struggle to diffuse our great revolutionary truth before the world."⁵⁴

By the end of May, the war of words unleashed by the bout of newspaper burnings ended abruptly. With few exceptions, all major media outlets had either been confiscated on charges of corruption by the Ministerio de Bienes Malversados (Ministry of Ill-Gotten Goods) and turned over to government-controlled hands or taken over, *Avance*-style, by typographic staff, many of whom had joined worker militias. To celebrate the sudden death of Cuba's oldest and most conservative newspaper, *Diario de la Marina*, both worker and student militias at the University of Havana organized a mass funeral procession down San Lázaro Street in which 100,000 Cubans participated. Once they arrived at the Malecón, or sea wall, a group of students, serving as pallbearers, dumped "the body" of *Diario de la Marina* into the sea. Around them, signs read, "128 years of betraying a noble people. Not one more." Staff members of *El Pitirre*, a humor magazine, even wore costumes. Ridiculing opponents of the revolution, they dressed as Nazis, U.S. spies, and individual political figures such as Aureliano Sánchez Arango, the leader of Cuba's new Christian Democratic Movement.⁵⁵ The mock funeral fused the symbolism of previous public burials of newspapers with the jubilation and spectacle of carnival. So emblematic of the revolution's radicalization did it become that the Soviet-directed and Instituto Cubano de Artes e Industrias Cinematográficas (ICAIC) co-produced film *Soy Cuba* (1964) replicated this funeral procession at the University of Havana for one of its culminating scenes.

Coinciding with the celebration of *Diario de la Marina*'s funeral, a televised speech by Fidel condemned the newspaper and all who defended it in the name of free speech. Such people, he claimed, were living accomplices of the historic crimes that *Diario*'s editors had committed decades earlier when they denounced Cuban independence and gloried in the deaths of Martí and Maceo.⁵⁶ Fidel also lamented the fact that his government had been far "too generous and tolerant" in the early days of 1959 when it should have "confiscated all newspapers which received money from the dictatorship." What was their reaction to the revolution's generosity, he asked. Ingratitude and the "job of softening up the Revolution." The demise of *Diario de la Marina*, Fidel concluded, was the begin-

54. Ibid., 2.

55. "Ratificó el pueblo su apoyo a la denuncia de la FEU. Cien mil personas en la escalinata," *Revolución*, 13 May 1960, pp. 1, 13, 17; "Instan a S. Arango a denunciar anormalidad," *El Mundo*, 18 May 1960, p. A-14.

56. "Fidel le habla al pueblo," *Obra Revolucionaria*, 14 May 1960, pp. 21-27.

ning of true freedom in Cuba. "The freedom to combat the Revolution" did not exist, said Fidel. "To combat the Revolution, to combat the country . . . to try to disunite the people to weaken it, to try to destroy the faith of the people, this is the work of fifth columnism and not a right." Finally, Fidel asked the employees of *Diario de la Marina* present in the studio audience to join him before television cameras and credited them for having engineered its takeover. Proudly, he pointed out that every single one of those responsible for the death of the newspaper wore a uniform of the National Militias.⁵⁷

The fact that even Fidel confirmed that agents armed and trained by the government had taken over *Diario de la Marina* may cast events in a different light. But regardless of whether armed coercion or simply the sheer force of Fidel's endorsement had played the primary role in generating public support for a war against the opposition press, it was clear that *Prensa Libre* and other nongovernment media would not escape the same fate.

Apparently recognizing this, editors for *Prensa Libre* decided to commit political suicide with the publication of an editorial by Luis Aguilar the day after *Diario de la Marina*'s public "funeral":

Now the time of unanimity is arriving in Cuba, a solid and impenetrable totalitarian unanimity. The same slogan will be repeated in all the organs of news. There will be no disagreeing voices, no possibility of criticism, no public refutations. . . . *But*, it is shouted, *the Patria is in danger*. Well then, if it is, let us defend it by making it unattackable both in theory and practice. Let us wield arms, but also our rights. . . . This way leads to compulsory unanimity. And then not even those who have remained silent will find shelter in their silence. For unanimity is worse than censorship. Censorship obliges us to hold our own truth silent; unanimity forces us to repeat the truth of others, even though we do not believe it.⁵⁸

On the same day that *Prensa Libre* published its suicide note, *Revolución* issued what Fidel called "the people's judgment" in equally hyperbolic terms. Anyone who defended the existence of *Diario de la Marina*, as *Prensa Libre* did, was guilty of defending the killers of the Maceos, Valeriano Weyler, the Platt Amendment, Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Trujillo, and the counterrevolution.⁵⁹

57. Ibid., 19, 21, 26, 27, 29.

58. Luis Aguilar, "Editorial," *Prensa Libre*, 13 May 1960, pp. 1, 9; also see Rolando E. Bonachea and Nelson P. Valdés, eds., *Cuba in Revolution* (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 150–52.

59. "Zona Rebelde: 'Prensa Libre' en camino de 'La Marina,'" *Revolución*, 13 May 1960, pp. 1, 6.

Replete with symbolic deaths, self-sacrifices, and carnivalesque burials, the hour of judgment was clearly at hand. By purifying themselves politically through meditation and pilgrimage as well as military training, loyal citizens prepared themselves for inclusion among the Chosen People. As the following discussion makes clear, Cubans supportive of the revolution interpreted this moment within the same millenarianist paradigm that had enabled the struggle over control of the national press. That paradigm eschewed the individual and fused citizens into a national army of selfless soldiers who shared in the righteousness and moral power of Fidel's message.

Becoming a "Moral Power" and the Generation of Citizen-Soldiers

Just as Fidel helped fight a war over words in a revolution that he declared was about deeds, not words, associating citizenship with soldiery entailed ironic efforts to silence any real-life military implications of Cuba's striking militarization. As tensions with the United States grew and internal discontent heated up by May 1960, Raúl Castro admitted that the state was training and arming hundreds of thousands of Cubans, including almost 90 thousand in Oriente Province alone. In the same speech, he also contended that Cuba was becoming "not a military power" but a "moral power."⁶⁰ Building on the idea that "actions, not words" best served the state, leaders added citizens' individual and collective attitudes to the list of elements necessary for success. As Fidel later argued, "*desmoralizadores*," those who doubted the revolution's ability to succeed, were just as much the enemy as those who criticized or attacked it. They were "cowards" who "want to destroy the combative morale of the people and raise the flag of surrender before imperialism."⁶¹ For supportive citizens, being part of this moral power meant seeing all aspects of one's personal and national life as fronts in the endless but worthy war of the revolution.

Headlines called on citizens to wage "the daily battle for productivity," "the battle against hunger and unemployment," and most of all, as Fidel argued, the constant battle against any internal or external enemy. "Revolutions need to fight, revolutions need to combat, revolutions, like armies, need to have an enemy before them always" in order to be strong.⁶² In these battles, the state

60. "Entrenamiento a 87,159 milicianos," *Información*, 11 Aug. 1960, p. 1; Raúl Castro, "En la Universidad popular," *Obra Revolucionaria*, 17 May 1960, pp. 11, 22.

61. Fidel Castro, "Cuba se mantendrá firme y victoriosa," *ANAP* 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1962): 13.

62. "Nuestra batalla de todos los días es la producción," and "Trazadas metas para ganarla batalla al hambre y desempleo," *Revolución*, 23 Jan. 1961, pp. 1, 4, 13; Fidel Castro, "Conversión de otro cuartel en escuela para el pueblo," *Obra Revolucionaria*, 28 Jan. 1961, p. 6.

identified poor Cubans who benefited from the state's construction of new homes for slum dwellers and state farm employees as automatic heroes of their everyday lives. Houses built for and by the most immiserated citizens of Cuba, declared Fidel, were "trenches against the counterrevolution" just as much as the new owners were witnesses to the revolution's goodness. "Why would the Revolution be bad? No, [the revolution is not bad] because a revolution that destroys vice cannot be bad. . . . A revolution that tries to help others cannot be bad."⁶³ To triumph, counterrevolutionary forces would have to take Cuba new house by new house, predicted Dorticós.⁶⁴ Attesting to this, the inauguration of new housing complexes were often attended by the mothers of martyrs of the revolution. INAV houses were often described in the revolutionary press as de facto monuments to the dead: the mere fact of their existence allowed occupants to honor the martyrs on a daily basis.⁶⁵

Being a moral power also meant turning Batista's former military barracks into boarding schools to train the youngest generation of revolutionaries.⁶⁶ Ironically, official pronouncements and the state press ignored the fact that the poor, often barefoot children who attended the new schools received military instruction from uniformed teachers and marched in formation for morning inspections on grounds that Batista's military had used for exactly the same purpose only two years before.⁶⁷ Militarization, nevertheless, was not the same thing because it sought anticolonial, liberationist ends. These ends were intrinsic to the logic of Fidel's moral paradigm. The military had been democratized not only to *encompass* the nation's poor, as it had in Martí and Maceo's time, but to defend their interests above all others.

Thus, for Fidel, being a moral power meant purchasing "thousands of tons" of arms, making sure that "every *miliciano* [had] an automatic weapon" and, as Che Guevara put it, keeping one's rifle always within sight.⁶⁸ So seriously did some Cubans take these ideas that it became fashionable to show one's revolu-

63. "Invitadas de honor numerosas madres de mártires," *Revolución*, 9 May 1960, p. 9.

64. "Viendo sus hechos es como se comprende la Revolución," *Revolución*, 27 July 1960, p. 3.

65. "Estas casas son trincheras contra la contrarevolución," *Revolución*, 2 May 1960, p. 22.

66. Gaspar Jorge García Gallo, "Educar: Tarea decisiva de la Revolución," *Escuela y revolución en Cuba* 1, no. 1 (Dec. 1962–Jan. 1963): 4–5.

67. "Convertido en Centro escolar el Cuartel Goicuria," *Revolución*, 2 May 1960, p. 18.

68. "Nos atrincharemos y no daremos un paso atrás," *Revolución*, 9 July 1960, pp. 1, 6; "Zona rebelde: Al trabajo con el rifle cerca," *Revolución*, 10 Nov. 1960, pp. 1, 6; "El peligro no ha pasado del todo," *Revolución*, 23 Jan. 1961, p. 4.

tionary stripes by displaying weapons on one's person, even when exclusively surrounded by other revolutionaries. "In truth there is a great profusion of revolvers and short-barreled weapons scattered around here [*por aquí regadas*]," remarked an apparently agitated Fidel while speaking to a gathering of labor delegates, most of whom arrived fully armed. "I have seen people waltzing about with a pistol, a revolver, and even a bazooka. People say that they're being dished out for nothing [*Dicen que están por la libre*]."69

Yet, with the exception of Fidel's own joke, citizen-soldiers' displays of weaponry were no laughing matter. The comic magazine *Zig-Zag* testified to how little room there was for any public criticism of the new definition of citizen when it parodied the contrast between Fidel's discursive constructions of reality and lived reality itself. Thus, in a fateful edition, *Zig-Zag* reminded readers of how Fidel had denounced the Directorio Revolucionario, an urban guerrilla group comprised of middle- and upper-class university students, for taking over the Presidential Palace during the first week after the fall of Batista. At his January 8th speech to the nation from Camp Columbia, Fidel challenged the students for refusing to turn over their weapons to the 26th of July with the famously trite phrase: "¿Armas para qué? [Weapons, what for?]" Months later, as thousands of uniformed citizens and newly recruited soldiers toting pistols and automatic weapons began to fill the capital, *Zig-Zag* published a full-page color caricature of a Havana street corner packed with people and numerous members of the Armed Forces "armed to the teeth." The image appeared below the headline "¿Armas para qué?"70 Needless to say, Fidel and other officials were not amused. Temporarily forced out of business when Fidel called on readers to boycott the newspaper as "counterrevolutionary," *Zig-Zag* quickly shut down altogether.71 Incredibly, a publication of political satire that had managed to survive 25 years of republican life defined by dictators could not survive the "censor-free" era of freedom as defined by Fidel Castro.

Ostensibly, this message of everyday militancy and the invitation to defend a now fully independent Cuba found great resonance among historically disenfranchised Cubans, particularly the descendants of slaves who had once made

69. "No hay que dormirse sobre los cohetes . . .," *Revolución*, 9 Nov. 1960, p. 6.

70. Abelardo Iglesias, *Revolución y dictadura en Cuba* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Reconstruir, 1963), 42.

71. Ibid. Writing nearly 40 years later, César Leante also cites the case of *Zig-Zag* and describes the effects of Fidel's call for a boycott, although the nature of the caricature described is different and definitively less problematic. See *Revive, historia: Anatomía del castrismo* (Madrid: Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 1999), 175–76.

up the bulk of Cuba's first anticolonial liberationist army in the nineteenth century. Pro-revolutionary intellectuals captured the essence of the most fervent current of popular support for the revolution, defining it as a special form of fidelismo peculiar to the self-consciously "black" sector. Although a product of the moralizing discourse and militarizing context of 1960, black fidelismo broke with official versions and perhaps those espoused by working-class whites and many mulattoes. Dubbed "Revolución con pachanga," black Cubans' expressions of revolutionary faith refuted the Catholic code of moral redemption that Fidel espoused and turned inward to celebrate African-derived beliefs and earlier strategies of self-liberation that, for them, the state simply mimicked or enriched, but did not invent. According to the black fidelista paradigm of revolution, Fidel was not a messiah but a long-sought ally and secret admirer of black Cubans' centuries' long struggle for radical change.

Revolución con Pachanga: Black Fidelismo and Encoded Meanings of Change

As Carlos Franqui later explained, *Revolución con pachanga* meant playing the Communist Internationale to the rhythm of a conga, interpreting state socialism and the people's ownership of all from a "tropical, Cuban, and black perspective."⁷² But it was also much more than that. Walterio Carbonell had been one of Cuba's rising black intellectuals in the historic Communist Party until 1953, when he dissented from the PSP's official line by supporting Fidel Castro's attack on the Moncada Barracks, officially proclaimed a "putsch" by the PSP for years.⁷³ In a book he wrote during the closing months of 1960 and dedicated to Fidel, Carbonell refined and attempted to explain the commonly held view that the revolution held special appeal for blacks. According to Carbonell, blacks and blackness were not only responsible for the revolution's success, but the black experience of opposing colonialism and slavery at every turn made black cultural codes and consciousness indispensable to Fidel's more radical 1960 vision:

The Revolution has managed to transform the structures of the country without great obstacles of tradition, manners and lifestyle . . . because the Cuban pueblo have assimilated important aspects of the African psychology. . . . It is for this reason that we say "Revolución y pachanga"

72. Carlos Franqui, *Retrato de familia con Fidel* (Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, 1981), 214.

73. Carlos Moore, *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa* (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, Univ. of California, 1988), 35–36, 308.

instead of "Revolución y Santiago" [echoing the Spanish conquistadors' battle cry]. Africa has facilitated the triumph of the social transformation of the country. This does not mean that Spain has disappeared. Spain has been Africanized.⁷⁴

Thus, argued Carbonell, the great historic, cataclysmic nightmare of Cuba's nineteenth-century white slave-owning elite had finally come true: the revolution had turned the world upside down, just as early independence struggles and leaders like Antonio Maceo had long promised. As Fidel often said, "los humildes"—the humble, if not the meek—would now inherit the earth. However, for many blacks like Carbonell, the everyday culture and practice of Revolución con pachanga generated an alternative narrative for explaining and justifying radical socialist revolution. This narrative did not so much contradict as surpass in clear ideological terms the state's official metanarrative of morality and messianic incontestability. Moreover, like Carbonell's book, black fidelistas' alternative narrative placed the agency of the masses and a "blackened" national identity at the center of the revolutionary process.

Dramatic testimony of belief in this form of fidelismo could be found in the conga lyrics that members of the crowd in Cuba's mass rallies sang out in spontaneous (and not necessarily welcome) response to various parts of Fidel's speeches in the first days of 1961. Unlike the standard slogans promoted by the leaders of the Armed Forces, state militias, the Asociación de Jóvenes Rebeldes, or the newly organized Federación de Mujeres Cubanas, these lyrics were as irreverent as they were refreshingly honest. As conga singers recognized, pragmatic political calculations rather than high ideals explained the faith of the most loyal masses:

Si la' cosa' de Fidel
son cosa' de comunista
que me pongan en la lista
qu'estoy de acuerdo con él . . .
Los rusos nos dan,
los yanquis nos quitan,
por eso nosotros
estamos con Nikita.⁷⁵

74. Walterio Carbonell, *Crítica: Cómo surgió la cultura nacional* (Havana: Ediciones Yaka, 1961), 30, see also 36–42.

75. "If the thing with Fidel is the stuff of a Communist, then sign me up because I agree with him . . . The Russians give it to us, the Yankees take it away, for that reason,

Within the world of the conga, the source of Fidel's appeal was not moral righteousness but outrage over being told what to do by U.S. imperialists, an affront that singers in the conga line saw as tantamount to national re-enslavement.

Somo' socialista
 pa'lante pa'lante
 y al que no le guste
 que tome un purgante.
 Somos socialistas
 qué risa, qué risa,
 y al que no le gusta,
 que saque la visa.
 Somos socialistas
 lo dijo el comandante,
 y al que no le guste
 que pite y arranque.⁷⁶

Moreover, open endorsement of state socialism was not a source of shame or fear for those with relatively no power: it was a source of laughter. Who cared if Fidel himself had said the opposite for so long? Who cared if unreliable white officers of Fidel's army were serving jail time for questioning Fidel's word and denouncing Communist infiltrators? The concerns of many middle-class and educated Cubans were not concerns at all. Within the cultural codes of survival established by slaves, those who engaged in the art of public deception in order to elude the scrutiny of white masters deserved applause and admiration, not disdain or condemnation. For Cubans who participated in this historically inscribed system of beliefs, Fidel had not only tricked those they perceived as the imperial master class and its white Cuban lackeys, but he was getting away with it!

Further evidence that a slavery- and race-based interpretive code lay behind these Cubans' interpretation of fidelismo emerges in the many myths

we like Nikita [Krushchev]." Sol Arguedas, *Cuba no es una isla* (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1961), 62–63.

76. "We are socialists / onward, onward / and may he who doesn't like it / take a laxative. / We are socialists / what a laugh, what a laugh / and may he who doesn't like it / take out a visa. / We are socialists / the Comandante said so / and may he who doesn't like it / honk and start his motor." Ibid., 63–64, 70.

about Fidel's supposedly secret veneration of Santería deities and other African-descended practices since the start of the revolution. For example, in an interview conducted in the early 1990s, an elderly *santera* explained that Fidel's power was the result of a three-day ceremony that had ritually linked him to Ifá, the Yoruba god of divination, in the 1950s.⁷⁷ Others claimed that Fidel's victory at Playa Girón in April of 1961 and his general ability to evade his enemies in the early 1960s could be attributed to his relationship with Obatalá, the creator deity. Believers in Santería made this association on January 8, 1959, when Fidel released two white doves during his first victory speech to the nation. While many Catholics interpreted the fact that the doves stayed perched on Fidel's shoulder and podium as a miraculous anointment of the Holy Spirit, Santería believers thought that Fidel was deliberately invoking Obatalá. Indeed, for them, the fact that the doves stayed where they were was not a miracle at all but the rational result of training.⁷⁸ More miraculous was Fidel's repeated reliance on white doves at subsequent public ceremonies throughout 1959.⁷⁹ Although it is hardly likely that the Jesuit-educated Fidel was even remotely aware of a coincidence between his actions and Santería, many practitioners came to believe that Fidel was sending them secret messages about his African-derived beliefs.

While santeros were divided as to the veracity of rumors that Fidel himself was a practitioner of Santería, many alleged that the 26th of July Movement's deliberate invocation of certain Yoruba gods through symbols and ritual was undeniable. Aside from the use of the white doves, the simple block colors of the movement's flag seemed testament enough. As one santero explained in 1994, "When we see the red and black of the 26th of July we associate it with the colors of Eleguá, and because of this we say Fidel is a child of Eleguá."⁸⁰ A trickster divinity who resides at the crossroads, Eleguá often takes the form of a child and so, an elderly santera remarked, the first thing that children of Eleguá do when they have a problem is to hold a party for their own children. Fidel's propensity to resolve major international challenges by having "a party" for citizens showed his reliance on this tradition. Called *ebo* or, most commonly in Cuba, *pachanga*, holding a party is considered a sacrifice or ritual cleansing.⁸¹

77. Ivor L. Miller, "Religious Symbolism in Cuban Political Performance," *Drama Review* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 37.

78. *Ibid.*, 38.

79. See Lillian Guerra, *Visions of Power: Revolution and Redemption in Cuba, 1956–1971*, manuscript in progress.

80. *Ibid.*, 39.

81. *Ibid.*

Clearly then, some proponents of the Revolución con pachanga version of fidelismo considered Fidel a trickster figure or the self-declared son of a creator god. However, as Alejandro de la Fuente has shown for the post-1960 revolutionary process, religious beliefs were not the sole inspiration for the idea that his actions and policies were truly miraculous. The automatic desegregation that came with state ownership of schools and businesses combined with a number of state policies to successfully attack the institutional mechanisms that allowed racial discrimination to persist.⁸² However, in 1960, such changes had not yet taken place, nor did black Cubans necessarily expect them. What many black fidelistas did seem to expect was the state's permanent commitment to the values and rites of carnival. Unlike affluent, educated, and working-class Cubans, who were mainly white, black Cubans, especially those closest to manual labor, cane cutting, or the memories of slavery, believed that they had relatively little to prove. If the poor were automatic heroes of their daily lives, blacks were automatic heroes of national history. Beginning in 1960, the government echoed this view.

For example, when the French cargo ship *La Coubre*, loaded with 76 tons of ammunition that the Cuban government had purchased in Belgium, exploded on March 4, 1960, producing hundreds of casualties and 41 deaths, INRA, Cuba's most powerful state agency headed by Fidel, commemorated the sacrifice in a curious way. In the opening pages of its official magazine, INRA published two side-by-side photographs of carnival and the scenes of destruction wreaked by the explosion. Accompanying the image of carnival, a heading read: "This is how Cuba wants to live," while another heading, referring to the remains of *La Coubre* printed on the same page, read: "This is how they want Cuba to live."⁸³

In like fashion, the government's approach to what it called "La Zafra del Pueblo [The People's Harvest]" in 1960 typified its commitment to turning the world upside down in ways more overtly connected to race and slavery. Beginning in the winter of that year, images of educated, urban, white Cubans harvesting sugar cane could be found across the state-controlled media. Challenging historically embedded beliefs that racialized manual labor and associated cane-cutting with slavery, the state-owned press launched a campaign to link sugar, the central icon of Cuba's past and present economic realities, with whiteness, wealth, and erudition. University students, foreign and national, as

82. Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2001), 271–85.

83. INRA, Mar. 1960, inside cover image.

well as housewives dressed more for a garden party than for cutting cane, were recruited and photographed in the field.⁸⁴

In an environment that officially eschewed wealth and bourgeois values, responding to the call to cut cane also symbolized a collective act of white contrition for past privilege and socioeconomic wrongs from which, directly or indirectly, most whites had benefitted. In fact, those with nothing to prove—that is, Cuba's traditional and mostly black, male cane cutters—generally do not appear in press pictures of cane harvesting, voluntary or otherwise, until the socioeconomic crisis produced by state mismanagement and active resistance to socialism prompted a return to professional cane cutting in 1965. However, by 1961, Cuba's revolutionary leadership also began a yearly ritual of cutting cane before cameras. In this way, they symbolically inverted their own social roles as powerful and, with one exception, *white* rulers. Pictures of the occasion show a corpulent Prime Minister Fidel Castro, the normally dapper President Osvaldo Dorticós, and Foreign Minister Raúl Roa, still wearing his characteristic wool sweater, all cutting sugar cane under Cuba's broiling sun.⁸⁵

Furthermore, using desperately poor turned passionately grateful white faces in revolutionary articles and books dignified blacks by silencing already prominent stereotypes.⁸⁶ With this in mind, *Bohemia* ran an article called "Anatomy of a People's Farm." While the only black man in the article was an electrician, poor whites in the article included a woman described as having "eight children, eight teeth and two grandchildren," a male tractor driver who aspired to become an engineer, and another smiling, blue-eyed white man who "could have been a *latifundista*" but who chose to surrender his farm to his workers, thanks to the moral revelation he witnessed in the revolution.⁸⁷ Similarly, reports on the razing of a racially diverse Marianao squatter village known as Los Quemados and the building of a new housing complex depicted black builders and a sharply dressed black female social worker in strikingly active poses. By contrast, white residents, described as being filled with parasites, having no

84. Arturo Acevedo Avalos, "Visitantes extranjeros ¡están con nosotros!" *INRA*, Apr. 1960, pp. 34–37; inside cover image of *Mujeres*, 1 Feb. 1962; and back cover image of *Romances*, Nov. 1962.

85. "Unidos el pueblo y sus líderes en la gran área de la producción," *INRA*, Mar. 1961, pp. 50–54.

86. See Lisandro Otero's photographic essay in *Cuba: Zona de desarrollo agrario* (Havana: Ediciones R, 1960).

87. José R. González Regueral, "San Francisco: Anatomía de una granja del pueblo," *Bohemia*, 21 May 1961, pp. 19–21.

furniture, and “living alone with God and the Virgin [Mary]” played the role of passive victims.⁸⁸

Whether the purpose behind this style of writing was to challenge white assumptions or appeal to blacks, residents of Los Quemados voiced pride in their slum origins, not shame. In interviews with the state press, black slum dwellers made a point of insisting that they had learned self-reliance on their own, not from the state or the Ministry of Social Welfare. For example, an elderly black man emphasized his role as a pioneer who cleared the area of brush and built the first *bohío* (shack). “Soon [after I settled here] the area gained a population, people arrived from all around,” he said smiling, “[See,] I carried out my own agrarian reform without even being the owner of these lands!”⁸⁹

The power of these press images and interviews resided in their inversion of traditional roles for whites and blacks in society. By depicting whites rather than blacks as the source of ignorance, filth, and underdevelopment, the press anticipated racist complaints that blacks were the greater burden and put the focus on whites—both the poor whites who needed material rescue and the affluent whites who needed spiritual transformation. For this reason, stories of the living conditions of children before and after the revolution were more likely to show hungry, dirty, and Swedish-looking blondes than blacks.⁹⁰ While the bodies of poor whites became objects in need of change and witnesses to the revolution’s beneficent effects, blacks frequently emerged as agents and protectors of the revolution itself, presented as more pure (and perhaps even more Cuban) than many whites.

Indeed, in the coming months, state officials would go so far as to invite the normally secret and historically criminalized society of the Abakuá to participate in public commemorations of earlier nineteenth-century struggles for Cuban independence.⁹¹ Called *ñañigos*, the Abakuá had been repeatedly judged to be cannibalistic child killers by Cuba’s press and courts from colonial times through the 1950s. Suddenly, however, in 1960 Fidel’s government began to credit the Abakuá for taking “revolutionary action” in the 1815 Aponte Rebellion, the Escalera Conspiracy of 1844, and the three inde-

88. Vicente Rodríguez, “Los Quemados: Un tugurio más que la Revolución echa abajo,” *INRA*, Aug. 1960, pp. 70–75.

89. Rodríguez, “Los Quemados,” 72.

90. “La lucha por la democratización de la educación en América Latina,” *Escuela y Revolución*, Dec. 1962–Jan. 1963, p. 65.

91. For example, see “Rindió el pueblo calido homenaje a los mártires,” *Revolución*, 28 Nov. 1960, p. 2, or any 1960 edition of *INRA*.

pendence wars of 1868, 1881, and 1895.⁹² Not surprisingly, many blacks concluded that for Fidel, black consciousness and black pride proved central to Cuba's revolutionary redemption.

Such views entailed an official revision of Cuban history that was as peculiar to 1960 as it was ephemeral: peculiar because it revealed the relative openness that characterized the millenarian movement of militarized democracy that the revolution was becoming in these months; ephemeral because by 1961, the consolidation of the state's official commitment to Communism and integration of the historic leaders of the Communist Party made autonomous, consciously black interpretations of the revolution largely heretical. Indeed, by the end of 1961, Walterio Carbonell's intellectual treatise on *Revolución con pachanga* soon qualified as the Communist state's first victim. Not only did his book disappear from stores and libraries, but it was not again made available in Cuba until 2005, when Eliades Acosta, the director of Cuba's Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, authorized the release of a scanned version of the book online.⁹³ By the late 1960s, Carbonell himself, expelled once before in 1953 for defying the PSP's officially hostile position toward Fidel Castro, would find himself excommunicated again along with other black intellectuals (such as Nicolás Guillén Landrian) by the revolution's Communist Party.⁹⁴ Reasons for this post-1960 marginalization of pachanga-style fidelismo have to do with the consolidation of Fidel's Christian-derived moral paradigm in the closing months of 1960 and the hardening of principles and criteria for inclusion among citizens that it soon implied.

Fidelismo as ■ Cultural Religion: Oath-Taking Ceremonies, Nationalizations, and the Revolution as Divine Prophecy

In the summer of 1960, new decrees issued and written by Fidel himself authorized the rapid series of nationalizations that gave the Cuban state control over the banking system, railroads, ports, airlines, department stores, hotels, casinos, bars, cafeterías, restaurants, and most movie houses.⁹⁵ To guard these properties from former owners and ensure high production levels among workers, the gov-

92. Ibid.

93. Walterio Carbonell, *Como surgió la cultura nacional* (Havana: Ediciones Bachiller Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, 2005). As of 2008, the Biblioteca Nacional had removed Carbonell's book from its Web site.

94. Moore, *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa*, 306–12.

95. Boorstein, *The Economic Transformation of Cuba*, 32.

ernment developed a special elite class of militias. Composed entirely of young people ranging in age from 12 to 17, the Asociación de Jóvenes Rebeldes (AJR) included former members of the Communist Party's youth group and individuals selected on the basis of their commitment to volunteer labor in cooperatives, factories, and other work sites.⁹⁶ It also included four hundred out of an estimated ten thousand female slum dwellers, many of whom had probably been prostitutes, who were trained for "revolutionary work."⁹⁷ The presence of the AJR at work sites and newly nationalized businesses signaled a startling shift in the organization of power in society; despite their guns, many "Young Rebels" were nothing more than adolescent boys.⁹⁸

To celebrate the successful takeover of U.S. industries and demonstrate "support for the revolutionary government," Fidel read the law of nationalization live on television before a crowd of euphoric Cubans and even released a number of doves, which, predictably, posed on the podium for the duration of the speech.⁹⁹ His speech launched a nationwide "Week of Popular Jubilation [La Semana de Júbilo Popular]." Days of street celebrations in Havana included a massive "funeral procession" of coffins representing the various U.S. monopolies, which mimicked the earlier "mourning" of *Diario de la Marina* as well as public ceremonies in which the names of hated U.S. businesses were scraped away from building façades and floors.¹⁰⁰ Clearly, citizens' massive displays of Revolución con pachanga during the Week of Popular Jubilation revealed the euphoria with which the revolution's Chosen People hailed the ever-expanding terrain of change.

It also initiated the mass alienation and eventual exodus of formerly supportive sectors of the non-property-owning middle class, particularly doctors, lawyers, and teachers. However, rebellion rather than resignation characterized reactions at Cuba's flagship university in Havana when state officials suddenly issued a proposal for the "reform" of the university system. It featured a repeal of the university's constitutionally guaranteed right to political autonomy: from that point on, selection of the chancellor, promotion of faculty, and the content of the curriculum would not be determined by faculty and students, as the law required, but by Fidel's advisors behind the closed doors of the Council of Min-

96. Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, "Trabajo, estudio y fusil," *Boletín Cultural*, Jan.-Feb. 1961, p. 6.

97. Ibid.; "Confraternidad estudiantil," *Revolución*, 11 Nov. 1960, p. 10.

98. See photographs, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, "Trabajo, estudio y fusil."

99. "Respuesta a la agresión. ¡Se llamaban!" *INRA*, Sept. 1960, pp. 4-7.

100. "Solemne juramento ante la Patria," *INRA*, Sept. 1960, pp. 14-15.

isters.¹⁰¹ For many, the choice to endorse revolutionary reform was no choice at all. Two-thirds of faculty members at the University of Havana repudiated the government's plan and insisted on respect for the university's long-fought struggle to gain its autonomy. As a result, they all lost their jobs.¹⁰² The standoff represented a turning point in official constructions of the revolution as a moral paradigm and articulation of criteria for admission to its "true" ranks. The reason that these scholars' defiance carried such weight was that it coincided with a general uprising against the state's moral claims on the part of the Catholic Church.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1960, Sunday mass and left-wing Catholic organizations like Juventud Obrera Católica (JOC) became regular sites of confrontation and protest. Priests and powerful bishops like Enrique Pérez Serantes, who had saved Fidel from execution after the assault on the Moncada Barracks in 1953, took full advantage of their right of public address and circulation of printed material.¹⁰³ Their influence over dissenting sectors was particularly great in this period because of the absence of other venues for critical expression and because white middle-class and upper-class Cubans, regardless of whether they attended mass regularly, were disproportionately represented in Catholic private schools.¹⁰⁴

Undoubtedly, many nominal Catholics of all classes espoused a nondoc-trinal form of the faith mixed with or defined by the African-derived beliefs of Santería. However, this did not necessarily imply alienation from Catholic institutions' critical point of view. Left-wing Catholic organizations like JOC and others with demonstrated appeal among university students, such as Acción Católica, continued to operate monthly newspapers as late as October 1960. *Juventud Obrera* boasted a circulation of 50 thousand subscribers.¹⁰⁵ Judging from photographs of events in Las Villas Province, more than half of JOC's active members were black or mulatto.¹⁰⁶ Thus, in the midst of state radicaliza-

101. "A los profesores, estudiantes y empleados de la Universidad de la Habana," *Revolución*, 2 July 1959, p. 8.

102. Comisión Internacional de Juristas, *El imperio de la ley en Cuba* (Geneva: Comisión Internacional de Juristas, 1962), 272.

103. Arzobispo de Santiago de Cuba, "Por Dios y por Cuba," *Juventud Obrera*, June 1960, pp. 10, 14; "Hay persecución religiosa en las naciones comunistas," *Información*, 19 July 1960, p. A-14.

104. Crahan, "Salvation through Christ or Marx," 163; de la Fuente, *A Nation for All*, 275.

105. See *Juventud Obrera*, June 1960, p. 15.

106. See articles and photographs showing the eighth anniversary celebration of the founding of JOC in "Actividades Jocistas," *Juventud Obrera*, Apr. 1960, p. 5.

tion, Catholic activism threatened official efforts to construct a metanarrative of revolution in which morality trumped discussions of ideology on at least two grounds: first, leftist Catholic groups endorsed state socialism without Communist-style control over the economy; and second, Catholic activism appealed to a diverse cross section of working-class Cubans, especially blacks.¹⁰⁷

Attesting to the tensions and threats that these Catholics aroused, Sunday mass became an occasion for verbal confrontations, violence, and the arrest of dozens of parishioners, especially in wealthy parishes like Havana's Fifth Avenue church Jesús de Miramar, but also in middle- and working-class congregations like those of Artemisa, Bauta, Sagua la Grande, and the Cathedral in Old Havana.¹⁰⁸ For example, parishioners in Miramar broke into a shouting match at one mass. With some parishioners crying "¡Cuba sí, Rusia no!" and others yelling "¡Cuba sí! Yanquis no!" the police eventually intervened to reestablish order.¹⁰⁹

Conflicts like these paled in comparison, however, with a rash of violence that swept Havana's Cathedral and provincial parishes after all five of Cuba's archbishops issued a joint pastoral declaration to be read at all parishes in August of 1960. Citing papal encyclicals rejecting Marxist materialism as antithetical to Christian morality, the bishops stated that the church had "nothing to fear from profound social reforms based on justice and charity." The bishops also insisted that no Catholic should be asked to silence their opposition to Communist doctrine "in the name of a poorly understood sense of civic unity."¹¹⁰

At the height of the ensuing violence, Juventud Obrera Católica claimed that identifiable members of the Communist party were responsible for carrying out coordinated assaults on worshippers. JOC further claimed that the

107. "La libertad sindical," and "Prejuicios y discriminación," *Juventud Obrera*, Apr. 1960, pp. 6, 11; "Socialismo del estado" and "Libertad económica y libertad de crítica," *Juventud Obrera*, June 1960, p. 15.

108. "En Jesús de Miramar," "El suceso de la Catedral," and "Los detenidos," *Información*, 19 July 1960, p. A-14; "Al pueblo cubano," *Juventud Obrera*, Sept. 1960, p. 2. Although most priests in Cuba were actually Spanish-born, they could be found ministering to groups on both sides of the revolutionary divide: some were loyalists of the socialist Spanish Republic who escaped to Cuba in order to avoid execution, and others were fascist supporters of Franco's Spain. This factor undoubtedly fanned the flames of moral righteousness among politicized Cubans, inadvertently lending greater weight to the revolution as a moral crusade. For an example of a socialist priest who had escaped to Cuba, see Carlos M. Castañeda, "La Revolución no es comunista, ni en sus leyes, ni en sus métodos," *Bohemia*, 10 Jan. 1960, pp. 60-61, 80.

109. "En Jesús de Miramar," *Información*, 19 July 1960, p. A-14.

110. "Declaraciones del episcopado cubano," *Juventud Obrera*, Sept. 1960, p. 9.

Communists' purpose was to discredit the church, whose continuing autonomy from the state made it a threat to the monopoly of influence over public discourse and space that the Communists sought. This fact alone made the church a site for counterrevolution.¹¹¹

The government's answer to JOC's accusations, the general Catholic mobilization, and the simultaneous defiance of university professors was twofold. First, the government immediately engaged individual Catholic priests in rituals of prayer for the revolution and projected their image as the true disciples of Fidel. Second, state leaders introduced national oath-taking ceremonies for penitent "professionals and technical experts" that competed with Catholic sacraments of baptism and confession in both content and form. In each case, President Dorticós and the Spanish socialist priest Father Germán Lence González presided over the events that inaugurated a national campaign.

The first of these events took the form of a mass rally in front of the Presidential Palace, followed by Monsignor Evelio Díaz Cía and Father Lence's celebration of a Catholic mass "to give thanks for the health of Premier Dr. Fidel Castro" in the municipal Amphitheatre of Havana. According to *Información*, the mass was packed with thousands of worshippers, including hundreds of militia members.¹¹² At the same time, Fidel himself delivered a Catholic-style homily before the national meeting of state sugar cane cooperatives. His speech defined the work of the revolution as the work of Jesus Christ and denounced Catholic critics as the enemies of Christ. Amid cane workers' shouts of "¡Paredón! Paredón! [to the execution wall]" for the "counterrevolutionaries" whom Fidel accused of filling certain churches, he continued:

The Revolution was not made to fight priests . . . [nor] to fight churches; the Revolution was made to fight crime, to fight exploitation, oppression, and *entreguismo* [surrenderism]. The Revolution has always understood that its kingdom is the kingdom of this world. . . . [Those] whom Christ called pharisees because they never stood up for a social truth, because they never stood up to protest a crime . . . they took their picture with the Tyrant, they baptized the children of the Tyrant while the sons of the people . . . were being killed, were being tortured. Pharisees, pharisees are they who were insensitive to the pain of the humble people, to the pain of the poor people. . . . To betray the poor is to betray Christ! To serve the rich is to betray Christ! To serve imperialism is to betray Christ! . . .

111. "Al pueblo cubano," *Juventud Obrera*, Sept. 1960, p. 2.

112. "La misa del anfiteatro: En acción," *Información*, 17 Aug. 1960, pp. A-1, A-14.

whoever condemns a revolution like this one betrays Christ and declares himself capable of crucifying that very Christ once again.¹¹³

With these words, Fidel clarified the doctrine of fidelismo as the people's new religion and asserted the revolutionary state's monopoly on morality. Firmly rooted in the attitudes, activities, and consciousness that all Cubans should have, fidelismo thus came to encompass a new interpretation of the Gospels and Jesus Christ's life as a forerunner and prophecy of the Cuban Revolution. The day that the mass oath-taking of professionals took place, thousands crowded onto the steps of the university and surrounding streets, although not all participants were actually professionals; most, it seems, were workers and militia-men.¹¹⁴ "What matters and interests us [now] are those who stay [in Cuba]," exclaimed Dorticós. "For those who stay the Patria is made and with those who stay—who are more in number—the Patria is made!" Those who "deserted" the Patria, however, deserved "the worst kind of punishment . . . the unanimous decision of the people to impede their return."¹¹⁵ Implying that professionals should feel guilty for belonging to the wrong generation, Dorticós claimed that those who graduated before the revolution now had "to improve ourselves and put our knowledge" toward the development of the nation. Professionals did that not only through their work, but also by marching with weapons in hand at least one day a week, so that they could "graduate again, not with doctorates, but with the degree of patriot."¹¹⁶

In like fashion, the "Oath of Professionals and Technical Experts" employed a series of vows that participants affirmed out loud, one vow at a time. These included the vow to defend the sovereignty of the country and to condemn those who "make common cause with the aggressive policies of decadent imperialism" by deserting and betraying the Patria within and outside of Cuba, a sin "that will never be forgotten, nor forgiven."¹¹⁷ Following the oath, Father Lence compared the revolution's laws to the miraculous acts of Jesus's apostles

113. Fidel Castro, "Fidel ante los coordinadores de cooperativas cañeras," *Obra Revolucionaria* (11 Aug. 1960), 33–34, 36.

114. See photographs in *Revolución*, 14 Nov. 1960, p. 1; and photograph in *Obra Revolucionaria*, 19 Nov. 1960, p. 9.

115. Osvaldo Dorticós, "El Presidente les habla a los profesionarles y técnicos," in *Obra Revolucionaria*, 19 Nov. 1960, pp. 5–6. See also "Juraron ser fieles a Cuba profesionales y técnicos," in *Revolución*, 14 Nov. 1960, pp. 8, 10.

116. Dorticós, "El Presidente les habla," 6–7.

117. "Juramento de profesionales y técnicos," *Obra Revolucionaria*, 19 Nov. 1960, unpaginated.

and instructed the rich to give their wealth to Fidel just as wealthy Christians of the first century gave their money to the disciples to rescue the poor. He also declared that the only true Catholicism was that which served the revolution: "Even in the present hour those who fill our temples are not Catholics if they are used against the [true] Catholicism."¹¹⁸

Days later, Fidel sealed official fidelista doctrine regarding any continuing claims to moral authority and public influence that the Catholic Church and other nongovernmental institutions might make before thousands of students at the University of Havana. Summarizing in biblical terms the challenges that believers in the new faith now faced, Fidel declared: "You know who the pharisees and the scribes are and you know who the Antichrist is here, in this country." Interrupted by applause, he quoted New Testament scripture, "That is, [the pharisees and Antichrist are] those who do not cast their lot with the poor of this world . . . those who think that a camel can pass through the eye of a needle." Such heretics clearly were not welcome in the Cuban community of true believers, Fidel suggested; it was better for them to leave. Unable to make sacrifices and accustomed to luxurious living, they could never be part of the revolution because they would never really believe in its goals. "Yes! The hour of Final Judgment, of privilege and exploitation . . . has arrived in our country! . . . you will not find heroes among the sons of the privileged ones here."¹¹⁹ A nation of heroes, not heretics, is what the revolution needed.

Conclusion

Through a combination of coercion, negotiation, and popular conviction, official and popular currents of fidelismo replaced secular forms of nationalism over the course of 1960 to become Cuba's new cultural religion. Thus, the radicalization of the revolution that culminated in the nationalization policies of the summer and fall of 1960 not only *began* in the discursive realm of symbols and belief, but it gained popular legitimacy and took root in the consciousness of citizens through leaders' constant engagement of this discursive realm of symbols and belief. The adoption of state Communism, while still an unexpected outcome of radicalization for most Cubans (regardless of their support), should therefore be understood in a different light. The initial sacrifice of civil society and the

118. Germán Lence González, "El Padre Lence desenmascara a los falsos católicos," *Obra Revolucionaria*, 19 Nov. 1960, p. 12.

119. Fidel Castro, "Fidel Castro en la conmemoración del 27 de Noviembre," *Obra Revolucionaria*, 27 Nov. 1960, pp. 17, 11, 12.

transformation of the government into a one-party authoritarian state were not merely the result of the leaders' decree but of fidelistas' collective desires for redemption and empowerment within the moral paradigm they constructed the revolution to be. However, not all believers in the revolution believed in the official fidelismo, even if they initially expressed their faith according to state-mandated practice.

Anchored in Christian-derived concepts and rituals as well as a highly militant black cultural code of rebellion and defiance, the power of belief that fidelismo generated could be found in the landscapes and homes of Cuba for many years. In 1961, a Mexican journalist photographed three women members of a black family in the living room of their home in the highly Catholic colonial town of Trinidad: hanging on the wall behind them was a portrait of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; sitting before them on the coffee table was an eight-by-ten-inch portrait of Fidel Castro.¹²⁰ Even more striking was a chipped wall mural that African American Leroy Lucas photographed in 1965. The amateurish mural featured Fidel, el Che, and Juan Almeida dressed up as the Three Kings on their way to visit the child Jesus. However, in the mural, the child Jesus had been transformed into the island of Cuba, tucked away in a manger. Hanging in the background above them, the Star of the East featured the bearded face of Camilo Cienfuegos, his face framed by the halo of a peasant hat made from *yarey* (native cane).¹²¹

As these visual and social relics attest, it was not formal Christian believers who most associated the revolution with the coming of a new age or an earthly form of divine intervention. Grounding fidelista doctrines in the building blocks of everyday activities, language, and culture were the perceptions and experiences of Cuba's working-class and poor. Socially marginalized citizens bore personal witness to Fidel and the government's transformative powers in their everyday material and spiritual lives. Thus, the vast majority of Fidel's faithful were probably not practicing Catholics, and many believed in Santería or a less formal syncretic religion. But they were not alone. At least some middle-class Cubans put aside their fears of Communism to embrace the purity of change for reasons as much political as spiritual. As famed novelist Edmundo Desnoes recently admitted, "The revolution, for me, was an attempt to end my existence

120. Arguedas, *Cuba no es una isla*, 27.

121. Elizabeth Sutherland Martínez, *The Youngest Revolution: A Personal Report on Cuba* (New York: Dial Press, 1969), 91.

as an outsider. It was not a Marxist, materialistic pursuit, it was a Catholic, a religious quest, a search for paradise lost."¹²²

Complex in its meanings and often carnivalesque forms of expression, popular fidelismo often transcended the will, goals, and desires of revolutionary leaders. Thus, after 1960, it is not surprising that the vast majority of Cubans expected heaven on earth from the revolution. That expectation—a clear outcome of fidelismo's emergence in 1960 and the unannounced, early alliance of Cuba's Communists with Fidel—would prove increasingly difficult for leaders to fulfill.

122. Edmundo Desnoes, *Memories of Underdevelopment: A Novel from Cuba*, trans. Al Schaller (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 2004), 8.

Neighborhood Associations, Social Movements, and Populism in Brazil, 1945–1953

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The years 1945–1947 were a period of intense political debate concerning the living conditions of Brazil's urban working class, the public services and urban facilities available to workers, and the countless expectations resulting from the sacrifices working-class families had made during the war. For over a decade, Brazil had experienced a dictatorship in which popular demands were silenced with violence. The new political relationships that accompanied the legalization of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB); the activities of the Brazilian Socialist Party; and the intense disputes among the Social Progressive Party (PSP), the Brazilian Labor Party (Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro or PTB), the Social Democratic Party, and the National Democratic Union (UDN), not to mention smaller parties, reconfigured the political scenario. The intense climate of electoral dispute and the agitation caused by popular demands broadened the debate on pressing urban issues and moved it out of the realm of Parliament and the political parties and into the realm of the labor unions and neighborhood associations such as the Comitês Democráticos e Populares (CDPs) and the Sociedades Amigos de Bairro (SABs).

In each urban neighborhood a committee or a society formed, and under the influence of various political parties, these organizations became the channels for communicating demands for urban services and infrastructure. Societies and committees believed that they had the right to voice those demands. From the perspective of the popular classes, the idea of democracy and re-democratization was directly linked to issues of housing, transportation, labor, sanitation, education, health care, leisure, freedom to organize, affordable cost of living, and so on, which came to be known as the “struggle for the right to the city” (*luta pelo direito à cidade*). The popular classes sought to define the terms

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on which the discussion of such rights would take place. Who would speak in the name of workers? It was in this delicate political scenario of popular will and representation that the “populist phenomenon” consolidated itself as a defining feature of Brazilian political life.

In the last decade, discussions about populism have resurfaced in political and academic circles in Brazil and in Latin America. This seems to have been a recurring phenomenon of the last 60 years, at least in Brazil. From time to time, populism returns to haunt our political relationships and perturb academic debates. In this vein, this article has a double objective: On the one hand, it argues that no matter how harshly one may critique the concept of populism (for its tendencies toward co-optation, or for the resulting incapacity of popular classes to act autonomously), there seems to be a certain inconsistency in trying to replace the concept of populism with the (supposedly more accurate) concept of *trabalhismo*. On the other hand, the concept of populism, especially when used as an adjective to describe a particular historical period (e.g., the “populist Republic” of 1945–1964), has obscured our understanding of the connections between the so-called old and new social movements. Furthermore, the concept of populism has led to an excessively optimistic perception of the new social movements of the 1970s, and the complete neglect of associative traditions in Brazilian neighborhoods during the 40 years prior to the 1970s. When we use the term “populism,” it needs to be accompanied by a careful description of exactly what that term means. Let us see what such a description entails, based on the case of the city of São Paulo.

The Comitês Democráticos e Populares — CDPs

In April 1945, President Getúlio Vargas signed a decree that extended amnesty for all political crimes committed since July 16, 1934. A month later, the first legal rally of the PCB took place in Rio de Janeiro. The speech of the secretary-general, Luis Carlos Prestes, presented a diagnosis of the difficulties facing the population while outlining the party’s plan of action. Its immediate objective was to bring the PCB closer to the concrete situation of Brazil’s population. Consequently, the party proposed the creation of commissions in workplaces and neighborhoods, Comitês Democráticos e Populares, which would bring together all social forces and political ideologies, creating a broad national alliance.¹ The goal was to create ties between the PCB and potential voters. The

1. Moisés Vinhas, *O Partidão: A luta por um partido de massas, 1922–1974* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1982), 102, 106. The PCB had a brief period of legality between April 1945 and

CDPs were not part of a long-term organization strategy. Rather, their purpose was to provide comprehensive knowledge of the population's living conditions and, from there, develop an electoral platform focused on the specific living conditions of the working class.

It has been argued that the rapid growth of the PCB during the postwar period can be attributed to the prestige enjoyed by the USSR and sympathy for Prestes and other communist prisoners, which grew in direct proportion to the growth of pro-USSR sentiment after Germany's invasion, and to the absence of any other leftist organization that could compete with communism.² The metallurgical worker Alfredo Castanha, who was never a member of the party even though he was a loyal voter and member of the CDP in Mooca, a neighborhood in São Paulo, added another reason for the party's success: "Because the PCB fought for the worker. Everything that was good for the worker was good for the party." For metallurgical worker and Lithuanian immigrant Julius Meksenas, "it was the actions of the democratic commissions that enabled the party to have such electoral support."³

From this perspective, the PCB's success during the postwar years was due, perhaps primarily, to its insertion, via CDPs, in the poor suburban neighborhoods. In October 1945, 31 CDPs existed in São Paulo, 28 in Santos, and many others were in the process of formation. The activities of the committees varied from neighborhood to neighborhood, as did their strategies, which changed over time. According to journalist Noé Gertel, the CDP "was a form of mass organizing [because] as a political party the PCB had a difficult time connecting to the people. Thus the CDP was created and became a front—a way to unite neighborhoods, to bring people together around specific neighborhood demands, and also a way of politicizing the residents of the neighborhoods?"⁴ A CDP pamphlet that included the neighborhoods of Jardim Paulista, Itaim, and

May 1947. Getúlio Vargas came to power through the so-called "1930 Revolution." In 1937 he established the dictatorship of the Estado Novo, which aggressively persecuted Communists and other dissidents. Luis Carlos Prestes, a principal leader of the PCB at this time, was imprisoned for over ten years, and his wife, Olga Benário Prestes (a German Jew), was handed over to the Nazis.

2. Sílvio Alem, "Os trabalhadores e a redemocratização: 1942–1948" (PhD diss., UNICAMP, 1981), 187.

3. Interview with Alfredo Castanha, 6 May 1999. Interview with Julius Meksenas, 15 Apr. 1999.

4. Interview with Noé Gertel, journalist, member of the Communist Party, and CDP member of Vila Mariana, 27 Aug. 1999.

Vila Nova Conceição provides an idea of the methods and breadth of their activity: "The friends of Jardim Paulista and adjacent neighborhoods call a meeting in order to democratically deal with neighborhood issues and popular needs more generally, such as water, electricity, sewage disposal, street planning, sanitation, education and adult literacy, health centers, etc."⁵

Generally, CDPs organized around issues of neighborhood development; the struggle against economic exploitation, hoarding, the black market, and inflated prices of basic necessities; and the creation of health centers, public libraries, pharmacies, and so on. CDPs became a "peaceful instrument for resolving countless neighborhood problems."⁶ The committees spread throughout the country and initially served as a means to coordinate forces opposing the Estado Novo.⁷

For example, the neighborhood of Casa Verde, which was accessed through a narrow road and an old bridge over the Tietê River that only allowed one vehicle to pass at a time, had no sewage or water system, only backyard wells. Public transportation was also inadequate, since there were not enough trams to transport the neighborhood's 20,000 inhabitants. In the face of such problems and after several meetings, the CDP prioritized the most pressing issues for residents: the return of tramline 41; a free health clinic with a day care and milk dispensary; a nighttime literacy class for adults; piped water and a sewage disposal system; the creation of gardens and electric lighting in Praça Centenário; the paving and maintenance of the main streets that connected Casa Verde to adjacent neighborhoods; a bus route that would connect nearby neighborhoods; and public lighting in all main streets.⁸ Residents drafted a document and sent

5. A similar pamphlet circulated in the neighborhood of Vila Monumento: "Following the example of the rest of this city's neighborhoods . . . demanding improvements and other urgent necessities felt by residents. In order to facilitate the means by which the population can access culture. . . . Without distinction of class, nationality, religious credence, or political ideology, please come to the headquarters of the Vila Monumento Sports Club." Arquivo do DOPS, dossier 20-Z-56.

6. *Hoje*, 30 Oct. 1945, p. 4.

7. My discussion is primarily based on the city of São Paulo. Although there are records of CDPs existing in all Brazilian states, I only know studies related to São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro (e.g., Sara Celeste Cordeiro, "Comitês democráticos populares de bairro e o partido comunista do Brasil na cidade do Rio de Janeiro: Uma 'via de mão dupla' [1945–1947]," trabalho de conclusão de curso [graduação em História], Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2003), and Belém (e.g., Hecilda Mary Veiga, *A redemocratização em Belém 1945–1947: Os comitês democráticos e a campanha contra a fome*, Série recuperação histórica, no. 1 [Belém: Fase, 1984]).

8. *Hoje*, 16 May 1946, pp. 8–9.

signed copies to the municipal government, the sewage and water services, the electric company, and the newspaper *Hoje*. Such mobilization resulted in the creation of an adult literacy class at the committee's headquarters, which at the beginning of 1946 had 50 students enrolled.

Another example of popular mobilization was the group of residents that traveled from Ipiranga to the headquarters of the newspaper *Hoje* in March 1946. Initially, they complained about public transportation and proposed that the tram company, São Paulo Light, assign additional cars to relieve overcrowding. They called for a neighborhood health and dental clinic, as well as day care centers in factories, and protested the 100-gram limit on bread rations, which "was not even enough to fill the cavities in our teeth."⁹

The newspaper *Hoje*, the official organ of the PCB in the city of São Paulo, reveals the ambiguities of the party's activities. Clearly there was a self-promoting aspect to its reporting of CDP-related activities, which may have been described as having more force, power, and coherency than in fact they did. Certainly *Hoje's* voicing of neighborhood concerns was a way of attracting supporters to the PCB. Thus, the issues raised by the committees were presented in stories that were both accusatory and propagandistic.¹⁰ For this reason, the newspaper must be read with caution. Nevertheless, *Hoje* was the first newspaper to create a space for the discussion of living conditions in poor suburban neighborhoods during the postwar years. Other newspapers followed *Hoje's* example; the *Correio Paulistano* and the *Diário de São Paulo* also created daily columns that discussed living conditions in working-class neighborhoods.

Even though elections were the initial impulse behind the creation of the CDPs, living conditions in poor neighborhoods became their main concern, to the point that neighborhood committees outnumbered and were more active than those located in workplaces. The expansion of CDPs was directly linked to their ability to express and bring to light neighborhood anxieties and demands. This did not mean that general political preoccupations were less important, but concerns of daily life definitely mobilized residents. Consequently, CDPs seem to have oscillated between general political actions, in accord with the PCB's directives, and denunciations of the truly calamitous conditions confronted

9. *Hoje*, 17 June 1946, p. 9.

10. *Hoje* started with a daily circulation of 20,000, later reduced to 10,000. Regarding the possibilities and limitations of newspapers as primary historical sources, see Maria Helena Capelato, *Os arautos do liberalismo: Imprensa paulista 1920–1945* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1989); and Maria Helena Capelato and Maria Lígia Prado, *O bravo matutino: Imprensa e ideologia no jornal "O Estado de São Paulo"* (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1980).

by the outlying neighborhoods. This double agenda did not escape the party's leadership: "We have not always understood the nature of these organizations, which is why more than a few of them only mobilize members and sympathizers of the party, underestimating the [potential for] mobilizing local residents. . . . Those that raise general complaints and debate *high politics* have little popular support. But those who struggle for basic needs, felt by all, grow rapidly."¹¹

The committees' presence in working-class neighborhoods caught the attention of public security forces, which from the start monitored their activities. The manner in which CDPs were perceived reveals the dilemmas faced by popular organizations in the postwar era: "Created in almost all the neighborhoods of the capital and the interior of the state, they [CDPs] are nothing more than entities masked as democratic and charitable whose principal goal is to attract more sympathizers for the Muscovite creed." The report of an agent from the Delegacia de Ordem Política e Social (DOPS) suggested that the committees represented a "new and interesting phenomenon" that revealed "the intelligence of the communist *modus operandi*." Their novelty, according to the report, was to promote meetings "of general interest and with goals that will benefit the neighborhood and the people." This is why CDPs attracted "all social classes; however, the proletariat was dominant and allowed itself to be seduced by legal and social pseudo-assistance, proletarian demands, paternal advice, and other less important services, including promises of a much softer and happier life." The report ended with the observation that many "progressive bourgeois individuals" were attracted to CDPs. They not only contributed financially but were also active participants who were "convinced they were practicing acts of humanity, when in truth they were working for Soviet Russia."¹² Thus one of the dangers the CDPs presented was their heterogeneous social composition, which made more difficult the clear identification of the traditionally perceived "dangerous classes."

According to Sílvia Alem, because of the PCB's constant efforts to build cadres, over the course of 1946 the committees were transformed into para-party organizations. First, the Organizing Commission of Democratization and Popular Demands was created to regulate and discipline the CDPs. In late 1945,

11. Pedro Pomar, "Os comunistas no movimento de massa," *Informe ao Pleno da Vitória* (1945): 47. Emphasis in original.

12. Arquivos do DOPS, criminal record no. 2.431, vol. 10. The Delegacia de Ordem Política e Social (DOPS) was created in 1924 with the purpose of locating, identifying, classifying, and neutralizing so-called undesirables: in general, leftist militants, anarchists, communists, socialists, and labor union activists. It functioned until 1982.

the commission tried to organize a “national congress” of CDPs.¹³ The PCB’s goal was to direct the CDPs toward the “right” agenda. Perhaps the party felt the need to do this because, in practice, the committees tended to focus on pressing neighborhood problems while topics of interest to the party were ignored. This explains the frequent calls printed in *Hoje* during 1946 and 1947 emphasizing the committees’ party roles and PCB attempts to discipline their activities. Apparently the CDPs inadvertently articulated the ambiguity of the Communist Party. On the one hand, the PCB was a party of “order and tranquility,” an expression invoked by its leaders to describe its political strategy. On the other hand, it was a “party of the streets, the plazas, popular festivities, working-class neighborhoods, factories, and practically the only party to strongly seduce the working class and the young.”¹⁴ The party leadership saw the CDPs mainly as instruments of popular mobilization and not as social movements capable of establishing innovative practices of grassroots democracy. Paradoxically, the short life of CDPs was due to the leaders of the Communist Party.

Still, the electoral success of PCB candidates, especially during the municipal elections of 1947, was closely tied to their relationship with CDPs and, primarily, to their active role in discussing working-class living conditions. For example, in November 1947, a journalist from *Hoje* described the candidacy of communist Luiz João in the working-class neighborhood of Mooca.

The extension of the Taquari tramway line and the return of city bus number 27, as well as the rescheduling of city bus number 16, are basic necessities. The neighborhood of Mooca requests that its main streets be paved, which currently have no gutters or sidewalks and become extremely muddy on rainy days. We also need a post office and a police station. Without sufficient transportation, a post office, and effective policing, Mooca, with its large working-class population, resembles one of those abandoned towns of the interior. The children of Mooca request a playground. The population also needs hospitals, health clinics, maternity centers, and a public market to eliminate abusive commercial practices.¹⁵

13. Alem, “Os trabalhadores e a redemocratização,” 219.

14. Marco Aurélio Garcia’s description of the two Communist Parties is elaborated in Hélio da Costa, *Em busca da memória: Comissão de fábrica, partido e sindicato no pós-guerra* (São Paulo: Scritta, 1995), 6.

15. *Hoje*, 8 Nov. 1947, p. 2. All elected candidates, according to records in the DOPS archive, were prominent participants of CDPs and the subsequent SABs. Candidates tied to Mooca’s committees received one-quarter of the total votes cast. Tribunal Regional Eleitoral, box 3247.

The construction worker Luiz João was elected to the city council because he clearly expressed his concern with the problems suffered by the residents of Mooca. In that first municipal election, which occurred after the end of the war, Mooca's Communist Party presented four candidates: Alfonso Liguori, Faustina Bonimani, Antônio Donoso Vidal, and Luiz João. Of the four, only Faustina Bonimani, whose campaign was centered on textile industry workers rather than CDPs, was not elected. The nearby neighborhood of Belém elected two other council members who were connected to CDPs: Armando Pastrelli and Benedito Jofre, in addition to Orlando Piazzotto, who was elected to the state legislature.

The rapid and chaotic growth of the city, as well as the indifference of public policy, exacerbated the deterioration of urban living conditions. In confronting these issues, CDPs decided to publicize the living conditions of neighborhoods and, moreover, to pursue whatever solutions were within their reach. For example, Vila Matilde, a neighborhood of 18,000 inhabitants located next to the Central do Brasil train station, was comprised of industrial and commercial workers who lived with poor electricity, potholed streets, and inadequate transportation and schooling (each year 50 percent of the neighborhood children were unable to enroll in schools). The activities of the CDP were not limited to the simple denunciation of the abandonment and scarcity suffered by working-class neighborhoods. At the committee's urging, residents decided to begin the construction of a stairway that would lead to the train station. The first section had 26 steps, leading to a landing eight meters long; the second section had 24 steps leading to a second landing. All the construction material (cement, sand, iron, wood, and so on) was collected during a public collection drive (*a campanha das tábuas*).¹⁶

Simply publicizing neighborhood deficiencies and difficulties became a powerful resource for mobilizing people "in a world habituated to silent exploitation."¹⁷ Neighborhood issues were communicated to the public through the relationship of CDPs with newspapers (*Hoje* had a daily column, titled "Life in the Committees," that provided the latest news on the activities of groups dispersed throughout the city) and the energetic "*Hoje* commandos," groups of journalists who visited neighborhoods. According to a journalist who participated, these events

16. *Hoje*, 16 Mar. 1946, p. 5. Despite residents' initiatives and the support of the company's engineer, and even though all the necessary materials had been gathered, the railway administration prohibited the project.

17. Manuel Castels, *Cidade, democracia e socialismo: A experiência das associações de vizinhança em Madrid* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1980), 81.

were sensational; in a truck with a banner saying *Hoje* they would set up three small tables, with typewriters, two or three reporters, and they would announce that “tomorrow we will be at so and so neighborhood. . . .” The truck would spend the night driving through the neighborhood announcing this. The next day, at the arranged time, there were many people wanting to get on the truck and talk to reporters. In this way basic neighborhood needs and problems were exposed. And then, the next day, the newspaper would have spectacular sales in that neighborhood since everyone wanted to see [what was in the paper].¹⁸

The presence of *Hoje* commandos became quite an event in outlying neighborhoods. Journalists got off the trucks and circulated through the streets, interviewing inhabitants about various topics. The interviews usually began with the question: “What are the problems in your neighborhood?” The most frequent complaint was the absence of basic urban services such as electricity in homes and on the streets, hospitals, day care centers, kindergartens, public telephones, and playgrounds. Journalists were taken through “dusty streets without sidewalks and electricity.” While showing their neighborhood, people would emphasize the lack of transportation, electricity, water, schools, and medical centers. In the neighborhood of Freguesia do Ó, a resident argued: “All this needs to be done urgently for life here is intolerable. Moreover, the neighborhood’s residents have the right to demand all this since with our labor and our taxes we contribute to the enrichment of the public coffers.”¹⁹ In Vila Independência, a commando reporter walked down Rua 2 de Junho, the only way to access the neighborhood. At the end of the street he found a small bridge made out of wood, built by the residents, and, after crossing it, he found Manoel Hernandez, a resident who sharply expressed feelings shared by other neighbors: “This neighborhood is cut off from the world.”

The demands for social inclusion and for the “right to the city” (*direito à cidade*) were directly linked to the issue of improving general conditions in peripheral neighborhoods. From the perspective of the popular classes, these were the themes that summarized the process of re-democratization, progress, and development in Brazil. This combination of demands, complaints, and collective mobilization expressed poor people’s quest for “a place in the world,” which was based on the right to benefit from Brazil’s process of re-democratization. The starting point in that quest was the general observation that outlying neigh-

18. Interview with Noé Gertel, 27 Aug. 1999.

19. *Hoje*, 17 Sept. 1946, p. 6.

borhoods and their inhabitants “were not part of the city,” and by being excluded from the city’s limits (real or symbolic), they were also excluded from the world. Raimundo Guimarães, a resident of Vila Prudente, declared to a journalist from *Hoje*, “We are completely removed from civilization.”²⁰

The most unusual aspect of CDP-related activities was their outreach service. In 1946, most CDPs in São Paulo offered some kind of general education course. The most common were adult literacy and sewing classes. Other courses were also offered: industrial chemistry, accounting, office management, business English, practical English, typing, Portuguese, home economics, and Brazilian history, among others. Some CDPs offered courses for cabinet makers, builders, electricians, and mechanics. Frequent lectures and meetings addressed a variety of issues from sanitation to the engineering of traffic and from rural electrification to anti-flooding programs. In addition, the youth departments of CDPs developed diverse athletic and artistic activities: soccer, boxing, dances, and choirs. During the Christmas festivities of 1945 and 1946, committee members went through the streets collecting everything possible: toys, clothing, shoes, furniture, domestic utensils, tools, sporting goods, and food. A street or a plaza would be closed off to traffic and the event would last all day long with athletic tournaments and live performances from musicians and circus performers. Sandwiches, ice cream, and sweets were also distributed. Mooca’s CDP members entered in contact with storekeepers of the region, and during the festivities they distributed coupons for toys, shoes, and clothing at those stores. They also prepared a table with drinks and sweets for the more than three hundred who attended. Outreach activities could go even further. In the Avenida do Estado, on the Tamanduateí River, newspaper vendor Antônio Lima Santana lived in one room with his wife and six children. The room contained five beds, a small table, a closet, and a stove. Enduring a “period of bad luck,” Antônio was forced to stay in bed for some months. The landlord pressured daily for overdue rent and threatened the family with eviction. The news of Antônio’s situation reached the CDP, which responded by providing medical assistance and a lawyer.²¹

20. *Hoje*, 8 May 1947. On the “right to the city,” see Lúcio Kowarick, ed., *As lutas sociais e a cidade: São Paulo, passado e presente* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1988).

21. The examples are numerous: Vaz Gonçalves was a mechanic for the Paulista de Aníagens Company, where he received a salary that allowed him to support his wife and three children. After becoming ill, he was forced into retirement and received only 240 cruzeiros per month, which was not even enough to cover his medical costs. The CDP of Moinho Velho organized two festivals that collected 760 cruzeiros for Vaz and his family. In Água Branca, the local CDP raised 200 cruzeiros for the funeral of resident Pedro Bela Lopes. *Hoje*, 13 Oct. 1945, p. 8.

In Vila Anastácio, the CDP created a free clinic and pharmacy. Though small and poorly equipped, the clinic received patients for two hours every day. In August, responding to the high demand for medical consultations, it started operating from 10:00 a.m. to noon and from 5:00 to 9:00 p.m. Three doctors shared the work and all medical services were free. Even functioning precariously, the clinic and the pharmacy had a huge impact on the neighborhood.²²

In response to the high prices and shortages of the war years, another outreach service was the organization of consumer cooperatives. In Vila Deodoro, for example, the leaders of the local CDP negotiated with the *Cooperativa dos Trabalhadores Sindicalizados de São Paulo* to create a food distribution center in the neighborhood. Along with this initiative, the committee also organized a series of lectures by Edgar Leuenroth, a well-known anarchist activist, on the topic of "Force and Popular Solidarity."²³ Consumer cooperatives tried to help residents obtain foodstuffs that were in short supply at the officially mandated prices.

The CDPs' outreach activities were more than mere propaganda. An important aspect of these services was the resulting daily contact with the troubles of working-class neighborhoods, which in turn introduced CDP members and methods to the broader public. The language of rights was discussed in CDPs and became part of the popular class's everyday vocabulary. Neighborhood residents, it was said, "have the right to demand all that." The realities of working-class neighborhoods called into question the type of city that was being constructed and revealed the meanings of re-democratization for these "forgotten citizens at the end of the world." CDPs gave public visibility to a complex situation, which placed the simple and urgent needs of the working class on the agenda of high politics. Thus, they considerably transcended the electoral goals first imagined by the PCB leadership. As they struggled to win the minds and hearts of working-class neighborhoods, the CDPs attained a certain independence from the party's leadership and acquired a life of their own. The intense mobilization that occurred in poor neighborhoods was not an invention of the Communist Party; as stated earlier, neighborhood organizations preceded the existence of the party. But the PCB was the first party to use the committees

22. The CDP of Pinheiros also created a clinic that functioned for almost a year. *Hoje*, 18 Feb. 1946, p. 6.

23. *Hoje*, 18 Feb. 1946, p. 6. In April 1946, a "general assembly of the workers and committee members" from Casa Verde discussed the creation of a consumer cooperative in the neighborhood. A record number of people attended the meeting. The CDP purchased wholesale products in Liberdade and resold them, at a fixed price, at the CDP's headquarters.

in a systematic way to organize neighborhoods and to give these organizations, dispersed throughout the city, a common public voice through the newspaper *Hoje*. It is not surprising, therefore, that the strategy of CDPs, which acquired great visibility, was later utilized by politicians and parties of diverse ideologies. Its mobilizing potential—or, in other words, its electoral potential—had been tested and confirmed. What now remained to be done was to cut the CDPs' ties to the PCB and to empty them of political and ideological content. Beginning in 1947, this objective was attained through the *Sociedades Amigos de Bairro*.

The *Sociedades Amigos de Bairro*—SABs

SABs appeared in the political scenario before 1945, at least in the city of São Paulo, but they grew considerably after the outlawing of the PCB in May 1947. In many instances, both types of organizations (societies and committees) worked together. Moreover, there are signs of a continuous movement of members between societies and committees, though CDPs—through their links with *Hoje* and the Communist Party—displayed greater politicization and public visibility than SABs.

The emergence of SABs during the *Estado Novo* intrigued and disquieted public security forces. In February 1945, the head of DOPS's political section ordered the investigation of all neighborhood organizations in the city of São Paulo. The investigation recorded the existence of ten SABs, most of which had been created between 1942 and 1944. According to the investigator who infiltrated these organizations, "the societies did not have political or religious objectives; they limited themselves to cultural and artistic activities."²⁴ The main concern of public security forces at that time was to determine the SABs' party affiliations, since they suspected an ongoing connection with the then-illegal Communist Party. After some time and effort, the agent submitted his final report with a small note: "The individuals that comprise the board of directors of the SAB located in Tucuruvi and Vila Maria belong to the Paulista Republican Party; those in the neighborhood of Casa Verde are *pecepistas* [members of the PSP]."

The investigator concluded his report expressing his surprise at the "complete absence of members, and even sympathizers, of the Communist Party

24. Arquivos do DOPS, dossier 20-J-0-6. The agent who investigated the neighborhood of Casa Verde identified the local society's leader, Joaquim de Oliveira Lima, as a communist who had been monitored by the DOPS in the Bahian city of Feira de Santana.

in those societies.”²⁵ He also included a table indicating the profession of each director. In Tucuruvi, the president was a lawyer; the vice president, a doctor; the secretary general, a court clerk; the first secretary, a railway worker; the second secretary and the first treasurer were described as “property owners” (which in this case probably meant “small businessmen”); and the second treasurer was a dentist. The advisory council was composed of four colonels, a major, and a doctor. In Casa Verde and in Vila Maria, one finds the same pattern as in Tucuruvi: dentists, doctors, real estate agents, pharmacists, and a few workers. It seems clear that while the CDPs were in existence, SABs brought together what can be called the “middle class” of the poor suburban neighborhoods.

The greatest difficulty in understanding the history of SABs stems from the fact that, with rare exceptions, most of them led a fragmented and episodic life, being constantly created and recreated.²⁶ Only an individual case study of each society can reveal the multiple and diverse relationships between committees and societies. Everything indicates that the outlawing of the PCB in May 1947 led many members of the old committees to take refuge in societies in order to avoid persecution and continue neighborhood political activism.²⁷ Undoubtedly, the history of both organizations is intertwined. What the committees certainly accomplished was to provide the SABs with an organizational structure and a popular, politicized character. It is reasonable to assume that SABs and CDPs influenced each other, and with the illegalization of the Communist Party, SABs inherited the benefits of the huge visibility of neighborhood issues, which the party had helped develop.²⁸ As a result, from their inception, SABs,

25. Arquivos dos DOPS, dossier 20-J-0-6.

26. For this reason one must distrust the statistics concerning the creation of SABs. However, it is still useful to know that of the total SABs existent in 1970, 12.2% were formed between the end of WWII and 1955, and 87.8% appeared after 1955, as suggested by José Álvaro Moisés, “Classes populares e protesto urbano” (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 1978), 184.

27. After the outlawing of the PCB, a Comissão de Moradores de Bairro (Commission of Neighborhood Residents) emerged in Canindé requesting DOPS’s authorization to hold a rally in honor of Labor Day (May 1). The commission was the new face of the extinct CDP, which sought to stay active politically while avoiding police persecution. Eventually the commission became the Sociedade dos Amigos de Canindé. Their request was denied. According to DOPS agents, the organizers of the May 1 event were several members of labor unions in the neighborhood. Arquivos dos DOPS, criminal record no. 93.192.

28. In an interview with João Bezerra dos Santos, a textile worker and one of the leaders of the UDN in Mooca, I asked, “Did you ever participate in a SAB?” He responded, “No, never, because that was a communist organization!” Interview with João Bezerra dos Santos, 12 June 2000.

as well as CDPs, overlapped with party-line politics. Party configurations, and the disputes and conflicts among them, illuminate not only the emergence but also the trajectory of societies and committees. Party politics, and their multiple implications, are crucial for understanding the history of neighborhood associations.

The creation of SABs in Quarta Parada and Belém in July 1946, a period when local CDPs were at their peak, exemplifies the above. The catalyst for their emergence was the demand for paving, sidewalks, electricity, transportation, a children's hospital, a day care center, and a consumers' cooperative; the same needs that had been expressed by CDPs in earlier years. Father Arnaldo de Moraes Arruda, who was the main force behind the creation of Belém's SAB, described the society as follows: "The SAB brings together citizens who desire to provide services to their neighborhoods, thus providing an example to other neighborhoods that need similar organizations to serve as guardians of the people's interests. [The societies] *do not consider, however, political* or religious issues, since the best political activism and the greatest way to serve God is by bringing well-being, comfort, and tranquility to working-class homes."²⁹

Apparently the SAB was created to bypass the party-line politics of the local CDP. Nevertheless, the following year at least two SAB members were elected to the city council: Father Arnaldo (PSP) and Armando Pastrelli (Partido Social Trabalhista, Social Labor Party). Out of the nine SAB directors, three were also CDP members and had been identified by DOPS as "well-known communists," including Councilman Pastrelli.³⁰ At least in this case, there is no doubt: the creation of the SAB aimed to widen the social composition of the CDP by attracting middle-class residents and emptying local activism of leftist connotations. The broadening of the social profile of SAB members was illustrated in its public inauguration a month later. From the pulpit of the local church, Father Arnaldo appealed to residents, arguing that the present difficult moment required the unity of all. "When the ship is going down, we don't ask if the peo-

29. *Hoje*, 23 July 1946. Emphasis added. Father Arnaldo was also present at the inauguration of the SAB in Penha in 1949. The following year he was at the Second Brazilian Congress for Peace held at the Coliseum Theater, and he was chosen to represent Brazil in the Global Congress for Peace held in England in 1952. Arquivos dos DOPS, criminal record no. 106.687.

30. DOPS identified Armando Pastrelli as one of the "two organizers of the SAB in Quarta Parada and Belém, for which he served as first secretary. These and other organizations, despite their apolitical names, have communist infiltration." Along with Pastrelli, Benedito Jofre (elected councilor) and Orlando Piazzotto (elected state deputy) were also identified. Arquivos dos DOPS, criminal record no. 83.293.

ple we are saving are Catholics, Protestants, or atheists.” Questions regarding the religion or political ideologies of SAB members, he implied, were unacceptable. Toward the end of his sermon, Father Arnaldo announced that the SAB had received support from the owners of several neighborhood industrial firms. They were ready to help by donating a piece of land for the construction of a hospital where it would not be necessary to wait in line or to appeal to official patrons in order to receive medical attention.

The history of the SABs (and of neighborhood associative life in general) rested on a tense contradiction between, on the one hand, constant negotiation with public officials and political parties, and on the other, the continuing effort to constitute themselves as the voice of poor people’s interests. The independence and autonomy of neighborhood organizations was constantly blocked and impeded by party disputes and by the interests of local political officials. Amid these conflicts, neighborhood associations developed a particular way to relate to the political game, in a long-term apprenticeship of difficult negotiations.

Negotiation was the shortcut to establish clientelistic links between SABs and political parties. But it would be wrong to assume that such negotiations occurred in a top-down fashion. Had it not been firmly based in popular experiences, the idea of “giving to receive” would probably not have developed into a sophisticated bargaining tool. The profound connection between local interests and clientelistic politics can perhaps be attributed to longstanding Brazilian tradition. As Wanderley Guilherme dos Santos has suggested, poverty in Brazil is a condition associated with very high levels of aversion to risk. Poor people have a strong preference for conservative survival and organizational strategies that avoid the dangers of potential conflict. Social inequalities are so deep in Brazil that any collective action implies a high risk of loss of the status quo. Under these conditions, “the clientelistic vote is the only resource in the hands of the deprived for which the cost of failure is zero.”³¹

The difference between SABs and CDPs was the greater heterogeneity and social plurality of the former, and the manner in which the SABs made claims. Because of their ties to the Communist Party, CDPs generally sent signed petitions to branches of the municipal or state government, followed by protest marches and collective gatherings. Rallies tended to be rowdy and lively as they had a pedagogic role in mobilizing people and making them noticed. For SABs, collective mobilization was not the most important issue. The logic of clientelism made it important that benefits appear as donations from generous

31. Wanderley Guilherme dos Santos, *Horizonte do desejo: Instabilidade, fracasso coletivo e inércia social* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2006), 180.

politicians who oversaw the negotiations. Thus, through signed petitions, SABs appealed to the government always through a councilor, deputy, or political leader (regardless of political affiliation) as an intermediary.

It is not easy to map the effective improvements that can be attributed to the specific actions of SABs. Besides the societies' fragmented existence, the very nature of negotiations absorbed their demands into politicians' general efforts to respond and the parties' eventual inability, or refusal, to deliver. An exception to this pattern was the SAB of Vila Gumercindo, which in November 1992 commemorated 40 years of uninterrupted existence. The festivities lasted a week, starting on a Friday with a dance and a huge birthday cake.³² The program pamphlet, which commemorated the history of the society, listed 80 accomplishments, among them the straightening of Ipiranga Creek; the extension of the water and sewage system to all neighborhood streets; the paving of more than 40 streets; the construction of schools, playgrounds, and day care centers; the extension of garbage collection to all homes; public electricity for all streets; the establishment of a health center; the creation of bus lines; the construction of markets and plazas; the installation of public telephones; creation of a lending library; the organization of hundreds of excursions; more than six years of adult literacy courses; courses in judo, gymnastics, yoga, ballet, sewing and clothing design, English, *capoeira*, cooking, painting, knitting, and crochet; promotion of civic festivities; creation of communal vegetable plots; and others.³³

Although the conditions of being a worker and being a resident of a poor neighborhood were separate and not interchangeable, both found expression in workplace and neighborhood demands. In light of the theoretical and practical challenges posed by the complex nexus between those two conditions, the idea arose that the category of "resident" could dissolve class-based behaviors and take priority over the condition of the "worker."³⁴ Nevertheless, and contrary

32. On Saturday, musicians paraded through the neighborhood's main streets. On Sunday, a photography exhibit was inaugurated on the role of the local SAB in the history of Vila Gumercindo. An art exhibit also opened, showing the paintings made by students of the school housed in the local SAB headquarters. A literary contest titled "Neighborhood Life, A Good Life" distributed awards. A mass was celebrated and homage paid to the society's former leaders, followed by a lavish cocktail party. The celebration continued the following Thursday with a soccer game. On Saturday, the event closed with a musical trio from the Casa de Portugal. This week-long event took place at the SAB headquarter in Vila Gumercindo, which was bought using association money.

33. Commemorative pamphlet celebrating the 40th anniversary of Vila Gumercindo's SAB, 20–24.

34. "Generally workers were absent from political life when urban demands were made. . . . it was not customary for labor unions to include in their agendas issues related

to this notion, on various occasions the mobilization of workers and residents overcame such boundaries and was able to combine, in very sophisticated ways, the demands of factories and neighborhoods, principally because they were perceived as continuations of each other.

The “strike of the 300,000,” which took place in March 1953 in conjunction with the first mayoral elections in the city’s history, was of fundamental importance in structuring neighborhood mobilization. In Mooca, for example, a communal kitchen that was sponsored by the SAB was installed on Rua Javari and operated from 6:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.³⁵ In August, the SAB, the Union of Mooca Residents (União dos Moradores da Mooca), and numerous labor unions organized the first rally in favor of a price freeze, which took place at Praça São José do Belem. On September 2, the Union and Action Pact (Pacto de Unidade e Ação) organized a 24-hour strike in favor of a price freeze and higher salaries. Even though it counted on the support of labor unions, the success of the movement also depended on neighborhood mobilization. On May 7, 1955, a rally was organized in Mooca to promote a price freeze. An investigator for DOPS who attended the rally described the presence of several union leaders from the hotel, commercial, trade, retail, metallurgical, printing, and textile industries, as well as representatives from the Women’s Federation (Federação de Mulheres) and members of the SAB.³⁶

During the first months of 1957, DOPS agents recorded the presence of SAB representatives in meetings organized by the Labor Union Unity Pact (Pacto de Unidade Intersindical). In these meetings, “they discussed the rise in the cost of living and the problem of supplying the city of São Paulo” with basic necessities. During the month of March, a meeting at the SAB headquarters in Burgo Paulista brought together representatives from ten other socie-

to neighborhood and urban problems . . . and one cannot affirm that SABs represent workers. They represent the resident much more than the worker, the *resident* being a category that the city created, and whose activities during São Paulo’s rise to metropolis status attenuates, if not dissolves, class-based behavior. [Thus] the majority of São Paulo’s inhabitants stayed on the margins of municipal political life.” Fernando Henrique Cardoso, ed., *Cultura e participação na cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo: CEBRAP, 1973), 12, 13. Emphasis added.

35. Costa, *Em busca da memória*, 180.

36. The investigator ends his report by stating, “The speakers were unanimous in favoring the price freeze and the struggle against poverty, and they vented their anger and resentment towards the country’s leaders.” Arquivos dos DOPS, criminal record no. 12.8079. The Pacto de Unidade e Ação and the Pacto Unidade Intersindical were strategies of labor mobilization at a time when the main labor unions were illegalized.

ties. One of the issues discussed was the support of neighborhood organizations “for the agenda of the Pacto de Unidade Intersindical”³⁷ In October, during the “strike of the 400,000,” the Federation of SABs wrote a manifesto supporting the strike:

Considering that SABs and their related entities are constituted by the *absolute majority of workers* of all types and professions; considering that the struggle to lower the cost of living involves all people, without distinctions, and that this federation is struggling against poverty through various means and methods. . . . We pledge our complete solidarity with those workers on strike, with the expectation that the neighborhood organizations will collaborate effectively in aiding strikers’ families through initiatives and activities in accordance with the resources available to them. We hope for a broad and well-deserved victory, which will be the triumph of the people against hunger and scarcity.³⁸

Manifestos such as these positioned SABs and labor unions in a close relationship in which each recognized the other as legitimate spokespersons of popular demands. The connection between the labor and neighborhood movement was also facilitated by close convergences in certain demands and by the participation of people involved in both types of organizations.

Between Adhemar and Jânio: Neighborhood Activism and Clientelism

It is very difficult to understand the trajectory of SABs without referencing the two most emblematic figures of Brazilian political life during these years: Adhemar de Barros and Jânio Quadros.³⁹ Amid the changing political landscape of 1945, Adhemar de Barros, who had been appointed by Getúlio Vargas as federal intervenor for the state of São Paulo, reinvented himself, adopting an opposition discourse. He founded the Social Progressive Party (PSP) using contacts

37. *Notícias Hoje*, 9 Mar. 1957, p. 4.

38. The manifesto was signed by the president of the federation, Sebastião Costa. A month later, Costa appeared as a representative of Mayor Adhemar de Barros in a rally organized by the Liga Social of Vila Brasilândia. Arquivos dos DOPS, dossier 50-J-138-193, 187. Emphasis added.

39. Adriano Duarte and Paulo Fontes, “O populismo visto da periferia: Adhemarismo e Janismo nos bairros da Mooca e São Miguel Paulista, 1947–1953,” *Cadernos do AEL: Populismo e trabalhismo* 11 (2004): 87–122.

acquired during his years as federal intervenor. Elected governor in 1947 with the support of the PCB, from the 1940s through the 1960s Adhemar de Barros skillfully utilized the governmental structure and public resources to transform the PSP into the most highly developed and sophisticated party machine in the state of São Paulo. The outlawing of the Communist Party created space for the consolidation of the PSP in working-class areas where communists had predominated during the brief legal existence of the party. In addition, the PSP benefited from the internal disputes suffered by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB) in São Paulo.⁴⁰

From the beginning of his political career, Adhemar de Barros was an ambiguous figure. He was a traditional politician who at the same time perceived the new potential in voters living in the rapidly growing working-class neighborhoods on the city's outskirts. As John French argues, the electoral victory of Adhemar in 1947 "signaled the emergence of a new type of political boss who courted, even if opportunistically, the urban working classes of the state of São Paulo."⁴¹ In discourse directed toward workers and permeated with class references, Adhemar recognized the working class as legitimate interlocutors. He also condemned social inequalities and attacked arrogant, selfish "elites," cultivating an image of generosity and easy accessibility to workers.

Rapidly, the PSP developed a fantastic electoral machine. District directorates, which corresponded to local judicial districts, became the basis of the party. Each district directorate appointed the local justice of the peace (*juiz de paz*) and police commander and subcommander.⁴² Each subcommander chose the neighborhood block inspectors, who oversaw their individual streets. This structure guaranteed in each district a fabric of contacts and supporters that could be acti-

40. The PTB was created to act as the labor and working-class organ of Getúlio Vargas, but it was unable to take complete advantage of Vargas's popularity among workers in São Paulo. The PTB branch in São Paulo was frequently in conflict with the national leadership of the party, and during the 1950s and 1960s the party was fragmented along different lines. See Maria Victoria Benevides, *O PTB e o trabalhismo: Partido e sindicato em São Paulo, 1945–1964* (São Paulo: Brasiliense / CEDEC, 1989).

41. John French, *O ABC dos operários: Conflitos e alianças de classe em São Paulo, 1900–1950* (São Paulo: Hucitec / São Caetano do Sul: Prefeitura Municipal de São Caetano do Sul, 1995), 205. On Adhemarismo, see also Regina Sampaio, *Adhemar de Barros e o PSP* (São Paulo: Global, 1982); John D. French, "Workers and the Rise of Adhemarista Populism in São Paulo, Brazil, 1945–1947," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68, no. 1 (1988): 1–43.

42. The district directorate corresponded to a specific area—a neighborhood, a group of neighborhoods, or a small city. The *juiz de paz* was a civil servant in charge of marriages and resolving neighborhood conflicts. The police commander and subcommander were in charge of local security.

vated whenever necessary. Through the block inspectors, the neighborhoods were closely scrutinized. Party networks presented neighborhood demands to the government while gathering information on daily life in every block. The flow of favors and benefits was channeled through the PSP political machine, which transformed popular demands into votes, thus securing political hegemony.⁴³ "Nobody was able to form a party like the PSP; we were unbeatable. We took advantage of the Getúlio era, it was easy for us to penetrate [Brazilian society]. We worked the streets, organized rallies, established networks, went to mass with the priest, the pharmacist, the shopkeeper. We were able to build a structure. This put us ahead of everybody else."⁴⁴

The core of the PSP's political machine was the connection to neighborhood issues and activities, and the capacity to transform them into votes. However, the success of this structure also depended on its symbolic power and influence. The bargaining capacity, the prestige, and the insertion of PSP district administrations into poor neighborhoods depended on their ability to negotiate internally with the rest of the party and to respond, either through the municipal or state government, to residents' demands. Thus the local political machine functioned as an intermediary between popular demands and the state or municipal government. In practice, this relationship was very fragile, because failing to respond to popular demands threatened the collapse of the political machine. And the possibility of those demands not passing through the PSP created a breach in the system, through which neighborhood organizations could dispense with the party.

That dangerous precedent was set by the rise of the SABs, which negotiated popular demands directly with city councilors, state legislators, and relevant public agencies, without the interference of the PSP's political machine. The PSP was clearly threatened by the growth of the SABs, and Jânio Quadros was the politician who most clearly epitomized the opposition between the neighborhood associations and the party. Jânio began his political career as an adversary of Governor Adhemar de Barros and the PSP, harshly criticizing the

43. "All requests had to pass through the party first. A local PSP representative had to recommend a person's request. Without such a recommendation, the petitioner was turned away until he or she presented one. Each state secretariat included a party member who was responsible for responding to political requests. . . . Every improvement that Adhemar accomplished as governor benefited the party. For example, when a clinic was created, all the workers were nominated by the PSP." Testimony, Edward Tesoto, 14 July 1977. Sampaio, *Adhemar de Barros e o PSP*, 137.

44. Testimony of Armindo Rocha, 13 Jan. 1978, in Sampaio, *Adhemar de Barros e o PSP*, 145.

city's administration and denouncing public sector corruption and abuses.⁴⁵ Beginning with his 1947 campaign on the Christian Democratic Party ticket for a seat on the São Paulo city council, Jânio demonstrated great sensitivity toward the demands that neighborhood activism brought to the city's political scenario. He clearly perceived the degree to which the success of the Communist Party depended on its engagement with neighborhood issues. He understood the importance of the CDPs and intuited the SABs' potential. With his unique style, Jânio Quadros effectively manipulated symbols and themes that connected him to the poor suburban population. He was possibly the first politician to bring issues such as electricity, transportation, housing, education, day care, basic sanitation, and street improvements (that is, the agenda of the CDPs and SABs) to the city council. His speeches protested against the many everyday problems experienced by workers in the city of São Paulo, legitimizing their demands. He constantly and vehemently repeated themes such as the high cost of living, shortages, abuse by unscrupulous merchants, lack of housing and transportation, and train delays.

Jânio presented the lack of public services in working-class neighborhoods not as a natural result of chaotic urban growth. Rather, he saw it as the consequence of official neglect and indifference. Residents were entitled to solutions as their right, not as a gift or favor. His speeches invoked sentiments deeply ingrained in the popular imaginary: it is the obligation of the state to ensure the well-being of all citizens. Moreover, his speeches announced the most effective instrument to achieve those rights:

Neighborhood residents owe nothing to the state government because their streets are cared for by the Society of Friends of Jardim da Saúde, which owns its own equipment and paving stones; it acquires the materials it needs and makes the necessary repairs. . . . I was at the site not once but twice, walking through the streets and chatting with people. The Society donated a building for the installation of a police station, built prison cells, and provided a jail and two lots for the construction of a school. . . . The Society of Friends of Saúde, whose name I never tire of repeating, is the government there.⁴⁶

45. For an analysis of Jânio's early career, see Silvana Walmsley, "Origens do Janismo, São Paulo, 1948–1935" (MA thesis, UNICAMP, 1982). Jânio served on a city council from which all Communist members were removed in May 1947.

46. *Anais da Câmara Municipal de São Paulo*, 4 Oct. 1948, Biblioteca da Câmara.

Jânio Quadros consolidated his political career by transforming the Society's agenda into his electoral platform. His neighborhood visits, in addition to cultivating supporters and contacts in local associations, allowed for direct contact with a large number of workers not accustomed to seeing politicians up close, especially outside the electoral season. Through these contacts, Jânio constructed an image based on a different type of politician: a simple and accessible man, close to and interested in the life and problems of the poor. Through his acute perception of social issues related to the demands of peripheral neighborhoods, Jânio Quadros became their spokesman.⁴⁷

The disputes between Adhemar and Jânio in the game of exchanging favors revealed that loyalties between politicians and the residents of poor neighborhoods were not unbreakable. Allegiances changed frequently in response to politicians' reactions to popular demands. Perhaps this was the mark of the urban clientelism of the postwar period. But in fact, what seemed to be disputed was popular representation: which voice would represent the popular will? Many took part in this contest: communists and CDPs, Adhemar and the PSP, Jânio Quadros, SABs, in addition to the UDN, PTB, and other minor parties.⁴⁸

Conclusion

The interpretation of populism that still holds sway today emphasizes workers' co-optation by and submissiveness to the state. This occurred either through the failure of the national bourgeoisie to become a hegemonic class, through the absence of an autonomous and organized proletariat, and/or through inadequate popular leadership.⁴⁹ During the 1970s and 1980s, theorists consolidated the thesis of the manipulative state and demagogic leadership that co-opted the unprepared working masses. This thesis became the paradigm that explained social and political life in Brazil since the Revolution of 1930. It was disseminated to such an extent that the concept of populism became the adjective to

47. Given Jânio's close relationship with SABs, it was even suggested that they were a creation of his "political genius." "So, what did Jânio then do? Knowing he could not develop a party the size of the PSP, SABs started to emerge." Testimony, Armindo Rocha, 13 Jan. 1978, in Sampaio, *Adhemar de Barros e o PSP*, 145.

48. See Adriano Luiz Duarte, "Cultura popular e cultura política no após-guerra: Re-democratização, populismo, e desenvolvimento no bairro da Mooca, 1942–1973" (PhD diss., UNICAMP, 2002).

49. Francisco Weffort, *O Populismo na política brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1980).

define a particular historical period, principally the years between 1945 and 1964, which many have termed the “populist era” or the “populist Republic.”

Toward the end of the 1980s, this perspective was heavily criticized. New research questioned the notion of workers’ passivity and the idea that an all-powerful state and charismatic leadership manipulated and co-opted the masses. Such studies began to reveal the surprisingly active role of workers, consequently undermining the widely disseminated dichotomy between “autonomy” and “heteronomy” in theories of working-class formation. Understanding workers as historical subjects who act and make choices in a determined field of conflicting forces has been the objective of many historians studying the social history of the working class between 1930 and 1964.⁵⁰ John French, for example, aimed to deepen Francisco Weffort’s brief insight regarding “populist alliances” as an axis exemplifying the relationship among workers, the state, the middle class, and the bourgeoisie during the 1940s and 1950s. Such alliances, even if among socially and politically unequal actors, required negotiations and reciprocities that were constantly being recreated. Thus French suggested the existence of a “populist political system” that influenced the behavior of all participants in the political game.⁵¹

Other researchers have vehemently rejected the use of the concept of populism.⁵² Criticizing its impreciseness and pejorative tone, they argue that the concept of populism became “so elastic, and, in a way, ahistorical, that it came to explain everything, and, as happens in such cases, to explain very little.” They argued that “populism” was so impregnated by notions of state control, manipulation of the masses, and co-optation that it excluded any possibility of thinking

50. Some examples are José Ricardo Ramalho, *Estado-patrão e luta operária: O caso FNM* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1989); Marcelo Badaró Mattos, *Novos e velhos sindicalismos: Rio de Janeiro, 1955–1988* (Rio de Janeiro: Vício de Leitura, 1988); Marco Aurélio Santana, *Homens partidos: Comunistas e sindicatos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Boitempo, 2001); Paulo Fontes, “Comunidade operária, migração Nordestina e lutas sociais: São Miguel Paulista, 1945–1966” (PhD diss., UNICAMP, 2001); Fortes et al., *Na luta por direitos*; Duarte, “Cultura popular e cultura política”; Antonio Luigi Negro, *Linhas de montagem: O industrialismo nacional desenvolvimentista e a sindicalização dos trabalhadores, 1945–1978* (São Paulo: Boitempo, 2004).

51. French, *O ABC dos operários*, 267.

52. Jorge Ferreira, ed., *O populismo e sua história: Debate e crítica* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001), 13. This anthology seems to have been inspired by the seminal article by Ângela de Castro Gomes, “O populismo e as ciências sociais no Brasil: Notas sobre a trajetória de um conceito,” *Tempo* 2 (1996).

about negotiation or reciprocity.⁵³ With different points of emphasis, Ângela de Castro Gomes, Jorge Ferreira, and Daniel Aarão Reis Filho proposed the idea of *trabalhismo* (in place of populism) as the most adequate term to describe state and working-class relations in Brazil from 1930 to 1960. Castro Gomes suggested the “trabalhista pact” as a way to “emphasize the relationship between unequal actors, when the state is not all-powerful.” Ferreira asserted the importance of the “trabalhista project,” of which the institutional expression was the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, “the most popular organization during the democratic experience of the post-1945 era, becoming in 1964 the largest political association in the country.”⁵⁴ Reis Filho considered populism to be a political and academic “invention” that served, after the 1964 coup, to hide the trabalhista tradition, characterized by a “nationalist, statist, popular program.”⁵⁵ It seems clear that this debate communicates a great dissatisfaction with the paradigm of populism and reveals the search for a new theoretical framework that recognizes the complexity of Brazilian workers’ political and social experience during the second half of the twentieth century. As Castro Gomes emphasized in a post-script to her 1996 article: “The choice does not matter: writing about populism in Brazil will always involve a risk. Either for incompleteness or for failure to understand, either for supporting or for rejecting [given positions], such a text will be an easy target for all types of critiques.”⁵⁶

The problems, both practical and theoretical, in calling the 1945–1964 period the “populist Republic” or the “populist era” are now evident. However, the replacement of “populism” with the concept of “trabalhismo”—in any of the previously mentioned versions—or even the retention of the concept of populism, continues to emphasize the centrality of labor unions in social and political relations, overlooking other central dimensions of working-class experiences. The defenders of the concept of populism and of the concept of trabalhismo have both neglected the urban dimension and neighborhood experience, which constituted a vital aspect in the lives of workers, especially in large industrial cities. Both seem to generally ignore neighborhood organizations and the issues related to the “right to the city” (*direito à cidade*).

53. Jorge Ferreira, “Introdução,” and Ângela de Castro Gomes, “O populismo e as ciências sociais no Brasil,” in Ferreira, *O populismo e sua história*, 13, 46–47.

54. Jorge Ferreira, “O nome e a coisa: O populismo na política brasileira,” in Ferreira, *O populismo e sua história*, 13.

55. Daniel Aarão Reis Filho, “O colapso do colapso do populismo ou propósito de uma herança maldita,” in Ferreira, *O populismo e sua história*, 345–47.

56. Ângela de Castro Gomes, “Pós-escrito,” in Ferreira, *O populismo e sua história*, 53.

In the case of São Paulo between 1930 and 1960, political life cannot be understood using only the concept of *trabalhismo*. Even if objections to the concept of populism are correct (and in fact it is erroneous to think of populism as just manipulation and co-optation), the concept of populism is more useful than *trabalhismo* when describing the sophisticated relations between neighborhood organizations and politicians of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. In the most industrialized state of the country, with the largest urban working-class population, the most popular leaders (Adhemar de Barros and Jânio Quadros) built their respective careers distant from *trabalhismo*. The central axis of those careers rested on their acknowledgement of the urban question and of the problems caused by intense urban growth and the unequal division of the fruits of progress. Beyond workplace issues and the rights of labor, always present in Brazil's social and political arena, demands for better living conditions, the right to live with dignity, and the right to progress—as understood by workers at that time—were essential issues that must be considered in the analysis of postwar politics.

Perhaps we can better understand this period by reflecting on how popular classes took part in the electoral process. After 1945 Brazilian elections changed in fundamental ways. Until 1933, elections had been disputed among a very small circle of voters. In the state of São Paulo at that time, there were only 299,074 voters registered; by the gubernatorial elections of December 1945, the electorate had reached 1,565,248 voters. This jump signified a deep alteration in the configuration of political forces throughout the country, significantly modifying local political sensitivities and the ways in which politicians competed for votes. João Louzada, an active member of Mooca's SAB, recalled that

The councilor came to the headquarters of the club handing out leaflets, organizing a rally. We took everything he gave us and voted for others . . . So we began to contact politicians to make improvements to the club. We got a new headquarters. I was in contact with all the political parties, but I had more personal contact with Adhemar. We decided that we needed a soccer field, so we also needed a piece of land. We talked with the councilor to see if he could figure out a way to bring a tractor and everything else. . . . The councilor ordered the tractor. Tons of people came, you know? Later there was a dance held at the headquarters. So I brought along people to see the candidate. So when election time appeared, people would ask: "Seu João, who is your candidate?"⁵⁷

57. João Louzada had an illuminating trajectory: he was a member of the Brazilian Communist Party in 1942 during the *Estado Novo*. He became an active leader of the

The vote is a double-edged sword, an exchange in which the elector gives his or her vote and the candidate responds with what the elector needs or asks for — a favor. If voting implies this exchange, it is reasonable to assume that the elector will give his or her vote to whoever can best pay back: someone from the neighborhood or who is in the neighborhood, someone who can see with their own eyes the needs of the residents. In this way, the deeply rooted, sophisticated structure of the PSP was as fundamental for Adhemar de Barros's success as his personal charisma. Similarly, Jânio Quadros's visits to poor neighborhoods and his ties with their SABs had more than just a symbolic effect. The visits exposed him to the living conditions of residents, who saw in him the possibility of obtaining justice to which otherwise they had no access. The same occurred with the Communists and the CDPs.

The exchange of votes for favors, and vice versa, implies the notion of citizenship and rights. Giving voice and vote to the people carries a double recognition: first, of the citizen who can express what she thinks or feels; second, of the citizen's right to speak and express demands. "On both sides dignity is recognized. The two sides cohabit together, and the fact that there is a personal relationship does not annul the political and collective dimensions of the issue."⁵⁸ This may be the greatest paradox of the populist phenomenon, simultaneously operating in two seemingly contradictory areas, placing residents as clients of the politicians while strengthening the dimension of citizenship through voters' participation in social and political life.

The reason why the populist system cannot be reduced to clientelism lies in the right to speak and the collective action that such a right implies. The political conquest of the spoken word is in this case not a gift but a result of the concrete actions of neighborhood residents and organizations. In these cases,

CDP in Alto da Mooca and participated for more than 20 years in the local SAB of his neighborhood. He was president of the construction workers' union and was elected city councilor in 1956 and vice-councilor in 1960. As a city councilman, Louzada participated in negotiations with SABs from all over the city. He recalls: "I would go to the meetings, every Sunday in a different neighborhood, to all the Sociedades dos Amigos de Bairro, I would go and discuss their concerns. A major issue in those days, especially in the more outlying neighborhoods, was the question of electricity. . . . I would go and talk with them, then I would go to [São Paulo] Light, they would send an inspector to see how many lampposts were needed, how many transformers, how much cable, etc. They would make a budget, and we would go back and see whether or not that was acceptable, you know. Then we would negotiate a small loan." Interview with João Louzada, 6 Nov. 1998.

58. Teresa Caldeira, *A política dos outros: O cotidiano dos moradores da periferia e o que pensam do poder e dos poderosos* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1984), 237.

there is no opposition between clientelism and conscious autonomy. There is instead the construction of possible strategies, concrete and real, to channel public resources available from given institutional structures. The neighborhood associations' room for maneuver within those structures was restricted but not completely absent. Therefore, the history of neighborhood associations can be told as the history of a continuous negotiation of autonomy. Certainly such autonomy does not mean the absence of external political interferences or negotiations. Autonomy, in this case, is characterized by the organizations' tentative search for solutions for neighborhood demands without becoming the passive instruments of a single party or politician.

One question remains: why were these sophisticated popular organizations, which struggled during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s for the right to speak and to act in relation to urban improvement, not identified by academic research in the 1970s and 1980s as social movements? Populism, as the descriptor of an era, seems to have obscured our critical perception once again.

When social movements became an important category of analysis in the 1970s, the concept was saluted as the embodiment of a new and unaccustomed autonomy in relation to political parties and the state.⁵⁹ However, the neighborhood movements between 1945 and 1964 did not fit that model. For neighborhood associations, autonomy did not mean independence from political parties or the state. Rather, it meant negotiating and communicating freely with all of them, regardless of political ideology, and opportunistically seizing all possibilities of action. Because of this flexibility in relation to parties and politicians, popular organizations were supposedly limited in their actions, dependent on the state, and subordinated to the interests of charismatic politicians. Thus neighborhood associations were viewed through the optic and logic of populism. A synthesis of opinion about the difference between new and old social movements suggests:

The basic differentiation is not between new social movements (based on gender, race, sex, ecology, etc.) and old social movements (traditional working-class) as in Europe; the difference is between new (struggles for housing and social goods in general) and old popular movements (such as the SABs) in which populist and clientelistic practices predominated. The differences between them lie in the practice of politics, because articulations always existed, as much in the old as in the new. Relations

59. See Grupo de Estudos sobre a Construção Democrática, "Sociedade civil e democracia: Reflexões sobre a realidade brasileira," *Idéias: Revista do Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas* 6 (1998/1999).

with the church, parties, and labor unions always existed, but in present-day movements the relations are of a different nature. Practices and repertoires have also changed.⁶⁰

More than understanding the “new,” that quotation seeks to distinguish it from the “old.” Scholars contrasted the autonomy and energy of the “new social movements” to the clientelism and submission to charismatic leaders of the old “popular movements”; such practices contributed to the structural failings of the “populist Republic” and to the military dictatorship. It was a moment of theoretical and political rejection of everything that seemed to have contributed to the military coup of 1964. Neighborhood associative life did not emphasize autonomy—as the so-called new social movements did—and was thus an important factor in the collapse of democracy in the 1960s and the failure of the populist Republic. However, by the middle of the 1980s, the limits of such an interpretation were becoming evident. The social movements that had emerged in the 1970s under the aegis of “autonomy” and “spontaneity” were already showing a tendency toward institutionalization, either in convergence with the state or with the restructured political parties that emerged from the *abertura*.⁶¹ This was due in part to internal dynamics and in part to the transformation of the political context: “a new relationship is forming between the movements and the political parties, on the one hand, and public organs in general, on the other hand. The phenomenon widely known as co-optation is starting to emerge.”⁶²

In other words, new social movements were becoming more like the old social movements. This development triggered in the 1980s the outburst of Eder Sader, recognizing that the political project implicit in the social movements of the late 1970s had suffered a defeat. Sader suggested that the new social

60. Maria da Glória Gohn, *Teoria dos movimentos sociais: Paradigmas clássicos e contemporâneos* (São Paulo: Loyola, 2000).

61. The term *abertura* refers to the opening of the political process between 1974 and 1985 when Brazil was still a dictatorship. Social movements of the 1970s and 1980s were not as spontaneous and autonomous as originally conceived. After all, they appeared in the *Comunidades Eclesiais de Base* (these are organizations connected mainly to the Catholic Church of the 1970s and 1980s) under the aegis of the Igreja Popular and were led by leftist activists who did not believe in armed struggle. This was the case with the Movimento do Custo de Vida (Cost of Living Movement) as well. See Eder Sader, *Quando novos personagens entraram em cena: Experiências e lutas dos trabalhadores da Grande São Paulo: 1970–1980* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1988).

62. Ruth Côrrea Leite Cardoso, “A trajetória dos movimentos sociais,” in *Os anos 90: Política e sociedade no Brasil*, ed. Evelina Dagnino (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1994), 81–90.

movements had been the bearers of innovative promises in the national political scenario. However, academic interpretations, pressured by the political needs of the moment, overestimated the potential of such movements.⁶³ Scholars have yet to produce empirical studies about social movements before 1960, or to map the continuities and legacies of a half-century of popular associative life. Instead, we continue to lump all the sociopolitical experiences and practices of neighborhood associations and labor unions under the misleading, pejorative heading of the “populist Republic.” There they lie, still waiting to be discovered.

63. Sader, *Quando novos personagens entraram em cena*.

Obituary

John W. F. Dulles (1913–2008)

John W. F. Dulles had an unusual career pattern for an academician. He received his first teaching appointment at the University of Texas at the age of 49, after concluding a successful career in business. The publication of his first book, *Yesterday in Mexico*, preceded the faculty appointment by a year. Between 1966 and 1991, he held two faculty jobs, teaching in the fall at Texas and the spring at the University of Arizona. He spent the rest of his long career at Texas without giving thought to retirement. “Why would I retire? What would I do?” he asked. “Watch TV? No, this stuff is too fun and exciting.” Though he recently completed his brilliant record of research and publication, he continued to commute between his home in San Antonio and Austin to teach. Before his death at 95 years of age, Professor Dulles was revising lectures for a fall class on “Recent Brazil, 1919 to the Present.”

John Watson Foster Dulles was born in 1913, the eldest child of former secretary of state John Foster Dulles and Janet Pomeroy Avery. He earned his BA degree at Princeton University and an MBA from Harvard University two years later. He worked in banking and mining before attaining a BS degree in metallurgical engineering at the University of Arizona. Subsequently, he found jobs in mining companies in Arizona, Mexico, and Brazil. His wife of 68 years, Eleanor (C. C.) Ritter Dulles, who had taught music and Sunday school, passed away just three days before Professor Dulles. They are survived by four children.

During his long tenure, he produced 12 volumes of history, each of which has been translated and published in Mexico or Brazil. Professor Dulles’s engagement with history first came through his employment with the Compañía Minera de Peñoles of Monterrey, Mexico. He traveled frequently to Mexico City, spending much time in the anterooms of public officials. There he met and interviewed several retired and semiretired politicians such as former presidents Lázaro Cárdenas, Plutarco Elías Calles, and Adolfo de la Huerta. From them Dulles developed a research methodology of balancing extensive personal interviews with meticulous newspaper research. This effort first yielded *Yester-*

day in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution, 1919–1936 (1961). In the meantime, he had taken the position of vice president of the Companhia Mineração Nova-limense of Belo Horizonte, Brazil. He soon became fascinated with Brazilian politics and published *Vargas of Brazil: A Political Biography* some five years after he had joined the faculty in Austin. The University of Texas Press published all of his books, save the two volumes he devoted to the political biography of Brazilian general and president Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco (Texas A & M University Press, 1978 and 1980). He devoted other books to the politics leading up to the Brazilian military revolution of 1964 (*Unrest in Brazil*, 1970); communists in Brazil (*Anarchists and Communists in Brazil*, 1973, and *Brazilian Communism*, 1983); the São Paulo Law School (*São Paulo Law School and the Anti-Vargas Resistance*, 1986); Carlos Lacerda (two volumes, 1991); and conservative lawyer Heráclito Sobral Pinto's defense of human rights (2002 and 2007). His chronicle of Sobral Pinto's opposition to the military government was Professor Dulles's last book. "When I was in the late stages of gathering material for this biography, physical problems afflicted me and made it clear that this is my farewell to writing for publication." This quote comes from the introduction to the 2007 volume, in which he also acknowledged his gratitude to family members and friends in Brazil who had helped him on his yearly research trips.

Over the years, Professor Dulles's reverence for the history of Brazil won him the devotion of his students. His lectures became known for the telling anecdote, the depiction of human behavior in high politics, and for wry humor. As his student, I recall vividly the occasion on which his famous uncle Allen Dulles, then retired, accompanied his nephew to class one afternoon. Professor Dulles was in the middle of a humorous tale about the particularly inept attempts of Getúlio Vargas's followers to silence the newspaperman Carlos Lacerda. They involved a character known as the "Black Angel of Catete Palace." I glanced around to observe how the former director of the Central Intelligence Agency was enjoying the story. Alas, Uncle Allen was taking a nap. Many years later, Professor Dulles gave up his cherished tennis matches and had to make his way to class on a motorized scooter—driving quite fast. He even cut back on smoking his pipe. But his keen memory and strong voice did not fail him, and Jack Dulles never disappointed his students.

Reviewers have praised Professor Dulles for the painstaking and meticulous research in each of his published works. A self-defined "computer illiterate," he wrote all his books in longhand on thousands of yellow legal pads. He remained very much the chronicler he had become in his first book on Mexican political history. As he once remarked to me, "I'll leave it up to the readers what all of this means. I just want to tell the important story." His scholarship has

become an indispensable asset to researchers and teachers. In my classes, I still utilize the revealing anecdotes I read in his books or heard as a student in his lectures. There are detailed vignettes about General Álvaro Obregón losing his arm in the Battle of Celaya or getting shot to death by a religious fanatic after winning the presidential election of 1928. I still tell students about how the communist Luiz Carlos Prestes purposely provoked his guards to beat him up just before a court appearance. The particulars of the military coup d'état in 1954 and President Vargas's suicide always fascinate students. Professor Dulles's extensive interviews, the transcripts of which are available in the John W. F. Dulles Papers at the Benson Latin American Collection at UT-Austin, reveal his trilingual talents as well as his commitment to accuracy. In addition, these documents capture the depth of his letter writing, especially with Brazilian correspondents.

Treatment of ideology remains the measure of Professor Dulles's contribution to the craft of history. He was a keen student of the communist movement in Brazil and recognized the reasons for its few successes and many failures. Yet he devoted more attention to the creative conservatives in Brazilian society, the true believers of the Catholic Church, and the principled critics of the misuse of executive power. He found no contradiction between his admiration for the first leader of the post-1964 military regime, General Castello Branco (whom he called the "reformer"), and Sobral Pinto, the intrepid conservative censor of the generals who succeeded Castello Branco as president. In his writing, Professor Dulles favored individual freedom over government dictate, whether the latter originated with the populist Vargas or from the reactionary General Emilio Garrastazu Medici. The idiosyncratic always intrigued Professor Dulles—the automobile attacks of Mexican *laboristas* against the horseback-mounted *sinarquistas* in 1934, or Brazilian nationalists shouting "O petróleo é nosso" over a scarcely existent national oil industry in 1954. Jack Dulles demonstrates that paradox and irony transcend national boundaries as well as historical periods.

JONATHAN C. BROWN, The University of Texas at Austin

Book Reviews

General and Sources

Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul. By MICHAEL REID. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007. Plates. Illustrations. Tables. Glossary. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xv, 384 pp. Cloth, \$30.00.

In *Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul*, Michael Reid laments that Latin America currently holds a marginal position in global consciousness, ignored if not utterly “forgotten,” just as it experiences what he sees as a remarkable recovery from the legacy of debt, drugs, and dictatorship. A reporter for the British magazine *The Economist*, Reid has lived in and reported from Latin America for many years. He brings to the book much firsthand experience, numerous entertaining anecdotes, and not a few insights about the region. Early in the book he promises to “trespass” on the territory of academic specialists, “in a spirit of defiance of prohibition and in expectation of a clip round the ear from the proprietors of the territory infringed.” I do not believe any serious Latin Americanist assumes a territorial claim on analyses of the Latin American dilemma, and a book by an informed observer is most welcomed. Reid’s book offers something valuable to both specialists and the general reading public for whom it is largely intended.

The early chapters of the book, in which Reid surveys Latin American history from the colonial period through the twentieth century, are probably of least interest to the readers of *HAHR*. He makes a few debatable assertions, such as that the Mexican Revolution had a greater impact on Latin America than the Cuban Revolution, exaggerating the nationalist and populist policies in vogue throughout the region in the past century as due directly to Mexico’s influence. But generally his claims are more tame and orthodox. Reid synthesizes the historical literature competently, albeit with a strong preference for Anglophone scholars, and offers a clear if somewhat conventional overview of several centuries of Latin American history. The heart of the book, and its real value, lies in subsequent chapters in which he surveys the contemporary scene in Latin America.

The “battle for the soul” found in his subtitle is that between the visionary and modern free market advocates and statesmen and those shackled to a backward, stale, and indeed retrograde left-wing populism. Hugo Chavez is a favorite target, presented here almost as the caricature of the Latin American populist, squandering his country’s resources, a megalomaniac contemptuous of democracy and stubbornly swimming

against the tide of history. Reid's analysis is both glib and tendentious in these pages. Latin America's populist and revolutionary traditions have never been just a question of opportunistic, demagogic leaders and misguided masses. Democracy was elusive in Latin America above all because of entrenched elite opposition. If democracy has become a permanent way of life in Latin America, both populists and revolutionaries have made their contributions to it. Reid runs through the accomplishments of those countries that have managed to combine vigorous market reforms and consolidated democracies, such as Chile, his *hijo predilecto* in the region, and contrasts them with the excesses of Chavez, Evo Morales, and others who cling stubbornly to Latin America's old and very bad ways. The evidence he marshals to make his case is drawn largely from those who would agree with both his diagnosis of Latin America's ills and his prescriptions to remedy them. (He shows a certain fondness for citing articles from the *Economist* itself.) He ignores the growing academic literature that, without advocating either the revolution or populism he so abhors, questions whether so-called neoliberal economic policies are really so utterly different from what we have seen before, or whether they have accomplished much more in terms of sustainable development than the previous national-capitalist model. Much empirical research indicates that this is not the case. Reid is not a doctrinaire conservative in the North American sense, and his assessments are reasonable. He recognizes the need for a state to regulate and assure competition as well as to ameliorate the appalling social inequalities in the region, which threaten both market economies and democracy. He rightly points out the remarkable resilience of Latin Americans in recovering from the terrible military dictatorships of the recent past, and their accomplishments in rebuilding democracies of some kind. He writes of Latin America with great empathy, intelligence, and insight. If Latin America's proverbial "solitude" is somewhat overstated in his final chapter, he makes a strong case that the world should take notice of what he sees as the region's "silent revolution," though others, among them this reviewer, are a bit skeptical that we are witnessing a brave new world in Latin America. Such sanguine predictions have been made before and ultimately proved wrong.

JAMES BRENNAN, University of California, Riverside

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Woman and Art in Early Modern Latin America. Edited by KELLEN KEE MCINTYRE and RICHARD E. PHILLIPS. The Atlantic World, 10. Leiden: Brill, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. xviii, 449 pp. Cloth.

For students of colonial art and women's history this book is a godsend. It proves how an interdisciplinary and feminist approach to history can enrich our understanding of the connections that people made, the role that women played, and the meaning of gender in cultures of the past. Twenty-five years of intensive study of women and gender history in Latin America have barely scratched the surface of the wealth of information available in the visual arts. The attention paid to the study of the *Tablas de Mestizaje* is among the few

indications that art has stimulated historical interpretation. The volume under review further legitimizes the study of art as a venue of more than aesthetic value. None of the essays in this book looks at art in a vacuum. While some follow a line closer to conventional fine art analysis of form, color, balance, and other elements of composition, all willingly embrace history to contextualize their subject.

The editors see a progression in the understanding of the gendered meaning of conquest and settlement born out in the representation of women. They describe this progression in the titles of the four parts of the collection: "Reconnaissance," "Taking Possession," "Consolidation," and "Fulfillment." These categories are assumed to guide the reader into believing there was a development of cognitive experience expressed in art, which the articles in each section illustrate. Readers will agree or disagree with the editorial hypothesis, but it establishes a theoretical framework that may prove useful in triggering fruitful debate. In this reader's opinion, not all articles in each section fulfill the programmatic scheme, but this is a minor point. In the introduction Kellen Kee McIntyre explains the main goal: to understand how the visual representation of women defined female identity across time and in different locations. It is clearly a manifesto for art historians and historians of all persuasions, and one that should be welcomed.

Of the 17 articles, 3 deal with the Andes. New Spain and early republican Mexico take the lion's share of the collection. The visualization of women falls into three main categories: Marian devotion, female saints, and female religious. Articles on heraldic images and the investigation of painting authorship stand slightly out of this visual classification without weakening it. The kaleidoscopic thematic variety of the essays is an invitation to the reader rather than a distraction. A quick run-through some of the themes will point to the intriguing directions of research represented.

A feminist critique of traditional understanding of pre-Hispanic figurines plants seeds of doubt in male archeologists' perceptions of the female body, while the study of Tlazolteotl's figure as an emblematic purifier speaks to understanding the pre-Hispanic psyche. The symbolic meaning of Marian representation in male convents addresses the need that early sixteenth-century convents had to establish a rapport with the neophytes under their care, as well as their own liturgical understanding of Mary's role in the mendicant community. A study of the effect of Christianity on the representation of indigenous goddesses argues that nudity was proscribed and that the indigenous postconquest paintings of their own goddesses dressed up signify a desire to be considered civilized. This implies an imposition as much as an appropriation of Spanish values. This theme seems to be buttressed and contested, at the same time, by a study of the influence of Coya portraits and Andean beliefs in Pachamama on the representation of Mary.

Unquestionably, paintings and prints projected ideals of femininity that could be "guided" to promote a desired concept of womanhood. This is easily perceived in religious works either in oil or on paper. A print of a dismembered feminine body could signify women's vulnerability but, more so, the perils of a slave rebellion. Political and social critiques could be embodied in allegorical paintings of lactating women, while the stark reality of indigenous wet nurses would be ignored. Beyond the representation of

saints and religious women, the female imagery that developed the notion of nation or identity from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century shows a change from using Guadalupe as a national emblem to the creation of a female figure that would represent the new nation at midcentury and later under the Díaz regime. No theme is alien to this group of essays: the encounter visualized as a painting of the meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma, the representation of virtue in the eighteenth century, and the triumph of the church envisioned in symbolic women's figures stand shoulder to shoulder in this dense volume.

I thoroughly enjoyed reading these essays and welcome the volume in the hope that it encourages greater attention to the potentially rich crop of information and interpretation encoded in art.

ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN, Arizona State University

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Diálogos espirituales: Manuscritos femeninos hispanoamericanos, siglos XVI–XIX.

Edited by ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN and ROSALVA LORETO L. Puebla, Mexico: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Universidad de las Americas, 2006. Notes.

Bibliography. 501 pp. Paper.

Diálogos espirituales, the second compilation edited by Asunción Lavrin and Rosalva Loreto López dealing with women's writing in a religious context, features the work of scholars from both history and literary studies. (The first collection, *Monjas y beatas: La escritura femenina en la espiritualidad barroca novohispana*, was published in 2002.) The combination represents the interdisciplinary nature of Latin American colonial studies, along with that of the growing subfield of convent studies, first crystallized by the groundbreaking publications of Josefina Muriel in Mexico, and in the United States by Electa Arenal and Stacey Schlau's lamentably out-of-print *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in Their Own Works*.

The volume includes excerpts from a variety of original documents accompanied by essays written by the scholar who discovered them in the archives. The editors hope to inspire further investigation of unedited women's writings, most of which, as they correctly point out, are often dismissed as minor genres of colonial literary and cultural production. The book itself helps dismantle this view by showing the central role women's writing plays in the formation of colonial society and its attendant subjectivities and mentalities. In their introduction, the editors state that they wish to offer us a window onto women's identity as it forms itself with regard to women's relationships with other women, their spirituality, and, most significantly, in connection to men and patriarchal structures. The book does this very well, but also goes beyond these stated goals to show how women's writings further our understanding of colonial discourses on race, class, gender politics, religion and the state, nation building, and the creation of the public sphere, among other topics.

The editors' introductory essay offers a nuanced perspective on the paradox we face as scholars of these types of documents: on the one hand we need to define the field of convent studies (and I am including the study of uncloistered *beatas* within this rubric) by classifying the different genres of writings, but on the other we must not force these writings into artificial and anachronistic categories for the sake of disciplinary neatness. The different textual genres—"autobiografía," "biografía y vida espiritual," "espistolario," "literature," and "poema y teatro" (the latter category unfortunately lacks an accompanying critical essay)—showcase women at different stages in spiritual careers and of different classes to give us the most multifaceted view possible of female religious experience both in and out of the convent. (For example, both Nancy van Deusen's and Asunción Lavrin's essays offer fascinating insights on women's secular lives and their spirituality therein, as two nuns recount their lives before entering the convent in Peru and Mexico, respectively.)

One of the collection's most valuable contributions is its breadth of chronology and geography. This chronological variation allows us to read a variety of historical and cultural changes through the lens of women in the convent. (For example, Nela Río's essay shows a woman's participation in the institutionalization of the colony in Santo Domingo, and Alicia Fraschina's contribution details the travels of a beata throughout Argentina, determined to keep alive the spiritual practices of the recently expelled Jesuits.) Their experiences, the contributors tell us, were not monolithic. For example, Alejandra Araya Espinoza, Ximena Azua Ríos, and Lucía Invernizzi's discussion of the letters of Sor Josefa de los Dolores Peña y Lillo makes a strong case for a more rational eighteenth-century direction in female spiritual writing, whereas Ellen Gunnarsdóttir's analysis of the turn-of-the-nineteenth-century writings of Sor María Ignacia del Niño Jesús in Querétaro shows how female religious challenged church reform through their adherence to a specifically New World baroque spiritual practice. This important aspect of religious transformation in the American setting at the hands of women comes up in several different essays. A wide geographical ground is covered in the contributions; alongside Mexico and Peru we find less common examples of nuns' writings from the Viceroyalty of La Plata, Ecuador, and Santo Domingo. This reveals important regional specificities and allows us, at the same time, to view the region as a whole and to plot the break from European models and religious transformation in the New World setting. For example, Rosalva Loreto's essay shows how the powerful Jesuit Miguel Godínez appropriated a nun's spiritual biography to form a model of peculiarly American spirituality; Nora Jaffary shows how Teresa of Ávila's teachings informed the actions of Peruvian *beatas* but were eventually reworked in the new context; and Concepción Zayas analyzes how heterodox religious manifestations such as *alumbrismo* (Illuminism) survived the Atlantic crossing.

This invaluable compilation both sheds new light on topics that have already received some attention and introduces new concepts that warrant further investigation, thus making important strides in consolidating the study of convent writing as a multifaceted and important subgenre of colonial studies. It will make an excellent textbook for

classes on colonial literature and history as well as providing source material and critical directions for scholarly study.

STEPHANIE KIRK, Washington University in St. Louis

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Los Kurakas: Una bibliografía anotada (1609–2005) de fuentes impresas sobre los señores andinos en Perú y Alto Perú entre 1533 y 1825. By RAFAEL E. TARRAGÓ. Documentos Tavera, 21. Madrid: Fundación Histórica Tavera / Instituto de Cultura Fundación MAPFRE, 2006. Bibliography. Indexes. 68 pp. Paper.

Academic study of the indigenous elites of the colonial Andes has grown enormously over the past three decades, producing a wealth of articles, monographs, and new editions of colonial era sources. As these have been issued by presses and in journals in the Andes, North America, and Europe, keeping up with this scholarly outpouring has proved quite difficult, and Tarragó's annotated bibliography of works that relate to kurakas (native Andean lords) is a boon to all who wish to familiarize themselves with this topic. The annotations are concise and useful, and the authorial indexing of the work makes it very easy to use. The divisions—including those separating out works on relations to the Catholic Church, and those on literature and the arts—help to group works on related topics (if at the cost, for example, of dividing Carolyn Dean's wonderful corpus between the two sections).

Ultimately, such a bibliography stands or falls on how well it helps the user to locate both the works and the scholars in a given field, and by and large Tarragó's guide succeeds, with a few caveats. At times the bibliography does not fully reflect the importance of particular contributors to the field: most glaringly, Karen Spalding is represented by only one article, Luis Miguel Glave by *Trajinantes* alone. Also, the author's decision to include two collections that focus on the Indian elite (those of Jean-Jacques Decoster and of David Cahill and Blanca Tovías) as single entries leaves active scholars unacknowledged (for example, Amado Gonzáles). In general, by drawing more aggressively from Peruvian and Bolivian journals the bibliography could include more work by Andean scholars with little exposure in the North. In general, Tarragó succeeds admirably in capturing works whose primary focus is on kurakas; more attention could be given to both sixteenth-century sources and foundational social histories that locate indigenous lords in colonial society more broadly.

In sum, Tarragó's bibliography is a useful tool to those interested in indigenous elites of the colonial Andes and invaluable to those seeking entry into a rich, growing, but scattered literature.

DAVID GARRETT, Reed College

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The Testaments of Toluca. Edited and translated with commentary and an introductory study by CATERINA PIZZIGONI. Nahuatl Studies, 8; UCLA Latin American Studies, 90. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press / UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 2007. Illustrations. Table. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. xv, 250 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

The study of wills fits into a wave of historiographies begun in the sixties with many works that have shed light on our knowledge of ways of thinking, including the works of Philippe Ariès, Michel Vovelle, François Lebrun, Alain Croix, and Pierre Chaunu. While these studies focused initially on France, America was not overlooked. In her pioneering study of 1962, Jacqueline de Durand-Forest noted the importance of indigenous testaments in Mexico. Others followed, such as Sarah L. Cline and Miguel León-Portilla, James Lockhart, Frances Berdan, Arthur J. O. Anderson, Luis Reyes García, Susan Kellogg, Teresa Rojas Rabiela, Elsa Leticia Rea López, and Constantino Medina Lima. As for the Mayan world, one could also mention Matthew Restall, among others, and for Peru, Frank Salomon.

Caterina Pizzigoni's work continues in the path of her predecessors. Her book is divided into two parts. In the first 50 pages, the author presents the wills in a general way, situating them in relation to the corpus of Mexican wills already published. She also clarifies the composition of her corpus. Out of 200 possible wills, she chose 98, half of which come from the collection of the Archivo Historico del Arzobispado de México and the other half from the Archivo General de la Nación. There are also some rare testaments from the Newberry Library in Chicago. All of the testaments come from Toluca, Tepemaxalco, and Calimaya and most date from the eighteenth century, with 9 dating from the second half of the seventeenth century. It is curious to note in passing the absence of older documents. Perhaps they don't exist? Among the documents presented, 38 come from women while 60 of them have male testators.

Pizzigoni presents the results of the analysis of the data in the section entitled "The Wills and What They Tell Us," which deals with the recitals, the organization of the funeral, the marital status, the witnesses, and so on. The brief study concerning language and orthography is one of the most interesting. Here the author demonstrates the existence of common elements in the provisions of the wills, such as the use of Spanish words rather than local ones, and she brings out the presence of variations within the same region. The following chapter is devoted to the notaries and to their role in the drawing up of the wills. This is one of the thorniest problems, because the tasks specific to the notary and those specific to the testator must be distinguished. In the last part of the introduction, Pizzigoni stresses what we already knew was true for other places such as Culhuacan, notably that these wills are often comparable to those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in terms of their form and the vocabulary used. In fact, there isn't much new in this type of document, which is almost stereotypical in that it must conform to the obligation of all good Christians to settle their affairs on earth, such as payment of debts and distribution of wealth. The author does, however, reveal certain changes from

past practices, such as the invoking of the Holy Family and the giving of alms to the Holy Places of Jerusalem. These are logical changes, given the times. Pizzigoni should not be criticized for her careful approach. But the present corpus is too limited numerically. Perhaps this will serve as an impetus for the author to pursue this study further.

The second part of the work is dedicated to the corpus of wills. The presentation is quite typical with two columns, the one on the right containing the paleography of the Nahuatl text and the one on the left containing the English translation. Since eighteenth-century writing doesn't really pose any reading problems, the paleography done by Pizzigoni appears correct. Each will is presented briefly and includes the testator, the notary, and the author's remarks on the significance of the document. Pizzigoni not only takes the precaution of noting certain words in Spanish (*regidor*, *fiscal*, *alcalde*) in order to avoid any confusion, but she also elucidates the text when there are difficulties in understanding it due to factors such as spaces, abbreviations, or illegibility.

It is clear that the main focus of the work is the retranscription of the wills. It is unfortunate, however, that no attempt is made to situate these wills within the corpus of those already known. In addition, there are no maps and no charts on the riches of the testators or their social or marital status. The bibliography is limited and many works have been omitted (for example, works by Thelma D. Sullivan, Emma Pérez-Rocha, Rafael Tena, and Margarita Menegus Bornemann). Nonetheless, this study could lay the groundwork for a future monograph on the life of the Indians of Toluca in the eighteenth century. In sum, it remains clear that this work provides us with interesting documents that enrich our corpus of known native wills and give us a better grasp of this world, which is at times very difficult to understand.

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Nineteenth-Century Nation Building and the Latin American Intellectual Tradition:

A Reader. Edited and translated by JANET BURKE and TED HUMPHREY. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2007, xii, 366 pp. Cloth \$47.95. Paper, £16.95.

This will be a splendid and useful book for teachers of courses focusing on the nineteenth century who have been frustrated at the lack of accessible sources in English. The selections are good: there are extracts from Simón Bolívar, José María Luis Mora, Andrés Bello, José Victorino Lastarria, Francisco Bilbao, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Esteban Echeverría, Lucas Alamán, Juan Alberdi, Eugenio María de Hostos, Juan Montalvo, José Martí, Soledad Acosta de Samper, Justo Sierra, Euclides da Cunha, Clorinda Matto de Turner, Francisco Bulnes, and Alcides Arguedas. In the words of the editor-translators, they have tried to let these "writers and thinkers speak for themselves in their own voices, without proscribing their expression beyond choosing the writers, selecting the work to represent them, and executing the translations" (p. vii). The criteria for selection appear to have been that the author should have some fame, a concern with the

civilization-barbarism debate, and an interest in histories of peoples and nations. There is a certain understandable desire to cover all the bases of gender and region.

The selection of texts is as near to impeccable as possible in trying to capture Latin American thinking between Bolívar in 1819 and Arguedas in 1909. The most obvious absences are José Enrique Rodó's *Ariel* (there is an excellent translation by Gordon Brotherston) and the work of Ricardo Palma (which has been translated by Helen Lane in Christopher Conway's 2004 Oxford University Press edition). The translations featured here are more problematic. Three of the extracts (one-sixth of the volume) have already been translated and published elsewhere. On some occasions it is not clear if (or why) Burke and Humphrey have followed existing translations, which they reference as further reading (as for Montalvo) or which they do not cite at all (as for Martí and Bello). This leads one to wonder whether Burke and Humphrey are aware of the alternative translations, and what their reasons were for finding them dissatisfactory. The uninitiated reader would think that this was the first time that Andrés Bello had been translated into English; but there are many good existing versions, most recently by Frances M. López-Morillas (in Ivan Jaksic's 1997 Oxford University Press edition). Burke and Humphrey do previous translators an injustice by neither referring to nor building upon their work. In the case of Simón Bolívar's Angostura Address, Burke and Humphrey's rendering is functional and lacking fluency in comparison to Frederick H. Fornoff's version in David Bushnell's 2003 Oxford edition of Bolívar's writings. For example: for the typical Bolivarian rhetoric of "Al desprenderse la América de la Monarquía Española, se ha encontrado semejante al Imperio Romano, cuando aquella enorme masa cayó dispersa en medio del antiguo mundo," Burke and Humphrey write, "America, having freed itself from the Spanish monarchy, has found itself in a situation similar to that of the Roman Empire when that enormous mass fell to pieces amidst the ancient world" (p. 5), whereas Fornoff wrote, "When America broke free of the Spanish Monarchy, the situation was similar to the fall of the Roman Empire, when that enormous mass fell apart in the ancient world" (p. 33).

This is a worthy collection of primary sources, and it will certainly be of use in bringing neglected texts and authors to the audience of students who have no Spanish. The editorial policy allows students to make up their own minds as to the quality of the ideas under discussion, but this does not really serve the volume's purpose as a reader. There is no index, so comparison between the texts is laborious, and editorial explanation of the texts is minimal and often limited to biographical notes on the authors. Many of the lists for further reading provided at the end of each extract feature works in Spanish, which is pointless if the intended reader does not have the language skills to read the primary text itself in the original. The volume would have benefited from a short historiographical article at the end suggesting further reading, in English, on Latin American nation building.

The book's aims are both general and simple: to create "the occasion for a voyage of intellectual discovery and encounter" and "to provide a foundation for deeper understanding and appreciation" (p. xii). The texts selected are so good, and the ideas

expressed within them are so stimulating and retain such potency, that any reader who encounters them has a chance of wanting to continue their voyage of discovery. Andrés Bello observed in an 1843 speech, deservedly included in this volume: "let us hear the accents of foreign wisdom and eloquence, not through the imperfect medium of translations, always and necessarily unfaithful, but rather living, sonorous, vibrant" (p. 59). Yet if we must have collections of translations, then this is as good as any.

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Colonial Period

Visions of Paradise: Primordial Titles and Mesoamerican History in Cuernavaca.

By ROBERT HASKETT. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. xi, 420 pp. Cloth, \$49.95.

Mesoamerican *títulos primordiales* are an exceedingly local and dauntingly heterogeneous colonial historical genre written by and for an indigenous audience and filled with momentous origin narratives. Since these documents often feature actors or episodes not found in other historical narratives and make idiosyncratic use of the Gregorian calendar, interpreters must contend with two vexing issues: the relationship between these narratives and other accounts written by indigenous or European chroniclers, and the nature of these texts as exercises in collective remembrance. In an inspired, inventive, and sprawling volume, Robert Haskett provides a closely reasoned answer to these questions based on some 19 primordial titles, most of them in Nahuatl, that focus on the local history of Cuauhnahuac, now Cuernavaca, a Tlaluica community whose political history was deeply impacted by two contrasting hegemonic processes: Mexica influence after the late 1430s and Spanish colonial rule less than a century later.

As a microhistory of Cuernavaca, this work shoulders the same dual burden confronted by Luis González y González's classic work on San José de Gracia: showing the multiple disjunctions between local historical narratives and grander national/global narratives, and contextualizing the former within the latter. Haskett approaches these tasks through a set of "nesting boxes." While chapter 1 gathers the disparate threads woven into the received image of Cuernavaca as a "land of eternal spring," chapter 2 summarizes Cuernavaca's place within major narratives of colonial rule in central Mexico. These elements build a gateway to three core chapters: an exploration of historical narratives embedded in the landscape, an ambitious summary of major themes in Cuernavaca's primordial titles, and a survey of local traditions regarding "the coming of the faith" and Christian miracles witnessed by natives. In fact, Haskett's expository and methodological approach, characterized by a careful contextualization of local narratives and a constant cross-referencing of figures and events among them, allows these three chapters to stand on their own as a separate, coherent whole.

Seemingly unreconstructed Carlisleans, the anonymous authors of Cuernavaca títulos focused on foundational acts performed by what Haskett terms “heroes of tradition”: local notables not always remembered outside their communities whose legitimacy—epitomized by the couplet *in pillotl in tlatocayotl* (nobility, rulership)—was confirmed by early encounters with Cortés and other representatives of colonial rule. Outsiders were often Nahuatized in speech and actions; in a revealing detail, the provincial governor inspects “the chili and salt,” a couplet conveying the notion of sustenance, in the local marketplace. The best example of such a hero, and of Haskett’s approach, is Don Toribio Cortés, a late sixteenth-century native governor of Cuernavaca. Rather than celebrating the first post-contact indigenous ruler, the títulos memorialized this ruthless ruler who augmented the community’s labor and tributary levies, according to litigation records. Furthermore, his wife Doña María Salomé was said to discover, providentially, a Holy Cross in a zapote tree. Haskett explains the motivation behind these choices by proposing a conflation with an earlier, more benevolent Don Toribio, and the association of his legacy with the political successes of the Hinojosas, a local ruling clan. Nevertheless, the heterogeneous composition of the títulos prevents individual biographies from serving as metonyms for local history, for these narratives’ structure is episodic, highly topical, and, unlike other native historical genres, loosely moored to chronology.

While the author brackets his analysis within a discussion of “myth” versus “history” as unified categories, his analytical reach goes well beyond this binary. Haskett provides compelling illustrations of how the títulos uphold structures of local dominance, depict colonial rule, and narrate the birth of communal institutions—all examples of what anthropologist Terry Turner has called “ethno-ethnohistories” in Amazonian communities. Furthermore, by showing that some native borrowings—such as the emergence of indigenous coats of arms, or the insertion in títulos of exempla indebted to doctrinal authors like Bernardino de Sahagún or Pedro de Gante—follow an independent logic of appropriation that pursues novel social meanings, Haskett emphasizes the status of títulos as an autochthonous historical genre with its own autonomous intellectual history.

Although more expert readers may wish for a few more details—such as footnote citations in the original Nahuatl or Spanish of ambiguous passages, or a discussion of the internal structure of certain títulos—Haskett’s exposition renders a dense and challenging topic accessible to an advanced undergraduate and graduate student audience. In the end, this volume shines as an eloquent exposition of local indigenous accounts that narrate the conquest and emergence of colonial hegemony as an ambivalent *longue durée* process and not as the punctual event memorialized in other colonial genres.

DAVID TAVÁREZ, Vassar College

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Bartolomé de las Casas: Great Prophet of the Americas. By PAUL S. VICKERY. New York: Paulist Press, 2006. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. vi, 205 pp. Paper, \$22.95.

What the author of this modest volume hopes to contribute to the field of Lascasian studies, fallow since 1992, he does not disclose. The book lacks a preface, and the introduction lacks a thesis. The implied thesis, that the lifework of Bartolomé de Las Casas satisfies the definition of a prophet, is not so much argued as stated. The author sweeps cogent historiographical discussions and important dates into his notes and fills his text with homilies on the subject of religious conversion. In company with other scholars, he believes that Las Casas experienced two such changes of direction, the first in 1514, when he dedicated his life to the defense and peaceful evangelizing of American Indians, and the second in 1522, when he decided to enter the Dominican Order.

During Las Casas's lifetime, those who were profiting by Spain's discoveries and brutal conquests in the Americas, from the king on down, were attacked, in conscience and in purse, by a series of prophets. The Dominican Antón Montesino mounted the first challenge in Santo Domingo with his inflammatory "Cry in the Wilderness" Advent sermon (1511). When the Laws of Burgos (1512) did nothing to remedy the abuses, the 30-year-old Las Casas appeared on the scene, a *sevillano* trained in canon law and sickened by the bloody campaigns he had witnessed—and profited by—in Hispaniola and Cuba. His tract-length blueprint for reform, *Memorial of Remedies*, led Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros to appoint him Protector of the Indians and advisor to the three Jeronymites sent to investigate the management of the Indies. Impatient with the friars' methods, Las Casas obtained a grant to colonize a region in Cumaná (1519–21) and illustrate peaceful conversion. Without financial backing, Las Casas sacrificed his principles to recruit colonists, and his failure to effect a peaceful conquest was made all the more bitter by news of the success of Hernán Cortés's wildcat expedition to Central Mexico, which the author does not mention. Chastened, Las Casas entered a Dominican monastery and buried himself in theological studies.

Years later, he resurfaced on Hispaniola to assist in the peaceful conclusion of the Enriquillo uprising (1533), which inspired his missiological treatise, *The Only Way to Draw All People to a Living Faith*. On the strength of this treatise and of his credentials in canon law and theology, he attended a conference in Oaxaca on Indian baptism, slavery, and conversion. His ideas on these subjects are detectable in the papal bull *Sublimus Deus* (1537), which endorsed human rights in Europe while Francisco Pizarro and his lieutenants spread havoc in Peru. In Salamanca, the Dominican Francisco de Vitoria expounded Thomist theories of natural rights in an important series of lectures on "The Things of the Indies" (1539). The Dominican Las Casas, in Spain to lobby the Emperor Charles V to roll back the conquest, produced the polemic, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, which Spain's enemies would subsequently seize upon as fodder for the Black Legend.

The emperor's New Laws (1542) meant to phase out the *encomienda* led to settler rebellions and were revoked within three years. Las Casas, appointed Bishop of Chiapa in 1544, traveled to Guatemala with royal backing to convert a Land of War into a Land of Peace (Verapaz). But his efforts to reform society by episcopal fiat, expressed in *Twelve Rules for Confessors*, backfired, and he returned to Spain to work on his massive *General History of the Indies*. The emperor called his feisty prophet out of retirement to debate the morality of the conquest with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda at Valladolid (1550), declaring a moratorium on conquest until the judges should declare a winner. Without waiting for their decision, Las Casas published his arguments, *In Defense of the Indians*.

The author treats Las Casas's thought as an unfolding revelation, as the priestly agitator moved from advocating African slavery to denouncing slavery of any kind, and from seeking the Crown's backing for reform to calling down the wrath of God upon monarch and nation for not rewinding 70 years of history. He regards Las Casas's sequent careers as incidental to his true calling—that of a prophet prepared to challenge authority on behalf of his beloved Indians at any time, in person or in print.

The book does not pretend to be a biography of Las Casas, on whose life Helen Rand Parish's introduction to *Bartolomé de Las Casas: The Only Way* (1991) remains the latest word. It does not revive the debate about Las Casas and the Black Legend, quiescent since Lewis Hanke and Benjamin Keen declared a moratorium in the pages of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (1971). It is not primarily a study of Las Casas's evolving thought nor of the political impact of his writings, like David Brading's "The Unarmed Prophet," in *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State* (1991), 58–78. Much less is it a critique of Las Casas's writings, acts, and legacy, like Daniel Castro's impressive *Another Face of Empire: Bartolomé de Las Casas, Indigenous Rights, and Ecclesiastical Imperialism* (2007).

As a summary of Las Casas's life and thought, this volume is clear, succinct, and intended for a particular kind of classroom. At fundamentalist institutions, religion is understood to be an intellectual activity that leaves room for individual insights and projects, such as this author's thoughtful study of a sixteenth-century Roman Catholic priest. Outside their walls, however, there is little call for a book in which religion and history go hand in hand.

AMY TURNER BUSHNELL, Brown University

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Memoria del nombre y salvación eterna: Los notables y las capellanías de misas en Chile, 1557–1930. By MARÍA EUGENIA HORVITZ V. Santiago, Chile: Departamento de Ciencias Históricas, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad de Chile, 2006. 491 pp. Illustrations. Appendixes. Notes. Index. Paper.

State-financed team research is a relatively new development in Latin America, but in Chile it is already bearing fruit. Despite some unevenness in the quality of the essays and minor redundancies in the presentation of its theoretical and methodological foundations, this book is an example of the benefits of setting a group of junior and senior researchers to examine different aspects of a shared historical problem. Here, five researchers from Santiago, under the direction of María Eugenia Horvitz, analyze four hundred years of *capellanías de sangre*, chantries founded by elites to endow an eternal series of masses offered to the benefit of their own souls and those of past generations of family members. These spiritual investments involved the placement of mortgages, or *censos*, on real property or other assets, and they fulfilled many purposes. In addition to assuring the ritualized and perpetual memory of a notable lineage, the chantries reinforced alliances with ecclesiastic institutions and protected family wealth: 84 percent of the founders stipulated that a succession of family members serve as the chantry's chaplains. In addition, members of the family, including laywomen, were named as the patrons of these pious works.

The authors of this book rely on a rich assortment of wills, church records, and government documents to show how capellanías were particularly apt and enduring vehicles by which local elites in colonial and republican Chile linked land, lineage, and a "spiritualized memory." They argue that Chile represents a unique case among Spanish American states in which the capellanías survived the modernization and nation-building processes of the nineteenth century to endure until at least 1935. In her contributions to the volume, María Eugenia Horvitz contends that the extraordinary resilience of the capellanías in Chile is due to the fact that aristocratic families shared the overwhelming need to assure the memory of their lineages based on land, and that this impulse outweighed the economic incentives for the modernization of agriculture and production in the nineteenth century. Thus, as discussed by Bernardo González Mella, the Civil Code of 1855 granted the cash-strapped state the power to redeem capellanías from willing landowners, with the commitment that it assumed the associated obligations in perpetuity. Successive governments avoided suppressing these foundations, and it was only during the Agrarian Reform movement of the mid-twentieth century that rural properties subject to *censos* were disentailed by the state.

Margarita Iglesias writes of the growing role of women as the founders of chantries over the colonial and republican periods and attributes this tendency to the gendered responsibility to preserve social prestige, lineages, and memories. She traces the actions of various generations of elite families to show how women fulfilled the charge to "preserve the networks of concrete and symbolic power through the social representations of the colonial world" (p. 279). In a related note, Ximena Cortez González shows how nuns

often established chantries when they professed their vows; the proceeds of these pious works were applied in part to covering their own expenses in the convent. These funds also enabled the female religious houses to extend loans, especially to their members' relatives, thus acting as mediators between the spiritual and material worlds while also solidifying elite family fortunes.

Juan Carlos Luengo Peila analyzes the language contained in the chaplaincy documents to reach the rather vacuous argument that the formulas employed demonstrate how memories were maintained through discursive ritual means. Marcial Sánchez Gaete provides a case study of the uses of the chantry by the Toro Mazote family to consolidate and preserve the social and economic fortunes of successive generations.

This work is particularly useful for those interested in the cultural history of religion in the colonial world, and to a lesser extent to those examining family networks and credit systems. The evidence provided in this book demonstrates clearly that, as compared to conditions in Peru and Mexico as analyzed by researchers in these colonial centers of lay wealth and clerical power, in Chile women were unusually frequent founders of chantries, and the Chilean state was uniquely reluctant to abolish these endowments despite its often liberal and modernizing tendencies. The explanations for these trends are less well established, however, and they undoubtedly call for broader comparative studies between Chile and other outlying areas of colonial Spanish America.

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Defying the Inquisition in Colonial New Mexico: Miguel de Quintana's Life and Writing.

Edited and translated by FRANCISCO A. LOMELÍ and CLARK A. COLAHAN.

Foreword by LUIS LEAL. Pasó por Aquí: Series in the Nuevomexicano Literary Heritage. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. Photographs.

Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 218 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

In 1732 the Franciscan ministers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz del Reino de la Nueva Mexico felt compelled to initiate legal action against a local scribe (*escribano*), Miguel de Quintana, after getting acquainted with his personal writings. In the friars' view, Quintana's ideas might amount to transgressions against Catholic Church principles. Quintana was denounced to the Inquisition's New Mexican representative, a fellow Franciscan, who forwarded the file to the Santo Oficio authorities in Mexico City.

As the case proceeded, the poetry and prose writings of Quintana came to light. Francisco Lomelí and Clark Colahan have recovered Quintana's case from archival research in Mexico City and New Mexico, providing the reader with a unique opportunity to look at the religious horizons of a secular man in northern New Mexico. After being notified by the zealous Franciscans, the authorities in charge of protecting the Catholic faith in New Spain found enough evidence to prosecute Quintana with the charge of writing "proposiciones temerarias y escandalosas [scandalous and imprudent

assertions],” a certainly minor offense, which nevertheless generated enough information to look inside the life and times of this New Mexican writer.

Lomelí and Colahan present a fully bilingual edition of the writings of Quintana, along with the full transcript of his interactions with the Holy Inquisition Tribunal representatives in New Mexico and Mexico City. While the case against Quintana certainly lacks the splash of other more prominent inquisitorial files in New Spain (in the best tradition of the colonial, repressive Tribunal del Santo Oficio, he was ordered to stop writing and be silent), the legal process illustrates in detail the life and times of one of the founders of Santa Cruz de la Canada in the aftermath of the 1680 Pueblo Indian revolt against Spanish colonial rule. Born a Spanish criollo in Mexico City, Quintana ventured north along the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and participated as one of the *espanoles mexicanos* in the process of Spanish resettlement in northern New Mexico orchestrated by colonial authorities in Mexico City. Once a *vecino* of the new settlement of Santa Cruz, this New Mexican writer lived in a rather discreet manner as clerk for both civil and religious authorities. Lomelí and Colahan provide a meticulous study of Quintana’s life and times based on archival and secondary sources.

The authors contextualize Quintana’s writings in the literary traditions of Spanish mysticism, New Mexican religious culture and devotions, and other possible sources of inspiration and learning. While the section linking Quintana with the local religious devotions in northern New Mexico is particularly insightful and contributes greatly to the understanding of Quintana’s literary horizons, the connections between Quintana’s religious thoughts and the writings of Spanish mystics seem to be less convincing. A deeper analysis of the history of reading and book circulation in the Spanish borderlands is certainly missing from the study, as is a historical perspective on Quintana’s assertions in the context of similar cases tried by the colonial Inquisition in New Spain.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the writings of Miguel de Quintana, along with the preliminary study of his life, writings, and times, make a significant contribution to the literary traditions of colonial New Mexico and colonial New Spain. We are in debt to Francisco Lomelí and Clark Colahan for rediscovering an author who certainly deserves a place in the history of literature in New Mexico, the Spanish borderlands, and Chicano/Latino culture in general.

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Blacks, Indians, and Spaniards in the Eastern Andes: Reclaiming the Forgotten in Colonial Mizque, 1550–1782. By LOLITA GUTIÉRREZ BROCKINGTON. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. Illustration. Maps. Tables. Glossary. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 342 pp. Cloth, \$45.00.

On a bus from Cochabamba to Sucre, one passes through the area of Mizque, a rugged region of mighty Andean foothills in eastern highland Bolivia. Except on its interior edge, which descends toward the lowland savanna, the area is dry. But rivers flow down the many valleys among the parallel ranges of the foothills, eventually finding their way to Amazonia. The watered, fertile floors of these valleys have, from the distant past to the present, offered fine agricultural opportunities, which Spanish colonists were quick to exploit in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the period with which this book is mostly concerned.

The first European occupation of the Mizque region seems to have been a continuation of the push southwards from Peru in the late 1530s and early 1540s that led to the founding of La Plata (now Sucre) and Potosí. A Villa de Mizque existed by 1557, and the area later became a *corregimiento*. Among the early European occupants were *encomenderos* from already powerful Andean families. They quickly set about using their Indians, and the lands they acquired, to produce livestock, sugar cane, wine, and—on the warm and humid eastern fringe, following preconquest precedent—coca. They also had to exert considerable effort to drive back incursions by the various native groups known generically as Chiriguanos, long resistant to outsiders of whatever origin.

Brockington's early chapters examine that conflict, along with settlement, agricultural production, and trade, in well-supported detail. At first sight, the wealth of early documentation about Mizque, primarily in the Bolivian national archive and the municipal archive of Cochabamba, might seem surprising. The area seems so remote. But of course it was not so in the period covered by the book. A large reason for the abundant *papeleo* is undoubtedly that, as Brockington shows, the Mizque area was an important source of supply for Potosí from the very start. The Potosí market, and to a lesser degree that of La Plata, hangs as a massive magnet over the early colonial history of Mizque. One of the most engaging sections of the first half of the book is a chronicle of the building, in the early 1630s, of a bridge over the Río Grande, the main hindrance to trade between Mizque and the La Plata and Potosí markets.

Production, however, is not the core of the book. What interests Brockington most, and yields her most intricately argued pages, is the population that underlay production. *Encomienda* provided the initial labor and continued to do so for some time, though it is not clear for how long. What is certain, however, is that the native population shrank dramatically in the century after contact, as elsewhere in the Spanish colonies, from a combination of disease and flight. (One running theme of the book is, indeed, that of people's mobility in the Andean foothills and the deeper interior plains, colonial movement continuing a well-established earlier pattern.) The surviving Indians became *yanaconas* (workers or servants personally attached to Spaniards) on *chácaras*, the local farms

and estates. The number of yanaconas working at any moment is unclear. But two of the many extant tribute assessments (*padrones*) of Mizque chácaras, documents which are one of the central sources for the book, show 1,513 yanaconas on 38 chácaras in 1597–98, and 1,359 on the same number in 1683 (pp. 221–25). Brockington emphasizes the distant origins of some of these workers and their typically weak attachment to any particular landholding.

Far more striking than the yanaconas' mobility, however, is the fact that some of them were of African descent. Chapter 5, "The Africans and Their Descendants," is the central point of the book. Africans first arrived in Mizque as members of early conquering or exploring parties. More came later as slaves imported through Buenos Aires. The desire and capacity of Mizque farmers to buy black slaves would seem to indicate that agriculture was profitable, although the decline of the native population was certainly also an incentive. The slaves mingled with the remaining native people, so that *mulato* in seventeenth-century Mizque signified the mixture of black and Indian. Since mothers in mixed unions were generally Indians, children, taking the mother's status, were born free; hence the *mulato yanacona*. As the seventeenth century wore on, individuals' occupations tended to override their racial identification, in characteristic Spanish American fashion. So it was that in 1683 there appears on one estancia a *mulato curaca* ("curaca" meaning here not a village leader but the supervisor of the landholding) (p. 173). Brockington devotes many pages to analyzing the complexities of ethno-occupational nomenclature in seventeenth-century Mizque, a slippery topic.

This book is a careful, revealing, and intelligent blend of economic, social, and cultural history. It reminds us that what is now peripheral was not always so. More than a decade in the making, its arrival is most welcome.

PETER BAKEWELL, Southern Methodist University

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Patrones, clientes y amigos: El poder burocrático indiano en la España del siglo XVIII.

By VÍCTOR PERALTA RUIZ. Colección América, 1. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2006. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 289 pp. Paper.

In this book, Peralta Ruiz analyzes the network of personal and institutional relations that in the eighteenth century connected the secretaries of state and of the navy and the Indies (*secretarios de Estado* and *secretarios del Despacho de Marina e Indias*) with individuals in the New World. Arguing that these networks were established by appealing to family ties and common origin, he posits that equally important to their constitution and maintenance was the ability of those on the American side to provide their friends, perhaps protectors, with useful information, mainly in the form of manuscripts or publications that appealed to these powerful secretaries because they were useful to them personally, or could be helpful in the administration of the monarchy. Among such works were apologetic essays, political and economic projects, and historical narratives. These were

important to the secretaries because, working in Madrid, they needed constant input regarding what was happening and what should be done in the Americas. Dependent on such information, the secretaries were willing to repay it by promoting the authors to offices, a promotion that they controlled in practice.

In order to prove the above, Peralta Ruiz analyzes six different cases, tracing a connection between writing and promotion as well as writing and dismissal. These included the relationship between Dionisio de Alcedo y Herrera and José Patiño, and between Sebastián de Eslava and the Marqués de la Ensenada. Peralta Ruiz also studies how and why the Junta Extraordinaria de Indias arrived at a conclusion favoring free trade, and the way secretaries fomented the writing of histories. The case of José Eusebio Llano Zapata allows Peralta Ruiz a counterpoint. He argues that despite great efforts at establishing contact with important members of the court by writing to them, about them, and for them, Llano nevertheless failed to acquire a patron. In the chapter dedicated to him, Peralta Ruiz attempts to understand why.

Although the main arguments are hidden rather than exposed in the text, this book nevertheless makes some very important claims. First, early modern administration, if such a figure ever existed, should be portrayed as a dense web of personal relationships. Those who obeyed royal orders were perhaps motivated by respect for the monarch, but they were also encouraged to collaborate because of ties linking them to other individuals or groups. As Giovanni Levi once argued, power is relational and, as most of the recent literature affirms, the Spanish state was weak, rather than centralized or absolutist. Perhaps most important, Peralta Ruiz demonstrates that cultural production, namely writing, had a major role in constructing the social networks that enabled government. This implies that rather than judging pieces of writing only according to content, we must also evaluate their role as facilitators of human interaction. Interested in the personal relationships that made possible an "Atlantic world," Peralta Ruiz argues that not only people, goods, values, and institutions crossed the ocean. Also created, enhanced, exchanged, and modified were widely extending networks of clientelism and patronage. Although theoretically these networks depended on personal contact, because writing was involved they could also be created from afar.

Atlantic history is still unpopular in Spain. Most historians specialize either in one side of the Atlantic or the other; they are historians either of Spain or of Spanish America. Those who do care about the larger structures usually study the Spanish monarchy; that is, they include in their analysis not only Spain and the Americas but also the expansion to other European territories, as well as to Asia and Africa. This book will hopefully encourage the adoption of a third framework, not necessarily superior, but certainly also important, by which to analyze Spain and Spanish America.

TAMAR HERZOG, Stanford University

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Death and Dying in New Mexico. By MARTINA WILL DE CHAPARRO. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press; published in cooperation with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxiv, 261 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.

The deathbed tells us a great deal about life. In Martina Will de Chaparro's admirable study the deathbed reveals much about change in social relations and definitions of the public and the private. Will's study begins in 1700, but the book's core explores how ways of death changed in nineteenth-century New Mexico. Based upon the study of 469 wills (dated 1704–1899, one-third dictated by women), this book also utilizes burial registers, prescriptive literature, archeological findings, criminal records, and newspapers. Will offers thoughtful analysis of ideas, ritual actions, and material culture. Illustrations well exemplify the book's central concepts.

Dying women and men desired a "good death," a mindful, orderly approach toward their final moments in this world. To help the soul win the struggle for salvation, New Mexicans prepared detailed wills, sought last rites, and planned for proper burial. Will stresses that a baroque sensibility shaped ideas and practices around death in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New Mexico. While New Mexican deathways shared much with Spain and Mexico, distinctive rituals were common in this imperial fringe, especially before 1820. Colonial New Mexicans focused most on the soul's journey after death and, by modern standards, little on the body. The cadaver required little care before burial; no marker designated burial place. New Mexicans instead preferred unmarked interment beneath the church floor. In 1800 nearly 100 percent of recorded burials took place inside a church. In New Mexico "wealthy vecinos, the indigent, Indian servants, and foundlings shared the space beneath the church" (p. 92), in contrast to the exclusive, hierarchical patterns common in central Mexico. New Mexicans of all types demonstrated a penchant for burial in the habit of St. Francis. Deathbed requests for such pious burials declined as the colonial era ended and the numbers of Franciscan clergy dwindled.

Will recounts the protracted battles between church officials, local clergy, and laity over the place of burial. Directives for "ventilated cemeteries" began in the late colonial era, but New Mexicans pushed for traditional burial within the church itself. The remaining Franciscans squarely ignored these reform decrees. In general, "New Mexicans resisted Bourbon reforms of local religious practices" (p. 7). Conflict between distant officials and New Mexicans continued into the Mexican national period. (Will argues that the festering issue of burial location partly explains the causes of the 1837 Chimayó Rebellion.) The Franciscans' replacement by diocesan clergy hastened change, and authorities won out. Cemeteries were established outside of town centers, eventually "exiling the dead" and ending a centuries-old practice of church burial. Will's statistics show a sharp decline in church burials by the 1840s. Yet evidence indicates that the practice continued in private chapels, rural parishes, and, for the wealthy, in some churches.

Will finishes her study by examining the unmistakable impact that Anglo businessmen had on deathways. The newcomers promoted among Hispanics practices common in the U.S. Northeast: coffins, embalming, and memorial portraits. By the late nineteenth century, the urban Hispanic dead seldom wore the Franciscan habit but rather had themselves encased in a coffin prior to burial in a cemetery well beyond the church. This fascinating chapter, which makes good use of newspaper advertisements, demonstrates the rapidity of change in urban New Mexico as local people began to follow ways from the eastern United States. (Will does not discuss changing deathways in Porfirian Mexico, thus neglecting a chance to continue this otherwise thoroughly transnational story.) Yet even in this era, change was not unidirectional. Will considers contradictory patterns in the nineteenth century: "As some sectors of society gradually moved toward a more secular way of dying and living, others embraced a traditional, baroque religiosity" (p. 62). In the end, Will documents rapid transformation in deathways, but change began in the Spanish empire and in New Mexico itself, and should not be attributed solely to Anglo influence.

This generally strong volume has a couple shortcomings. First, readers interested in Pueblo religiosity will find relatively little here. Will focuses mostly on the "Spaniards" who, she acknowledges, had a mixed ethnic heritage. Second, Will uses published literature as evidence of mentalities. I question the degree to which print culture from Spain and central Mexico filtered into everyday life in distant, impoverished, and largely illiterate New Mexico. Will mentions a "rich oral tradition of sermons, stories, morality plays, and songs" (p. 18), but utilizes little such material.

This readable study will interest scholars and students of colonial Latin America, the Southwest, and popular religion. The final chapter should also be shared with colleagues in U.S. history. Will directly addresses scholarship on death in the United States, rightfully reminding readers that "no single 'American' way of death has ever existed" (p. xix).

DEBORAH KANTER, Albion College

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-058

Mexican Soundings: Essays in Honour of David A. Brading.

Edited by SUSAN DEANS-SMITH and ERIC VAN YOUNG. London: University of London, Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2007. 221 pp. Paper, \$25.00.

David Brading's contributions to Mexican history are equaled by few and exceeded by none. This volume is a fitting tribute, and more. Three opening essays focus on Brading's work; six more engage historical questions that build on Brading's histories and move our understanding forward. All make meaningful contributions. Together they reveal much about a scholarly life and how it continues to stimulate the work of many others.

Perhaps the most important chapter is Brading's autobiographical essay, an ampli-

fication of a piece published in Spanish a decade ago. Two emphases are notable: a sense of the limits of works that others recognize as great successes, and the unplanned, sometimes accidental nature of the scholarly journey. The former needs no comment, other than to emphasize that Brading's works continue to make key contributions, whatever their limits. More notable is his "confession" that the odyssey of research and publication did not follow a planned route, especially near the beginning. There were uncertain starts before Brading found history and colonial Mexico; there was transforming work in social history, yet we learn he was uncomfortable with that approach; there followed monumental work in intellectual and cultural history, a domain revealed as closer to Brading's heart. Every faculty member struggling to select candidates for doctoral study, every young scholar looking to find a way in the field, should read Brading's tale of an unplanned, winding road.

Enrique Florescano offers a brief piece on the importance of his long personal and scholarly interchange with Brading, perhaps the best evidence available that scholars in Mexico and scholars of Mexico must remain in constant interaction. Neither Florescano nor Brading would have achieved what they have without the stimulus of their continuous engagement. Eric Van Young follows with a careful and admiring exploration of Brading's contributions to Mexican history during the century of transition from 1750 to 1850. Van Young emphasizes that among all Brading's books and essays, two tower above the others, and most of the field: *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810* (1971) and *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (1991). No one can understand the silver economy, social processes, and government reforms of the late colonial era without knowing *Miners and Merchants*, the book that introduced David Brading to a generation. *The First America* took on even larger challenges, brilliantly tracing imperial power and ideology along with Spanish American cultural and intellectual responses and innovations over more than three centuries, reaching past independence to mid-nineteenth-century liberal reforms.

The volume then turns from biographical historiography to history. Two essays plumb questions of colonial society and culture: Susan Deans-Smith previews her work on the painters of colonial Mexico City as they asserted artistry while others saw them as craftsmen. It is a study finely tuned to questions of guild and community, Spanish presumptions of superiority, and the assertions of men of indigenous, mestizo, and mulatto ancestry. Ellen Gunnarsdóttir follows with an illuminating short biography of Francisca de los Angeles, a Querétaro *beata* who lived in the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. We meet a devout, literate woman through letters she exchanged with the famed missionary, Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús. Margil lived the public life of a traveling preacher, yet we encounter in Francisca a woman his equal in devotion, joining in a spiritual-intellectual exchange that shaped both lives.

Three essays explore the middle decades of the nineteenth century and the conflicts of the liberal reform era. Brian Hamnett examines the early career of Tomás Mejía, demonstrating that we must take seriously those who backed losing projects—in Mejía's case the Conservatives in the 1850s and Maximilian in the 1860s—if we are to begin

to understand the liberal triumph of 1867. María Eugenia García Ugarte takes a similar approach, focusing on the importance of the conservative Bishop Pelagio Labastida in the same era. Guy Thomson offers an illuminating examination of the interactions among nineteenth-century historical narratives, modern historical memories, and scholarly historians—all from or focusing on the Sierra de Puebla, where he, Florencia Mallon, and others have worked so effectively. All three studies advance our understanding of Mexico's era of contested liberal reforms.

The volume concludes with Alan Knight's sharp analysis of the concept, and uncertain reality, of national identity in Mexico. He argues that while there were those, especially during the Mexican Revolution and its aftermath, who worked to create a Mexican national identity, the existence of such a cultural common denominator appears questionable. To the extent that national identity was promoted and debated and perhaps shaped aspects of Mexican life, Knight insists that its emphases and limits require explanation. Identity, in contrast, explains little. Knight argues for an integrated economic, social, political, and cultural history, as exemplified in the work of David Brading.

JOHN TUTINO, Georgetown University

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National Period

Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence.

Edited by WILLIAM E. FRENCH and KATHERINE ELAINE BLISS. Jaguar Books on Latin America. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Photographs. Illustration. Map. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. viii, 309 pp. Cloth, \$75.00. Paper, \$29.95.

This is a terrific collection of new scholarship on sexuality and gender in Latin America. While there are now numerous edited volumes on these topics, *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence* stands out both for its extremely useful introduction and the truly new directions taken by the essays of the contributing scholars. In fact, my main complaint might be that such a strong book deserved a less generic title.

Editors William French and Katherine Bliss provide a superbly written introductory essay on the genealogy of Latin Americanist women's studies, gender history, and history of sexuality in the English-language academy, from early studies on women and development thorough the impact of Joan Scott, Michel Foucault, and Judith Butler. While the authors' analysis is sophisticated, the prose is straightforward and consciously crafted to reach students and other readers who may be completely unfamiliar with feminist debates and why they matter. French and Bliss open with an anecdote about the irresolvable debates over gender and sexuality at the 1995 United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing, China. They go on to note that, within Latin American studies, "gender" and its construction have been more prevalent topics for scholars from the English-dominant North Atlantic, whereas "women's experience" and "female agency"

continue to have more focus for scholars writing from within Latin America. Partly this difference stems from different histories of exclusion within academic halls of power, including the relatively greater hostility facing feminist scholars inside Latin America. It likewise stems from the greater imperative in Latin America as a region to prioritize women's empowerment within ongoing quests for national development. Despite such differences, the authors note that newer scholarship concerned with destabilizing racial and sexual binaries is being generated by scholars in both North and South.

The eleven essays comprising *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence* are, for the most part, all well-written, thorough, stand-alone monographic pieces—a very welcome exception among the many uneven collected volumes of conference papers. Especially noteworthy are the excellent pieces on masculinity, including David Parker's rereading of "duelling" in Uruguay as a fundamentally modern rather than archaic form of political speech; Eduardo Archetti's elegant discussion of Gaucho imagery and primitivism in urban tango; Katherine Bliss and Ann Blum's study of Mexican teenagers; and Cymene Howe's account of homosexuality in 1990s Nicaragua. Several other fine essays stress the centrality of sexuality to discourses of science: James Green provides compelling arguments about the importance of "inverts" to Brazilian eugenics; Alejandra Bronfman considers similar dynamics with Cuban criminology studies of women; and Pablo Piccato undertakes an admirable comparison between male and female prisoners' sexual practices (and their analysis by criminologists) in Mexico.

One of the most dynamic and innovative essays is Lara Putnam's discussion of how women's informal service work—from laundry to pie-making to sex—fully sustained the more famous export enclaves of Central American and Caribbean banana republics. Putnam emphasizes not only the continual, transnational traffic of migrant workers between English-speaking and Spanish-speaking regions and countries, but also the centrality of "reproductive labor" to the global flow of commodities. More squarely within the genre of women's history, Arlene Díaz skillfully reads a death penalty case from early republican Venezuela, and Erica Windler explores cross-dressing by a well-respected Brazilian midwife. Lessie Jo Frazier provides a final essay on political violence and memory in South America.

As a whole, this collection is noteworthy and refreshing for its subtle departure from a focus on state formation and social movements, themes which have dominated feminist research on Latin America in the recent past. Obviously, these phenomena continue to be crucial, and the contributing authors of this volume are not unengaged with these debates. In most of these essays, however, the conception of "power" invoked is broader and more cultural than that at work in most of the social history on gender and sexuality from the last decade and a half. This well-rendered volume testifies to the vibrancy of the field and deserves wide attention.

HEIDI TINSMAN, University of California, Irvine

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The Women's Revolution in Mexico, 1910–1953. Edited by STEPHANIE MITCHELL and PATIENCE A. SCHELL. Latin American Silhouettes. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Photograph. Notes. Bibliography. Index. viii, 233 pp. Cloth, \$75.00. Paper, \$27.95.

Stephanie Mitchell and Patience Schell have produced a classroom-friendly volume that teachers in undergraduate and even high school classes will find extremely useful. Mitchell's introduction offers a concise narrative of Mexico's 1910–17 revolution and its immediate aftermath, which could easily be assigned in combination with one or more of the essays that follow. Each chapter contains the text of a primary document cited in the essay, creating an easy opportunity for assignments and discussions about primary sources. The essays also frequently reference one another, guiding readers to elaborations on themes. Finally, the authors all adopt a style and language that most readers should find quite accessible.

The first chapter following the introduction, Martha Eva Rocha's prosopographical essay about women seeking recognition as revolutionary veterans, reminds us why volumes like this one remain necessary and indispensable to our arsenal of teaching resources. In March 1916, Venustiano Carranza's minister of War and Navy announced, "All the military appointments given to *señoras y señoritas*, whatever may be the services that they have given, are declared null and void" (p. 16). The following year, women were expelled from all branches of the military. As Rocha's essay and others in this collection remind us, women merit historical study as women because that status, however contested and problematic, mattered (and in many ways still matters) in the realms of law and public policy as well as social practice. While we might teach these essays alongside discussions that trouble the notion of "woman" as a unified or discernable subject, the experiences documented in this collection remind us that it would be a mistake to ignore the tangible impact of "womanhood" in the political and social imaginary.

The chapters cover a broad array of women's experiences during the decades during and immediately after the revolution, including Rocha's chapter on veterans, Andrew Grant Wood's on Veracruz rent strikers, Patience Schell's on Catholic activists, and Katherine Bliss's on prostitutes in Mexico City's syphilis clinic. While the volume does not claim to offer a comprehensive account, and experiences and representations of indigenous women are conspicuously absent, it admirably covers considerable social and geographic territory.

Building on a well-developed literature on postrevolutionary public education, several essays focus on the opportunities created by women in the teaching professions. During a period when the distinction between revolutionary activism and public education remained blurry, many women found that becoming schoolteachers not only allowed them access to middle-class respectability and a modest (if often unreliable) income but also offered an avenue for pursuing political or ideological aspirations as community organizers. Most of these contributions also grapple with the complicated role that motherhood has played for Mexican women, not only as a lived experience but

also as a political motivator and as a role that overlapped with vocations as diverse as teaching and prostitution. In the realm of politics and policy making, as Nichole Sanders and Sarah Buck point out, maternalist claims could be simultaneously constraining and emancipatory—a paradox that invites a lively classroom discussion.

Piecing together documentation that often provides only passing glimpses of women's lives, several chapters adopt biographical or prosopographical strategies to illuminate the connections between women's private and public lives and between their social efforts and their political ones. These approaches can tend toward hagiography or an awkward familiarity and raise questions, of course, about whether we can generalize from what are often quite unusual experiences or particular perspectives. Nonetheless, these vivid, engaging narratives promise to hold readers' attention and demonstrate the human stakes of more abstracted or analytical discussions.

The contributors keep the volume accessible in part by avoiding sophisticated or jargon-laden theoretical analyses. The essays avoid the citational practices and historiographic reviews that specialists and graduate students find indispensable but that most undergraduates would probably skip. The very elements that make this collection such a valuable asset for teaching will, no doubt, frustrate some readers. The chapters' length, while suitable for classroom use, requires a simplification of narratives and analyses with which specialists might quibble. The volume contains copyediting errors—incorrect dates, and citations that do not correspond with the textual references, for example—that will probably pass unnoticed by the intended undergraduate audience but that some readers might find distracting.

These minor criticisms aside, the editors and authors of this collection have produced a volume that could be used productively in courses on not only Mexican and Latin American history but also comparative women's history.

JOCELYN OLCOTT, Duke University

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Sons of the Sierra: Juárez, Díaz, and the People of Ixtlán, Oaxaca, 1855–1920.

By PATRICK J. MCNAMARA. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Photographs. Map. Table. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 282 pp. Cloth, \$65.00.

Paper, \$24.95.

Patrick McNamara's *Sons of the Sierra* examines the engagement of the Zapotecs of Oaxaca's Sierra Juárez in national politics with an eye to explaining "not why the [Porfirian] regime fell in 1911, but why it lasted as long as it did" (p. 11). Based on this case study, the author argues that Díaz's power was constructed from below, and that rural villagers, identifying with the regime's imagery and paternalism, supported him through much of his long dictatorship.

Ties between Díaz and the Serranos were established when Díaz arrived in the region in 1855 to create the Ixtlán National Guard; the Serranos joined because it meant

supporting Benito Juárez, then rising to national power, who was born in the Sierra village of Guelatao. Sierra Zapotecs subsequently strengthened connections to these two men who ruled Mexico for decades by fighting in various Reform-era struggles and, ultimately, helping put Díaz in the presidency in 1876. In the process, McNamara finds, memories of war came to form the basis of “a distinct political culture, a celebration of ‘heroic patriarchy’” (p. 3) in the Sierra. The Serranos also developed a political narrative that seamlessly linked Juárez and Díaz, conveniently forgetting the latter’s 1871 uprising against the former, which they had not backed. In return for their service, Zapotec veterans expected the rewards of the “liberty” for which they had fought. For them, that liberty consisted of the freedom to choose their own leaders and to remain armed, the fair adjudication of land disputes, and employment in area mines.

McNamara provides a clear periodization of the Porfirian regime in the Sierra. From 1876 to 1890, Díaz and such local mestizo leaders as Francisco Meijueiro, who had led the Zapotec militia into battle, made sure the Zapotecs received the rewards they expected. For their part, the Zapotecs found that reminding officials that they remained armed was enough to defend their positions. Negotiation was the regime’s preferred method. But between 1890 and 1906, men who had not fought in the wars inherited positions as mestizo leaders in the Sierra and often failed to honor Zapotec claims. As competition over basic resources grew, the regional unity of the militia gave way to rising intervillage conflict. Still, McNamara contends that *jefes políticos* often protected local interests and that their prerogatives were limited by the ability of villagers to appeal to national officials. It was in this period, predictably, that the regime began to commemorate Juárez.

Between 1906 and 1911 consensual politics ended, as Sierra Zapotecs, suffering from recession and oppression, came to feel abandoned both by Díaz and his increasingly greedy local representatives. They now challenged Díaz himself: a 1906 letter from the Sierra asked him not to impose officials on them, “as you are accustomed to do all over the country” (p. 172). McNamara suggests that this pattern of experience was more significant than the role of the officially enshrined “precursors” of the revolution—an interesting point, though one that would be more compelling if the Serranos had taken up arms against Díaz when the revolution began. In any event, Díaz’s legitimacy no longer held in the Sierra, but the anger there was a relatively recent development. Some of that anger was displayed in the 1912 revolt of Ixtepeji against the head town of Ixtlán, which demonstrated how strong intervillage discord had become.

McNamara delivers a nuanced portrayal of the Porfirian era, with excellent insights not just into the politics of the Zapotecs but also into the officials, from president on down, who interacted with them. We learn, for instance, of Governor Emilio Pimentel, who did not believe that money should be wasted on education for Indians but at the same time charged mine owners with disrespecting the Zapotecs. McNamara’s generational argument, in which the mestizo leaders of the Sierra after 1890 are the spoiled children of liberalism’s triumph, is persuasive. So is his concept of “communal literacy”—that the Zapotecs were literate as communities, if generally not as individuals. He also nicely con-

textualizes the hero cults of Juárez and Díaz. On the other side of the ledger, the author waits so long to provide some Zapotec voices that the reader has nearly given up on them by the time they start to appear in the second half of the book. McNamara might also be charged with overreaching in his argument about popular support for the Porfiriato. It is likely that such support existed, and he does try to build a case using other studies, but data from a region with such strong personal connections to the caudillo is limited in what it can say about other parts of Mexico. These complaints aside, this is a valuable book. Scholars of modern Mexico will read it to their benefit and, given the exemplary clarity of its writing, they may well want to pass it on to advanced undergraduates when they have finished.

SAMUEL BRUNK, University of Texas, El Paso

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The Mexican Revolution. By ADOLFO GILLY. Foreword by FRIEDRICH KATZ.

Translated by PATRICK CAMILLER. *A People's History*. New York: The New Press, 2005. Map. Tables. Notes. Index. xviii, 389 pp. Paper, \$18.95.

Adolfo Gilly is a native of Argentina who became a political prisoner in 1966 at Lecumberri Prison and remained there until the Mexican Supreme Court revoked his conviction for "subversion" six years later. While detained, Gilly wrote the Spanish language edition of this book, which became a legendary hit after its 1971 release, eventually reaching an eighth edition by January 1977. Like a breath of fresh air after the harsh repression of Tlatelolco, and responding to widespread disgust with the ruling system, Gilly's book passionately disputed the official history of the revolution in a leftist and even postmodern framework. The new edition, a smooth page-turner, retains its strong Marxist analysis of the 1910–20 civil war and benefits from a fine translation by Patrick Camiller as well as a foreword by Friedrich Katz. Gilly makes several solid conclusions, such as pointing out that U.S. influence did not become the decisive factor in determining the outcome of the revolution. Although he criticizes Venustiano Carranza consistently, Gilly reiterates frequently the powerful appeal of *carrancista* nationalism in terms of its strident international policy. The author points out correctly that Carranza opposed the Pershing Expedition "from the very beginning" (p. 224). The chapter on Mexico City in 1914 is the most interesting portion of this book because of Gilly's illuminating discussion concerning the decline of the Convention government. Although he favors Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa throughout his study, Gilly is not reluctant to point out their errors as well as castigate their bureaucratic supporters in the muddled Convention experiment.

Despite the author's determination to analyze the outcome of the revolution, his lack of interest in current or past scholarship leads him to state such mistakes as asserting that once Porfirio Díaz consolidated his power in 1884, "it became the norm to repress any form of labor organization" (p. 35). It is a shame that Gilly did not read the late David

Walker's study of labor organizations during the Porfiriato, but Gilly is not much of a researcher. There are few endnotes, a great many of which are devoted to Katz or John Womack, and no bibliography. There are frequent factual errors, such as stating that the Madero family came from San Luis Potosí and that a revolution broke out in Portugal in 1909 (actually 1910), and that Morelos was the most modern industrial region in Mexico by 1910 when, as Bill Meyers has shown, the Laguna region actually enjoyed that honor. Furthermore, Gilly states that Zapata controlled the southern portion of Mexico, overlooking the southeast. Despite Gilly's assertion that Carranza never ceased labeling Zapata as a bandit, there is not a single reference to such a statement in the Carranza archive. Gilly also makes it appear that there was a love feast between the northern masses and Villa's army, when in fact commoners often feared Villa. Despite what Gilly claims, Villa did not oppose the U.S. invasion of Veracruz. Gilly's discussion of the 1914 Carranza-Zapata negotiations is muddled; the Carranza land reform decree of January 6, 1915, did not reflect the disastrous Ley Lerdo legislation that the *juaristas* unveiled earlier.

Several modifications could have improved this study. The author overuses the term *peasant*, which should have been defined carefully. To characterize Villa's army as a peasant force is an oversimplification; Gilly does not seem to understand that many rural inhabitants wanted to own their own land rather than work *ejidos* (communally owned lands). He should have developed the rise to power of the CROM (Confederación Regional Obrero Mexicana) labor organization instead of constantly emphasizing the Casa del Obrero Mundial. Although Carranza eventually repressed the Casa, Gilly should have put into context Carranza's opposition to their general strike when the Carrizal battle with the Pershing forces took place only a month earlier. His discussion of the 1917 constitution does not mention Pastor Rouaix and other individuals who were key in formulating Article 27. The role of women during the revolution is virtually ignored. Finally, I doubt that Carranza exterminated half the population of Morelos, as Gilly claims.

In summary, Gilly's book fails to contribute much to the history of the Mexican Revolution because of its weak documentary foundation. Although Gilly claims that his new periodization is a fresh approach, emphasizing the 1914 alliance of Villa and Zapata in Mexico City, others have actually done the same thing.

DOUGLAS W. RICHMOND, University of Texas at Arlington

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Intimate Enemies: Landowners, Power, and Violence in Chiapas.

By AARON BOBROW-STRAIN. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Photographs. Maps. Tables. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xv, 271 pp. Cloth, \$79.95. Paper, \$22.95.

Since 1994 and the outbreak of the Zapatista rebellion in the southwestern Mexican state of Chiapas, this afflicted region has been the subject of an inordinate number of books. This recent book by Aaron Bobrow-Strain is one of the most interesting, original, and important books about Chiapas (and, I think, about rural Latin America) that has been published in the last 20 years. Bobrow-Strain points out that many historians of Chiapas have essentialized the landowners of Chiapas and portrayed them as more homogeneous, more unified, and more intertwined with local government than is merited. To correct this tendency, Bobrow-Strain went to Chiapas from 1998 to 2001 to research the widely vilified and shadowy landed elite of the land of the Zapatistas. He focused his attention upon the Yajalón-Bachajón-Guaquitepec triangle in the northeastern department of Chiapas. This was an area of early and successful ladino estate agriculture where many native Tzeltal lived in villages and hamlets. This intense focus on a relatively small and neglected corner of human geography, an approach Luis González called “microhistoria” when I was a student, made it possible for Bobrow-Strain to carefully examine local, state, and national archives and enter the largely closed world of local landowners. He developed personal relationships based on openness and trust, elicited local lore and family stories, and practiced “stealthy listening,” which allowed him to see and hear the prejudices and fears of dozens of local landowners and their families. The author combines this practical methodological approach with a theoretical construction that, in places, drains the blood, sweat, and tears from his narrative. He seeks to explain abstractions such as social-spatial practices, the social creation of territoriality, imaginative geographies, and discourses of production. This rethinking of conceptual frameworks seems tedious and makes me weary, but I am old fashioned and not the appropriate critic to assess this element of the book. I am aware that today’s theoretical explorations may be tomorrow’s basic framework for understanding social reality.

Bobrow-Strain has reconstructed the history of landowners large and small in northeast Chiapas from the colonial era up through the nineteenth century, up to the Mexican Revolution and its aftermath. This history is not the author’s primary objective in his book but it is marvelous all the same. Again and again I found myself pleasantly surprised to discover one thing or another, big and small, about local estate formation, agricultural practices, work and laborers, politics, and more. The focus and center of this book is the unprecedented agrarian mobilization of 1994–98. In the aftermath of the Zapatista rebellion, private landholdings were invaded by peasants and redistributed by the state on a nearly unimaginable scale. Land tenure in Chiapas underwent a rapid “repeasantization and reindigenization,” and there was an “epochal transformation” in the racial composition of local politics. How and why did the interests and status of ladino landowners, the author asks, suffer such a “phenomenal reversal of fortune” (p. 3)?

What happened to the reputed power, authority, resilience, brutality, and able paternalism of the landed elite that had in earlier times sustained landowner dominance?

It is this issue that Bobrow-Strain investigates most thoroughly and explains in layers of new information and sophisticated analysis. The author considers the rise of modern agribusiness in Chiapas, the relationship between new developments in agriculture and old patterns of rural labor and peasant communities, the conflicted nature of state support for landed agriculture and agrarian mobilization and land reform, and more. He demonstrates that in the 1970s and 1980s, landowners in Chiapas were faced with growing peasant encroachment and labor defiance, while the once-vaunted alliance between landowners and the state became increasingly unstable and fractured. As landowners today remember, the Zapatista rebellion in 1994 did not begin their decline and fall; that process of subversion and betrayal had begun decades earlier and played out gradually. The Zapatista rebellion brought the coup de grâce. Bobrow-Strain explains how several different kinds of landowner vulnerabilities—gathering political, economic, social, and racial dilemmas, as well as evolving collective identities and perceptions by all social groups—were brought together all at once with the outbreak of the Zapatista rebellion in 1994.

Those who review motion pictures generally do not want to reveal all of the twists and turns of the plot and the ending and thereby diminish the pleasure of the viewer. This brief review is limited by space constraints, but I also share the film reviewer's desire to not spoil the picture. There are very interesting discoveries, arguments, and conclusions in this book that should be left to the reader to find, ponder, and enjoy.

THOMAS BENJAMIN, Central Michigan University

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Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask. By NICK HENCK. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. Photographs. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxvi, 499 pp. Cloth, \$89.95. Paper, \$24.95.

As the Zapatista rebellion of 1994 becomes history, several substantive problems are coming into definition. Among them is the issue of how historians will position the movement relative to those that came before. Will historians see it as a matter of continuity or change? Do the Zapatistas constitute a new movement that departs from the vanguardism of past revolutions? Is their strategy driven by a reform agenda defined by the goal of inclusion within Mexican society, or is it best seen as a revolutionary challenge to the corrupt politics of the neoliberal state? With a strategy that does not seek the state's overthrow, are the Zapatistas boldly advancing a new form of revolution, or is it an admission of a failed effort at bringing Che's challenge to the capitalist order to Mexico? Have the Zapatistas overcome problems such as the cult of leadership and authoritarian tendencies generated by a perceived need to defend the revolution? In answering these questions it appears inevitable that Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente, better known as Subcomandante Marcos, will occupy the attention of historians.

In this first English-language biography of Marcos, Nick Henck makes a noteworthy contribution to the extensive literature on the Zapatistas. His research and first-hand knowledge about the movement position Henck well for the task. He divides the study into three parts: Marcos's upbringing, including valuable information about the years spent as a university student and professor; his career as a Marxist guerrilla; and finally the years following the 1994 uprising. Those familiar with the Spanish-language literature on the Zapatistas may not find anything new here, but those who only know Marcos from foreign-made documentaries and English-language texts will most likely find a substantial contribution to their knowledge. Following a basic chronological narrative, Henck's story is easy to follow and well suited for a student audience.

Henck uses familiar tools in biography to construct his version of Marcos. First, he uses comparison with similar characters in history. Not too surprisingly, Henck maintains that Marcos was greatly influenced by Ché Guevara, who served as a role model for Marcos's becoming a revolutionary and a reference point once the rebellion became public. Similar to Ché's biographers, Henck finds that Marcos fits the prototype of a person driven to revolution by middle-class shame and anger over the existence of injustice. While departing from Ché's tactics and strategies, Henck's Marcos was similarly dedicated to the struggle, engaged in revolutionary self-criticism, and he found fascinating ways of articulating his humanity so that it appealed to broad audiences. In the conclusion, Henck makes an effort to extend the analysis to include Marcos's similarity with other revolutionaries: Mario Payeras, Carlos Fonseca, and, surprisingly, Abimael Guzmán. Such comparisons invite the reader to view the Zapatista struggle as tipping more toward continuity than change within the history of Latin American revolutionary struggle.

The second biographer's tool Henck deploys is the idea of reinvented self. Henck highlights the moments when Marcos underwent substantial changes in his thinking and identity. Marcos's many reinventions serve as proof to Henck's central argument: the flexibility in Marco's thinking and actions are key to his apparent success. Fortunately, he avoids the temptation to offer psychological analysis of Marcos and does not try to get inside the rebel's mind.

One limitation to this fine biography is found in the last chapters. Henck crams into them the years since 2001, when the Mexican legislature passed the indigenous law. Henck's rushed narrative obscures the historical importance of 2001 as a turning point when the Zapatista quest for autonomy was deepened through the formation of Juntas de Buen Gobierno (Good Government Committees). Analysis of *La Otra Campaña* (The Other Campaign) is also skimmed, especially consideration of how the national effort informs us about past debates and decisions within Zapatismo. The post-2001 period merits the same careful consideration Henck pays to earlier moments.

The biography ultimately complicates much of the recent scholarship on the Zapatista struggle. The literature downplays Marcos—often he is not even mentioned—and opts for telling the story of communities in resistance with special focus on the novelty and innovation of resistance. This literature strives to understand how indigenous

norms and customs produce a cultural politics that creates an alternative to neoliberalism through its proposition of autonomy. Although respectful of indigenous rebels, Henck's compelling telling of the Marcos story risks a shift in our framing of revolutionary struggle back to the importance of the leaders, even when they wear ski masks with the intent of preventing a leadership cult from forming.

GLEN DAVID KUECKER, DePauw University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-065

Heroes and Hero Cults in Latin America. Edited by SAMUEL BRUNK and BEN FALLAW. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. Photographs. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. viii, 318 pp. Cloth, \$55.00. Paper, \$22.95.

"Modern Latin American history is brimming with heroes," write Ben Fallaw and Samuel Brunk at the start of this collection of essays. Good analytical studies of these heroes are not quite so plentiful, although there is a growing literature on state commemoration, *historia patria*, and the intimate connections between nationalism and hero cults. This book, however, is concerned not so much with probing these connections as it is with championing a return of "the study of the individual—in this case, prominent ones—to the center of historical analysis" (p. 11). The volume consists of ten chapters concerned with the lives and reputations of individual historical actors, bracketed by an introduction and conclusion in which the editors propose some general rules about what makes a hero.

The individual chapters offer solid and in some cases really excellent analyses of their subjects. Most chapters open with a biographical overview of the hero in question, consider the process of hero-genesis, and conclude with some discussion of their subject's posthumous reputation. In this regard the book will make a useful teaching tool; the contributors have done a good job of pitching their accounts at a level suitable for undergraduates without, for the most part, sacrificing depth of analysis. John Chasteen's chapter on Simón Bolívar provides a tremendously readable account of the stories and legends that underpinned Bolívar's mythic status. In contrast, Charles F. Walker's account of Agustín Gamarra's "rise and calamitous fall" (p. 41) offers a compelling discussion of a caudillo who failed to achieve mythic status. Shannon Baker reviews Antonio López de Santa Anna's perplexing career. Víctor Macías-González describes Porfirio Díaz as a Levi-Straussian *bricoleur*, in a nuanced discussion of Porfirian political ritual. Samuel Brunk contributes an excellent chapter on the emergence of the Zapata cult and its subsequent appropriation by the Mexican government, which attends to both official commemoration and popular ideologies. Ben Fallaw discusses the career of Felipe Carrillo Puerto, the "world renowned Socialist leader" (p. 128). Richard Grossman describes the life and influence of Augusto Sandino. Nancy Deffebach's excellent chapter discusses first Frida Kahlo's own views about heroism and then the artist's posthumous status as a Latin American icon, "Saint Frida." David Nugent shows that it is possible to explain

the popularity of APRA, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre's political party, without relying simply on Haya's charisma. The final chapter, by Linda B. Hall, is an engaging mini-biography of Eva Perón, the famous "repentant brunette" (p. 239).

The contributors make a laudable effort to highlight interconnections between the different chapters, and together they raise a number of interesting issues about memory, reputation, and status. Whether these chapters are concerned fundamentally with heroes and hero cults is another question; Porfirian state protocol, for example, while fascinating, appears to me to have only tangential relation to the heroic. The editors' definition of heroism is extremely broad, which in my view weakens its analytical purchase. They define a hero as "a person to whom remarkable courage, talent, and other noble, even godlike traits are attributed by members of a community" (p. 1). Is any well-regarded public figure a hero? Is the talented Gael García Bernal heroic? This capacious definition seems unhelpfully vague in that it strips the idea of the hero of any historical specificity, thereby focusing attention away from questions of power (*which* communities are attributing these traits?) and the particularities of culture (*what* traits are perceived as noble?). As a result, perhaps, the book's analytical framework is somewhat underhistoricized. While the editors muse in the introduction and conclusion about the nature of Latin American hero cults, they provide little sense that the construction of heroic pantheons of *próceres*, or founding fathers, lay at the heart of nineteenth-century nationalism and was the outcome of specific historic processes quite different from those that propelled, say, Frida Kahlo to international prominence. I think the conceptual unity of the book would have been enhanced had the editors devoted more attention to the historical contexts shaping official nationalism's celebration of heroes and *próceres*, and the differences between official hero worship and other forms of popular memory.

Nonetheless, individual chapters offer much for the reader to ponder. The stories and legends surrounding Bolívar, the songs that insist that Zapata did not die, the conversion of Eva Perón into an Argentine Madonna, all attest to the powerful mythologizing forces that cloud the image of individual historical actors. The constant appropriation of religious language and iconography by hero cults is also striking. And on a more frivolous note: who knew that at their famous 1914 meeting Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa compared their taste in hats?

REBECCA EARLE, University of Warwick

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From Colony to Nation: Women Activists and the Gendering of Politics in Belize, 1912–1982. By ANNE S. MACPHERSON. Engendering Latin America. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. Photographs. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xviii, 385 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

Anne Macpherson's *From Colony to Nation* intends to recuperate the critical if not always consonant roles that working- and middle-class women played in labor organization, ethnic mobilization, and the forging of an antiracist, anticolonial, incipiently feminist nationalist movement in Belize (formerly British Honduras) during the six decades preceding independence in 1981. The author usefully situates these local struggles within the broader sweep of analogous movements elsewhere in the Caribbean, Latin America, and the British Empire. In so doing, she underscores how the race- and gender-inclusive anticolonial popular culture of Belize informed the nationalist movement as it emerged within a broader wave of strife that swept through Britain's colonies in the 1930s. The resulting reform policies, characteristically dedicated to containing social unrest and directing political evolution in the late British colonial era, paradoxically created new space for working- and middle-class women to act upon that process in innovative (if sometimes contradictory) and previously unacknowledged ways, a process this book proceeds to theorize.

The monograph is based upon a thorough reading of a variety of archival sources together with published primary and secondary materials, and over one hundred ethnographic interviews with political actors, NGO staff, and social commentators, all carried out by the author as a participant-observer during repeated fieldwork installments over the period 1988–96. The author bases her assessment of the evidence in a broad, indeed illuminating knowledge of historiographic, anthropological, cultural studies, postcolonial, and feminist theory.

Macpherson crafts a meticulous and creative interrogation of the pertinent documentary evidence and ethnographic material to present a comprehensive account of women's roles as political actors in the emergence of an independent Belize. While clearly written and agreeably jargon free, *From Colony to Nation* is too exhaustively documented for the casual reader, the undergraduate course, or the graduate seminar; indeed, a more judicious editing for length would not have detracted from the author's overall argument. This title will primarily interest the comparative social historian, cultural theorist, political sociologist, or scholar of Belize.

From Colony to Nation draws upon salient feminist and postcolonial historiography, using new evidence from Belize in comparative fashion to address prevailing debates on the nature of popular political mobilization in Latin America, the Caribbean, and beyond. Macpherson crafts a careful reinterpretation of Belizean history. She does not hesitate to critically engage the Belizean canon (e.g., Peter Ashdown, Cedric Grant, Nigel Bolland, Assad Shoman), even as she extends the insights of antecedent feminist anthropology carried out there (e.g., Peta Henderson and Ann Bryn Haughton, Virginia Kerns, Irma McLaurin, Richard Wilk).

Macpherson argues that gender, understood as “a power relationship between men and women as well as a field constitutive of race and class hierarchies and political, particularly state, power” (p. 6), is structured by the matrix of social relations even as it acts upon it. She also demonstrates how working-class women, and black women in particular, played a fundamental role in conditioning the ultimate failure of colonial hegemony in Belize. As elsewhere in the British Caribbean (and contrary to claims made by subaltern studies scholars of Africa and Asia), “The gendered moralism of the colonial state in Belize and other modern colonies . . . and not its intrinsic colonial character, is most salient in explaining the failure of its hegemonic project” (p. 14). Colonial officials were invested in prevalent notions of gendered, sexualized, imperial European racism, which imputed an irascible resistance to domesticity that in turn rationalized the denial to women of full popular political participation. While a proud notion of black womanhood emerged in Belize at least by the time of political crisis in the 1930s, paradoxically, Macpherson argues, black women were those primarily responsible for creating the multiracial, incipiently nationalist coalition from which the small white minority in this ethnically diverse polity was largely excluded.

Belizean political history and emergent nationalism are thus revealed as explicitly gendered processes in which women have been central, deliberate, and determinant actors. Macpherson shows subaltern women activists to be adept at adapting to, negotiating with, reframing, manipulating, and resisting colonial power, while middle-class women, recruited to the government’s reformist program, organized to exert their own mediating influence upon the unfolding political process in the run-up to independence.

Macpherson steers adeptly between easy tendencies to idealize, to make heroic the political resistance of subordinated actors, or to discount them as largely indifferent to politics. Likewise, the author rejects a polarized view of middle-class women activists as either uncritically complicit in the colonial project or dedicated to its radical reform. In the spirit of Philippe Bourgois’s landmark *Ethnicity at Work: Divided Labor on a Central American Banana Plantation*, Macpherson brings an innovative, unapologetically revisionist perspective to her project, offering the first work to theorize the political subjectivities of women in Belize and thereby significantly raising the theoretical stakes of the historiography of Central America’s understudied Caribbean coast.

MICHAEL STONE, Princeton University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-067

From Frontier Town to Metropolis: A History of Villavicencio, Colombia, since 1842.

By JANE M. RAUSCH. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Photographs.

Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 256 pp. Cloth, \$85.00. Paper, \$34.95.

The author describes two main objectives of this book: to trace the history of Villavicencio from its founding in 1842 as a frontier outpost east of the Andes to its current status as a growing metropolis, and to show how its development has modified ideas about the nature of Colombia's eastern frontier. Ten of the 11 chapters are devoted to the first objective.

One might assume from the title that this is an urban history to be compared with the many that are now emerging. The fact is that this study would have been better titled "Villavicencio in the Development Context of the Upper Llanos." It is evident from the first 50 pages that the town itself has almost no documentation to offer the historian; there are no series of population censuses, no town council records, no commercial statistics, and so on. Indeed, the volume contains no graphs or tables of any kind that would allow the reader to assess changes in the multiple functions of the urban center. Each of ten chapters covers a well-known historic period of development (the Federation era, the Regeneration, up to the Liberal Republic), and rather than focusing on Villavicencio, each chapter deals with the general development of what might be called the micro-regions of the eastern llanos. The perspective in almost all cases is from the national political context of Bogotá—who is in power, what the party conflicts are, what is said relevant to the Meta, Cauca, and Casanare lands.

When details are offered of Villavicencio they are in relation to the hinterland of the town—colonization schemes, population migrations, administrative boundary changes, transportation linkages with the capital. But of the town proper little is said. One has to scan chapter by chapter to glean meager details of its changing physical structure and internal functions. The first plan of the town that is included (with no scale) is dated 1910, but that contains the bare street network. Nor are we shown cartographically where the dozens of places cited in the text are located. While the author and Colombians may know the intricacies of the llanos, readers would have been better served by a series of maps of settlements. Indeed, if any one major issue in Villavicencio's development has to be highlighted it is the interminable problems with the improvement of the 120-mile trail/road to Bogotá. Yet no detailed map of the route is included, and on the map of the region in 1930, names of several of the key settlements are misspelled. None of the maps use contour intervals to highlight with some precision the precipitous rise in topography northwest of Villavicencio. Moreover, none of the maps included are referred to in the text; it is as though they are mere illustrations rather than complex spatial texts that need interpretation.

As is the case with the multiplicity of the colonization schemes developed throughout the region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is more than a little difficult to follow the complexities of administrative boundary changes—from *corregimientos* to provinces, to special districts, to intendancies, to departments. It would have been

much easier to follow the history had the chapters been arranged by theme rather than time period. While one can discern gradual developments in education, physical infrastructure, the church's role, the persistent ecological and epidemiological problems, the in-migration of waves of dispossessed *campesinos*, and the brutalities of regional bandits, the structure of the text reduces ones' ability to grasp these as meaningful processes. The chapter devoted to "La Violencia" is perhaps the exception; here one can readily see the transregional chaos of a dark period in Colombian history. But again, one cannot tell whether disease or violence was more significant for the town's mortality rate.

Of the second theme, the assessment of Villavicencio and the llanos frontier, though brief mention is made of studies of the North American West and Latin American frontier, little is offered to support any structural or functional frontier for the llanos or Villavicencio's role within it. Again, the problem is the lack of comparative substantive data to examine the advance of the population frontier, or the cultural frontier of music and dance, or the occupied land frontier. Those clearly remain studies for the future, to be accomplished with much better data analysis.

It is also a pity that the proofreading afforded the author was not more thorough. There are many misspellings, differences between text and endnotes, and awkward phrases (e.g., "female cows," p. 186). No explanation is given for the use of COL\$ in some places and pesos in others. The index is lacking in major entries (Venezuela, Ciudad Bolívar, etc.). Altogether, this is a disappointing volume from a well-known Colombian specialist.

DAVID J. ROBINSON, Syracuse University

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Space and Place in the Mexican Landscape: The Evolution of a Colonial City.

By FERNANDO NÚÑEZ, CARLOS ARVIZU, and RAMÓN ABONCE.

Edited by MALCOLM QUANTRILL. Studies in Architecture and Culture, 7. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 182 pp. Cloth, \$40.00.

The relationships among metaphysics, the built environment, and Mexican history form the putative subject matter of this thin volume. The authors, all faculty members at the Querétaro campus of the Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey (ITESM), employ methodologies derived from literary studies, cultural anthropology, and geography to analyze the ways in which Mexico's urban spaces manifest deep meanings about Mexican identity. In the first chapter, which comprises nearly half the text, Fernando Núñez offers a series of assertions about the abiding principles of *mexicanidad*, forged of indigenous and Spanish colonial elements. These principles, including a belief in cyclicity, the need for protection, centralism, attachment to the land, and religiosity, supposedly all came to be reflected in the built environment of Mexico. The subsequent chapters move from global assertions to local manifestations, with a primary focus on the city of Querétaro.

Carlos Arvizu surveys the evolution of Querétaro from its foundation in 1531 to the 1910 Revolution in the book's second chapter. During the colonial era, Querétaro evolved as an important provincial city that connected the viceregal capital of Mexico City to the northern mining districts. After independence, the city served as an important crossroads in the political upheavals that characterized the next century. Replete with 27 maps, the chapter barrels through almost four hundred years of urban development in 32 pages. Arvizu and Ramón Abonce complete the historical trajectory of Querétaro's development at a more languid pace in chapter 3, as they devote approximately 50 pages to a summary of the city's physical transformation from the revolution through the dawn of the twenty-first century. Most of this chapter chronicles the growth of the city's boundaries and changes to infrastructure wrought by the industrialization process.

This is a profoundly disappointing book, which does justice neither to the topic nor to the authors' talents, which emerge periodically throughout the text when interesting questions are raised or provocative assertions made. However, there is little unity between the grand theory of the first chapter and the nitty-gritty of the following two. The gap between thesis and evidence is too rarely bridged and the entire project screams for stronger editorial oversight. Historical errors pepper the text, as the authors claim, for example, that none of the liberal agenda of the mid-nineteenth century found a home in Mexico and that Venustiano Carranza was the only revolutionary leader still alive in 1915. More troubling are the unsubstantiated pronouncements about Mexican habits and identity asserted within the authors' own areas of expertise. One reads here that Mexicans do not like to build with Sheetrock because it does not bind them to the land, and that Mexicans prefer narrow streets to broad ones because they have a need to feel protected. These observations are not backed up by even the softest of qualitative methods. Instead, the reader is offered a "chilaquiles" version of an immutable Mexican identity: strips of leftover Octavio Paz, a dollop of the *Popol Vuh*, a soupçon of human sacrifice, garnished with a Frida Kahlo reference. What could have been a tasty and provocative reconsideration of fundamental elements is just stale leftovers here. The topic deserves better and one hopes that the authors continue to explore the issues they raise in a more rigorous fashion in the future.

RICHARD A. WARREN, Saint Joseph's University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-069

Remembering the Hacienda: Religion, Authority, and Social Change in Highland Ecuador.

By BARRY J. LYONS. Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. Photographs. Maps. Tables. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 350 pp. Paper, \$24.95. Cloth, \$60.00.

Remembering the Hacienda is an ethnographic blast from the past. For this reader, at least, it reignited memories, even déjà vu, not just of highland Ecuadorian life but of the ways in which the writing of that life has become densely entangled with the history of social science discourse and with the complicities of ethnographic authority.

The entanglements reach from beginning to end. Making use of the rhetoric of the foreign travel account, the personal diary, the snapshot, and the academic dissertation, the author skillfully employs reflexive interludes as realist literary devices that ground his authority as an ethnographer. The book's story line begins with Lyons's early 1980s Peace Corps volunteer service, a "*National Geographic* experience," and continues with his marriage into an Ecuadorian family ("my first and most profound lessons in Ecuadorian culture") and subsequent dissertation fieldwork in the late 1980s and early 1990s, initially on the subject of liberation theology and later on the hacienda. The history of social science discourse that marks the book is made plain in the three guiding concepts or "themes," which consist of that heady Gramscian trilogy of "autonomy, resistance, and hegemony" that so preoccupied "resistance studies" in the 1980s (p. 11). In short, although this ethnography is ostensibly about ways of remembering and projecting the long twentieth century in the lives of a few families in central highland Ecuador, the "long 80s" feel is an unmistakable testament to the linguistic, personal, and political conditions of its historical production.

In rather less than more Geertzian terms, and principally via oral historical accounts and a decidedly humanist approach to its subjects, *Remembering the Hacienda* strives to offer a "rich understanding" (p. 19) of the cultural means by which peasant-workers were able to "close" the infamous "triangle without a base," and in the process posit a religious or moral critique of landlords. Once a mainstay of the agrarian studies literature, the "triangle without a base" model of the hacienda (that is, the unfounded notion that landlords manipulated and atomized "serflike" subjects more or less at will) was put to rest long ago, and as a result no one is surprised today to learn that there was a base of some complexity. *Remembering the Hacienda* aims to make an ethnographic contribution, in the form of individual life histories rendered as anecdotal evidence, to an understanding of that base. This evidence includes a discussion of the political uses of kinship, of reciprocal relations with patron saints, of civic and religious duties and hierarchies, and, above all, of the binding ethical concept of *respeto* or respect.

Lyons's characterization of "the base" at one unrepresentative hacienda (Monjas Corral, leased by the Diocese of Riobamba since ca. 1880) perhaps wisely eschews broad theoretical schemes in favor of "rich" detail and what historians often call "nuance." Consistent with what historians have come to expect of ethnographers, the nuance or richness here applies nearly exclusively to the local, individual testimonies. Notably

missing is a historical and linguistic analysis of the emergence of the lexicons that have made possible the individual oral accounts presented by the ethnographer, and as a result the reader gains little sense of the actual ubiquity of such “personal” discourses on the airwaves, in sermons, in political discourse, and in pamphlets and catechisms. Instead, the ethnographer offers the standard geographical and “historical background” chapter at the start, and then more or less leaves history behind. In this sense *Remembering the Hacienda* is, to follow the author’s choice of metaphors, “poor” relative to other historical and anthropological accounts of hacienda life and its forms and languages of domination and subject formation, most notably those of the Ecuadorian scholar Andrés Guerrero.

Unexpectedly, given the title of the book, there is no serious theoretical or methodological discussion of memory or of the possible modes of performing and reading oral testimony. (As historians know, the literature on the subject is immense.) Much less rich, too, is the documentary evidence which, when present, is not cited in a manner consistent with the established practices of historians. The thinness of the historical research and the paucity of a theoretically informed discourse analysis are reflected in several notable anachronisms, as when the author uses the term *indígena* to refer to colonial *indios* with no apparent understanding of the historical genesis and political meanings of the terms, or when he mistakenly refers to colonial *composición* titles as “property.” Although, with notable exceptions, the bibliography is adequate, discussion of the relevant scholarly literature on Andean haciendas is frequently impressionistic or jettisoned altogether. It is deemed sufficient to write, without a single citation of relevant works, that “scholars have given less attention to understanding the hacienda as the setting for a web of social relationships” (p. 73), when in fact a good number of studies exist that do precisely this. The casual nature of the engagement with scholarship is revealed in lines like this one: “Since numerous ethnographies of religion in the central Andes emphasize mountain lords . . . it is worth saying a few words about the role of mountains in Pangor” (p. 105). The same may be said about the historical and anthropological literature on the subject of the devil, which is more sophisticated and ample than is suggested here; the author deems it sufficient to devote a mere four pages to an unoriginal discussion of “Landlords and the Devil” (pp. 159–63). These drawbacks do not cancel the contribution of this book as testimonial ethnography, however. The oral material from and about “the base of the triangle” is the strong suit of the study as well as the kind of evidence it privileges, and historians will find much to ponder here.

MARK THURNER, University of Florida

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Seis Episodios de la Educación Chilena, 1920–1965. Edited by MYRIAM ZEMELMAN and ISABEL JARA. Serie Estudios. Santiago, Chile: Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad de Chile, 2006. Notes. Bibliography. 162 pp. Paper.

Institutional reform in nation-states in formation is essentially the outcome of partisan debate and negotiation involving individuals, parties, coalitions, and interest groups. Educational reform programs are inseparable from political struggles. They are far more than academic or intellectual exercises in pedagogical theory and practice. Inextricable from foreign influences, nationalist tradition, church-state issues, and rank opportunism, even from military political action, educational reform is a component of any emergent nation's cultural, economic, political, and social history. It certainly was in twentieth-century Chile.

Seis Episodios de la Educación Chilena deftly and tersely details the history of educational reform, especially that of primary education, up to the point where the election of a Marxist president put Chilean history and politics, hence educational reform, to the supreme test. In six essays and a brief conclusion, five acutely perceptive Chilean scholars describe and analyze primary- and secondary-education policy prior to World War I; the background, formulation, and ultimately disappointing fate of the reform programs of 1920, 1927–28, and 1945; and the exhaustive study and planning for reform that went on between 1961 and 1964 leading to the sweeping legislation of 1965. Each stage of the struggle to create a public educational system reflective of and responsive to national needs provides new perspectives on Chilean history and a who's who of proponents and opponents otherwise known for their intellectual, political, or professional achievements.

Early in the past century the Chilean state ceased to be solely an organ of oligarchic control and began to act like a provider of services to the expanding polity and workforce. Illiteracy hovered above 50 percent of the population; barely 10 percent of primary-school-age children regularly attended classes. Secondary education was the priority of both the public and private sectors. Reformers confronted a set of pedagogical theories and practices propounded by the likes of Johann Friedrich Harbart (1776–1841) and Andrés Bello (1781–1865) that served the interests of the status quo by stressing discipline, rote learning, and hierarchy, and which were unsuccessfully adapted to changing times with the founding of the briefly German-dominated Instituto Pedagógico Nacional in 1889. A century after independence, education did little to prepare Chilean youth for the changing needs of a postcolonial nation-state. As elsewhere in the region, the independence centennial provoked some serious debate on the country's heritage and future.

Things came to a head in 1911–12. Francisco Antonio Encina's *Nuestra inferioridad económica: Sus causas, sus consecuencias* (1912) provoked heated debate over the relationship between ordered socioeconomic progress and the necessity of preparing citizens for it that would dominate proposals for reforms, and opposition to them, for half a century.

Proponents of a left-of-center ideology would urge an expanded state role in the process of democratization and a greater focus on the links between education and economic development. Opponents argued that increased state activism—in standardization of curricula, for example—was the nefarious result of foreign influence, would ultimately corrupt traditional Chilean values, violated “freedom of instruction,” and constituted an intrusion of the state into the domain of the family. The intensity of their arguments increased relevant to their position to the right of center for the better part of a half-century.

Post–World War I administrations began to assert the state’s role formally. The Constitution of 1925 made pre-university education a state responsibility, and primary education became obligatory. Although attendance rose and illiteracy rates fell, population growth meant that the raw number of children not in classrooms grew too. Despite the well-intended reforms of the 1920s, frustration outpaced success through the Great Depression and during the bitter ideological struggles of the 1930s. The onset of the Cold War helped create consensus that motivated mainstream planners, policy makers, and pedagogues to agree on nonpartisan approaches that served national interests. Meanwhile illiteracy fell to 16 percent by 1964, but half the school-age population still had no schooling.

Responses to outside stimuli—the global ideological struggle and developmental schemes supported by both U. S. and national leadership—encouraged Chilean leaders to strive assiduously to address the country’s manifest educational needs at all levels, at long last. The Reform Act of 1965 thus was the first reform measure to take into account both structural and functional aspects of the state’s responsibility to prepare all Chileans for participation in every aspect of national life. Were it not for the election of 1970 and its aftermath, the 1965 legislation might have responded to the questions posed and arguments sustained over the course of a half-century.

This ably written and well-documented work goes beyond its title and stated purpose. It should serve as a model for comparative regional studies. If the history of educational reform was so politicized in twentieth-century Chile, could it have been any less so elsewhere in the region?

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Frontier Goiás, 1822–1889. By DAVID MCCREERY. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006. Map. Tables. Glossary. Notes. Bibliography. Index. vii, 297 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

In *Frontier Goiás*, David McCreery takes up the challenge of writing the history of an isolated backwater. In a field dominated by studies of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, this study of a “periphery of a periphery” is a refreshing change. It contributes to a small but growing literature on rural Brazil and on nineteenth-century state building. McCreery’s Goiás is remote, relatively impoverished, and underpopulated. Landlocked, it attracted mostly poor, colored, landless migrants who then clashed with a widely dispersed indigenous population. However, settlers with capital, influence, and slaves also peopled this remote frontier, thereby replicating social hierarchies prevalent in Brazil’s core regions.

McCreery apologizes, though he need not, for the descriptive nature of this study. The basic narrative of many rural regions of Brazil is still poorly understood. This empirical grounding alone provides a valuable contribution. But McCreery does much more than that. First, he conceptualizes the frontier in interesting ways. Rather than a continuous boundary, he sees Goiás as an archipelago of urban nuclei amid vast underpopulated expanses. Its isolation from effective state control was both its danger and its appeal. And Goiás was not particularly dangerous. Because there were so few resources to fight over, frontier violence was relatively modest. In fact, an ongoing lack of resources was critical to the maintenance of Goiás’s frontier status. McCreery concludes: “the ‘frontier’ is a process or a condition, a changeable construct of what people can think conjugated by their material possibilities. A ‘successful’ frontier destroys itself, whereas Goiás repeated the experience for over a half century” (p. 208).

Second, McCreery provides a convincing portrait of the limitations of state building in rural Brazil. He addresses the tension between a nineteenth-century top-down political reality and a modern scholarly bias to view nation building from the bottom up. In so doing, he takes the middle ground, neither romanticizing the poor nor vilifying rural elites. Politics instead become pragmatic, commonplace, the stuff of everyday life. This is not to say that the lack of an effective state presence was an unmitigated good. Most administration was handled by incompetent locals, when it was staffed at all. Private influence and patronage routinely trumped enforcement of public law. The inability to tax effectively ensured that infrastructure would be deficient or nonexistent, thereby perpetuating economic underdevelopment. The state never resolved “the Indian problem,” further undercutting its legitimacy. If one accepts McCreery’s criteria of “the separation of public from private resources and the depersonalized exercise of state functions according to established norms” as the “spine of the nation state,” then Imperial Brazil failed (p. 206). Nevertheless, Goiano society seems to have prospered in its modest way.

McCreery’s discussion of *agregados* (rural dependents) provides a much-needed analysis of an understudied group. His findings suggest not excessively exploitative relationships between patron and dependent, but rather a reasonable trade-off of relatively modest labor demands in exchange for security and protection. Moreover, the state was sufficiently weak that indebted dependents could migrate with little fear of reprisal.

However, few agregados were likely to enjoy social mobility, even cowboys that were paid with a share of the herd at roundup time.

The work is enhanced by McCreery's attention to ecological and environmental factors that contextualize seemingly irrational economic choices. For example, ranchers did not scientifically "improve" their livestock because hardy local breeds were well adapted to the Goiano environment. By correlating estate size, size of herds and environmental constraints, McCreery is able to calculate the carrying capacity of Goiás's marginal lands. A low population density helps to explain why most Goianos did not bother to formally register the land they occupied, even when the state provided the opportunity for squatters to do so. And the much-derided "laziness" of the local population makes sense when one realizes that there was little incentive to work beyond subsistence needs on the dry, isolated frontier.

The environment becomes a central historical actor, as does the state. Individual historical actors are relatively few; and at times one wishes for more people and fewer cows. And while McCreery makes abundantly clear the limitations of nineteenth-century statistical data, one wonders if his impressive attempts to draw conclusions from flawed data are worth the effort. Those minor quibbles aside, this is an excellent study of an understudied region, written in prose that is simultaneously clear, economical, and engaging. Phrases like "a jail incapable of holding any but the most cooperative prisoner" (p. 11) linger in the mind and make the ordinariness of Brazilian rural life extraordinary and worthy of scholarly notice.

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Avant-garde, Internationalism, and Politics: Argentine Art in the Sixties.

By ANDREA GIUNTA. Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.

Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. Photographs. Plates. Illustrations. Notes.

Bibliography. Index. xv, 406 pp. Cloth, \$89.95. Paper, \$24.95.

Los años sesenta fueron tiempos de transformaciones para las instituciones y gestores del arte argentino que quisieron convertir a Buenos Aires en un centro internacional de arte como París o Nueva York. Andrea Giunta, especialista en historia del arte argentino y latinoamericano, ha seguido los proyectos de internacionalización del arte y de la vanguardia artística a partir de 1956, momento en que se funda el Museo de Arte Moderno de Buenos Aires, hasta 1968 cuando esa vanguardia se enfrenta con las mismas instituciones donde había desarrollado su actividad. El libro que nos ocupa, excelentemente traducido por Peter Kahn del original (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2001), ha recibido varios premios y ayudas económicas.

La autora examina el arte, la política y las relaciones internacionales en relación con los apoyos de fundaciones norteamericanas. También se interesa por los proyectos institucionales de museos y galerías de arte argentinos y latinoamericanos, en el marco

de la Guerra Fría y de la Revolución Cubana, por un lado, y del Instituto di Tella y la Fundación Rockefeller por otro, junto con los programas (Alianza para el Progreso) que pretendían modernizar la región y crear nuevas condiciones sociales. Una hipótesis de la autora es que el apoyo dado al arte latinoamericano por Estados Unidos fue un instrumento de propaganda para contrarrestar la política cubana hacia los intelectuales de la región. Otra consideración central es la conjunción de vanguardias, internacionalismo y política –relación vista ya por Adorno– en el arte de los sesenta en la Argentina.

Tras el derrocamiento del Peronismo (1955), una elite modernizadora incitó a los artistas a la renovación y a la conquista del mercado internacional. Giunta se basa en la acción desplegada por Jorge Romero Brest, co-fundador de la editorial Argos (1946) y director de la revista *Ver y Estimar* (1948–1955).

Para que Buenos Aires tuviera su espacio propio faltaban políticas culturales –estatales y privadas– que apoyaran a los artistas y su proyección internacional. Los resultados de esta combinación de intereses no fueron los esperados y Romero Brest fracasó tanto en el fomento de la abstracción como en la creación de una vanguardia “desde arriba”.

Giunta estudia las estrategias institucionales de promoción, exhibiciones, jurados y premios y argumenta que nunca hubo mucho lugar para el arte latinoamericano en la historia del modernismo, aspecto que contrasta con la cultura literaria. Pero la autora no se detiene en comparaciones ni en relaciones entre la plástica y otras áreas de la cultura, también en efervescencia en los años que abarca su indagación. El punto de vista predominante en su estudio es el de una sociología histórica de los administradores culturales de las artes visuales y su propósito es “contar una historia”.

Avant-garde, Internationalism, and Politics construye un objeto (la circulación de las obras de arte en los años sesenta), y despliega una narración que sigue un ritmo cronológico y se articula alrededor de ciertos personajes (Jorge Romero Brest, Guido di Tella, Rubén Santantonín y los críticos Clement Greenberg y Alfred Barr).

Giunta parte del supuesto –inspirado en Bourdieu– de que no hay actos desinteresados y, con esta convicción, muestra que el poder está en las imágenes, en el campo artístico, en sus agentes, en las instituciones que hacen de mediadoras, en las exposiciones y en las críticas. De ahí la complejidad de la narración y el rechazo que hace de una historia del arte en términos de enumeración y análisis de obras, y del relato lineal basado en una sola perspectiva. Los testimonios y las fuentes documentales son numerosos, variados y heterogéneos.

Esta multiplicidad de puntos de vista explica la compleja organización del libro. La autora analiza las condiciones que las posiciones modernistas tuvieron que enfrentar en el contexto del peronismo; cómo se afianza la idea de un arte vinculado con el resto del mundo, articulado alrededor del concepto de internacionalismo, y cómo diversos actores comienzan a ocupar la escena. El lector puede asistir a la construcción de ese internacionalismo, a la idea de que una vanguardia podría concretar esas aspiraciones y al despliegue de políticas y estrategias institucionales para instalar a las obras argentinas en el repertorio del arte universal. La investigación de Andrea Giunta no sólo es una contribución importante al estudio de las relaciones entre arte y política en los '60 en la

Argentina, sino también una investigación muy estimulante para pensar cuestiones más amplias de política y crítica cultural.

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International and Comparative

U.S. Intervention in British Guiana: A Cold War Story. By STEPHEN G. RABE.

The New Cold War History. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Photographs. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 241 pp. Cloth, \$45.00. Paper, \$19.95.

Stephen Rabe has previously explored the Latin American policies of the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations in two excellent works. In this instance Rabe adopts a narrower focus, telling the important but long-obscured tale of the “covert” U.S. intervention in the colony of British Guiana (independent Guyana after 1966) and, more generally, of U.S. and British Caribbean policy during the 1950s and 1960s.

Rabe’s history documents the thinking and actions of all the intervention’s major actors, including the British Colonial and Foreign Offices, the U.S. State Department and Central Intelligence Agency, and nongovernmental organizations (especially labor federations in the United States and Great Britain). Last but hardly least are the Guyanese political leader, Cheddi Jagan, and other Guyanese who opposed (or welcomed) U.S. interference. Rabe’s sources lead mainly to a political, social, and economic analysis, but gender issues are also present, mainly in the form of the demonization by U.S. officials of Janet Jagan, the white, U.S.-born, leftist wife of Cheddi Jagan.

Rabe’s research faced many impediments, particularly the secretive attitude of the U.S. government. Many documents, though officially open, are still classified, while the CIA insists that it has no documents whatever and won’t even confirm that it was involved in Guiana/Guyana. Rabe circumvented these information blockades with research in U.S. presidential and personal archives and in the generally more open British archives; he also gathered data from memoirs and interviews. The patterns of closed documents and the dearth of historical work on U.S. involvement in British Guiana should cause some cynicism about the concept of covert operations. In this case and in others, operations are mainly covert to the U.S. public while they are well known to the victims and others on the world stage.

The basic story is set at the height of the Cold War. It details the U.S. campaign, in cooperation with the often reluctant British, to destroy the ability of Cheddi Jagan, a popular and capable democratic leader, to govern his colony/country as it prepared for independence in 1966. Washington’s problem with Jagan was his mildly socialist approach to economic matters and his hope that the new nation of Guyana could pursue a pro-Western course while continuing to communicate and trade freely with the rest of the world, including socialist Cuba (which bought much of Guiana’s rice crop, a sizeable secondary export).

To accomplish U.S. government policy, the State Department, the CIA, and CIA-financed anticommunists in the U.S. labor movement instituted a plan to make British Guiana ungovernable while Jagan was chief minister (1957–64) and to block him from power after independence (1966). The United States forced the British to delay the granting of independence to the colony and to rig the electoral system to Jagan's great disadvantage. The British also acquiesced to a CIA destabilization campaign in 1962 (that deliberately stirred up racial tensions between the two major ethnic groups, Indians and blacks, and degenerated into mob violence), and to the creation of a CIA-financed political opposition. Washington's plan confronted major obstacles. One was that Jagan was the popular leader of the multiethnic People's Progressive Party (PPP), the only viable political movement as British Guiana began heading toward independence. A second major problem was that the British government found Jagan generally acceptable, making it reluctant to rig elections and to deny him office after independence. A third obstacle was that the British, U.S., and Canadian corporations that controlled production of sugar and bauxite, British Guiana's two main exports, found Cheddi Jagan an effective leader whom they trusted to pursue moderate policies (while they expressed grave doubts about Washington's proposed alternative leader). Moreover, nearly all the British and U.S. officials actually serving in the colony shared this view.

The plan's active supporters were the U.S. State Department and, more directly, the Central Intelligence Agency, which financed and enlisted the efforts of a small group of cold warriors from the U.S. labor movement (the AFL/CIO and ORIT). These labor leaders, with some support from unions and more conservative politicians in Great Britain, became the main agents of an aggressive U.S. policy in British Guiana, especially during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. All efforts to change U.S. policy, especially by the British, failed. U.S. leaders feared and were determined to exterminate anything possibly related to communism (particularly after Castro's rise to power in 1959). The cost to U.S. ideals, Rabe makes clear, was high. U.S. actions in British Guiana violated one key principle after another by delaying decolonization, opposing democratic rule by the majority, engendering political violence, and encouraging racism (during, ironically, the U.S. struggle for civil rights in the 1960s).

The outcome of U.S. policy was as bad as the policy itself. By the time of independence in 1966 under the U.S.-favored client leader, Forbes Burnham, the economy of Guyana was in ruins, Guyanese society and politics were deeply polarized along racial lines, and sociopolitical violence had become endemic. The new government, with strong economic and political support from Washington, gradually became a repressive and dictatorial state that systematically disenfranchised, marginalized, and abused the Indian half of the population, encouraged racial antagonism, and enriched its leaders. The economy of the country atrophied, leaving its citizens among the poorest in Latin America. This cautionary tale constitutes a major contribution to our understanding of major power intervention in Latin America and the rest of the world.

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Panama Lost? U.S. Hegemony, Democracy, and the Canal. By PETER M. SÁNCHEZ. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 251 pp. Cloth, \$59.95.

After Mexico and Cuba, probably no Latin American country has been more central to United States interests since the 1840s than Panama. Blessed with unique geographical assets, the isthmus attracted the Panama Railroad, the abortive Ferdinand de Lesseps project, and repeated American “police” interventions under Colombian sovereignty authorized by the Mallarino-Bidlack Treaty of 1846. But Isthmians were never sure of their identity as Colombians, and the Americans were increasingly anxious to secure their own control for commercial and strategic reasons. These two drives meshed in November 1903, leading to “incomplete” Panamanian independence, the inequitable and immediately controversial Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, the monumental canal construction, and an influx of Anglophone white North Americans and black *antillanos*.

After a relatively clear discussion of what constitutes international hegemony and a summary of those conditions that either promote or militate against political democracy in the short and long term, Sánchez focuses on Panama to illustrate how those two factors can interact, especially how a hegemon—in this case the United States—can facilitate or frustrate the subordinate state’s prospects of becoming a viable democracy. His objective is to do this “with an eye toward social science theories that focus on power distribution in order to explain international interactions and the advent and consolidation of democracy” (p. 198).

Few scholars deny that from even before 1903 till at least 1964 there was an almost endless pattern of U.S. domination and exploitation of Panama’s economy; of denial of Panamanian nationalism, democratization, and popular aspirations; and of humiliating arrogance, condescension, and racist treatment on the part of U.S. diplomats, military personnel, businessmen, and Zonians. Sánchez reaches the same conclusions and states them with unabashed firmness and emotion: “The result of U.S. . . . dominance and control was that the economic bonanza that Panama’s elite expected after independence and from the canal was not materializing” (p. 67). “Soon after the canal’s completion, Panamanian leaders had lost control of their territory, economic policy, foreign policy, and security apparatus” (p. 81).

In the first five decades of the twentieth century, changes occurred inside Panama that challenged the assumptions upon which the Isthmian elites and the Americans had based their loose working alliance. The middle class, labor unions, students, and teachers continued to press for challenges to U.S. power, some even espousing fascism and communism. Finally, amid tensions raised by mounting Panamanian frustrations and U.S. Cold War fixations, intensified by Castroism, the 1964 riots ended the “special relationship” and forced both sides to consider at least some modifications in their behavior.

Despite some restructuring anticipated in the failed 1967 treaties negotiated by the Johnson administration, and in the Torrijos-Carter Treaties a decade later, little really changed till the 1990s. That was because both the Panamanian oligarchy and

Washington felt that their interests would be better served if Panama was run by the Guardia Nacional (later renamed the Panamanian Defense Forces) under the somewhat progressive Omar Torrijos and later the more unprincipled Manuel Noriega. Only when Washington concluded that Noriega was really anti-American and threatening proper implementation of the 1977 treaties did the Bush administration choose to invade and allow the implementation of a civilian-run liberal democracy.

Based on this analysis, Sánchez is cautiously optimistic about the future of that democracy in Panama. He finds the country “poised as never before for democratic consolidation” (p. 210). It lacks a strong traditional landed oligarchy, enjoys a moderate level of development, apparently has said goodbye to antidemocratic militarism, and displays “increasingly institutionalized and vibrant” political institutions (p. 206). Sánchez feels that paradise might be at least approachable if the Panamanians can expand their educational system to overcome ethnic and racial divisions and build a greater sense of national identity, and can use the potential economic rewards of controlling the Canal and the former Zone lands to reduce economic inequalities. Furthermore, he urges the Americans to more consistently use “soft” as opposed to “hard” power tactics and thereby hopefully convince the majority of Panama’s and the hemisphere’s peoples that the hegemon’s leadership, based on democratic political values and neoliberal economic policies, works to their benefit.

In some ways this book is not exceptionally original; its presentation of U.S.-Panama relations covers old ground with oft-made criticisms of American bullying and insensitivity. And, while the bibliography is extensive, it draws mainly on secondary sources. Citations of government documents, newspapers, and interviews are limited. But it does provide a compact and very readable summary of this arduous bilateral relationship in the context of domestic Isthmian conditions, of hemispheric, at times global, power struggles, and of some provocative theoretical formulations. It will serve the broadest of audiences.

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Iron Horse Imperialism: The Southern Pacific of Mexico, 1880–1951. By DANIEL LEWIS.

Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007. Photographs. Map. Figure. Notes.

Bibliography. Index. xviii, 179 pp. Cloth, \$35.00.

This book details the history of a U.S.-owned railway line that, after its completion in 1927, ran along Mexico’s Pacific coast between the border town of Nogales and Guadalajara, connecting the country’s northwest to its central population centers. Southern Pacific owned and managed the railroad from 1898, when it obtained the Sonora Railway from another American railroad giant—Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe—until the Mexican government purchased the line in 1951. Foreign-owned railroads have often stood as symbols of Latin America’s subservience to powerful outsiders. However, in

this concise, clearly written volume, Daniel Lewis argues that the Mexican government sought to regulate the Southern Pacific of Mexico from its inception, and that it did so with increasing coherence and effectiveness over time. Drawing especially on the Mexican National Archives' Secretary of Transportation and Communication record group, and on company records recently made available at the Huntington Library in California, Lewis concludes, "The Mexican government was able to influence the line so that it actually contributed actively to Mexican nation building" (p. 14). Although Mexican economic nationalism is often seen to have originated with the revolution or the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas, Lewis demonstrates that it had antecedents in the Porfiriato. After detailing the familiar story of the foreign-financed, late nineteenth-century railroad boom, the author notes that some members of the Porfirio Díaz administration, most notably Finance Secretary José Yves Limantour, were wary of foreign, especially American, capital. After Díaz did little to enforce an initial regulatory attempt, the Railroad Law of 1899, Limantour proposed that the government buy a majority share in most of the country's lines, thus taking control of the railroads while continuing to allow some foreign investment. Díaz agreed, and in 1908 he founded the Mexican National Railways to carry out the plan and manage the new system, an action that Lewis justifiably says has not received the historical scrutiny it deserves.

As a firm in which the government did not invest, the Southern Pacific of Mexico remained independent on the eve of the revolution; this left the railroad vulnerable to armed groups more likely to target American than Mexican lines. Upon consolidating power, Venustiano Carranza's Constitutionalist government took control of the line, ignored its American board of directors, and rebuffed Southern Pacific's demands for reparations for war-related destruction. Conflict over revolutionary-era damages did not subside until 1923, when President Álvaro Obregón, seeking diplomatic recognition from the United States, settled several disputes involving U.S. corporations. By then, Lewis argues, unlike Díaz's *científicos*, few in the Mexican government embraced American firms unreservedly as avatars of progress. During a 1923 ceremony marking the resumption of construction on the railroad, Obregón welcomed American investors, but warned them that Mexico "does oppose and shall oppose the imposition of a certain kind of civilization" (p. 66).

Meanwhile, Lewis argues, a tendency to see railroads as symbols of conquest over nature and inferior peoples continued to motivate Southern Pacific officials. Although it may not have made business sense to remain in Mexico, where it had been losing money, Southern Pacific agreed in 1923 to complete the last one hundred miles of track between Tepic and Guadalajara. In one of the book's more colorful sections, Lewis details this remarkable four-year engineering project, which required construction of dozens of bridges and tunnels through a series of canyons, the largest of which was Salsipuedes Gorge, 860 feet high and 240 feet long. In a separate chapter on the 1920s, "Multicultural Mosaic: The Impacts of Otherness," Lewis discusses several intriguing examples of cultural conflicts that stirred controversy and occasionally disrupted construction or railroad operations. The presence of Chinese workers, for example, provoked protests by

nativist groups like the Anti-Chinese League of Sonora, and some government officials claimed that Mormons employed by the Utah Construction Company, which oversaw the Tepic-Guadalajara project, came to Mexico to proselytize. While these controversies had little effect on operations, Yaqui Indian resistance to railroad expansion and attacks by Cristero rebels between 1926 and 1929 caused significant delays and damage.

Despite the succinctness of *Iron Horse Imperialism*, the author develops his arguments effectively. The book's brevity, however, is also a limitation. Lewis makes a few suggestive comments about the history of railroads in South America; the book could have benefited from more complete comparative analysis. Important concepts such as "nation-building," "otherness," and "imperialism" receive cursory discussions, and the author engages with few secondary or theoretical sources. Finally, the text is marred by several minor yet distracting errors. Still, *Iron Horse Imperialism* remains a solid, engaging study of a relatively unexplored topic, and a worthwhile contribution to the history of Mexican economic policy and American business in Mexico.

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The Imaginary Line: A History of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, 1848–1857. By JOSEPH RICHARD WERNE. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2007. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliographic Essay. Index. xv, 255 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.

Joseph Richard Werne examines in great detail the Joint United States and Mexican Boundary Commission's survey of the international line as concluded in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. First, utilizing extensive U.S. and newly available Mexican archival sources, Werne challenges interpretations that have credited the U.S. surveyors as primarily responsible for completing the international line. Instead Werne redirects attention to the long-neglected Mexican Boundary Commission to successfully argue that the effort was a partnership. Second, Werne attempts to demonstrate how the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo's failure to settle the boundary question led to the Gadsden Treaty. According to Werne, while the new border between the two countries was clear to the treaty negotiators, it was actually vague enough that it "brought forth a controversy so perplexing that only an entirely new treaty could resolve the matter" (p. xiii).

The members of the Joint United States and Mexican Boundary Commission met in California in 1849 to begin the survey. According to Werne, both teams were already handicapped by events outside their control, including the California Gold Rush, which drained labor away and raised prices for basic goods and transportation. In addition, the Mexican surveyors arrived with inferior equipment, while the U.S. team faced a budget shortfall. However, it was the U.S. survey team that proved to be the biggest hurdle for completing the project in a timely manner. Werne argues that partisan struggles between Whigs and the Democrats resulted in failure to adequately fund the survey, and

competing political appointments fostered disorganization, bickering between civilian and military members, comparatively rapid changes in personnel, and periodic suspension of work. Finally, Werne points to the failure of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and Disturnell's map in providing clear guidance to the surveyors, a critical failure that could only be remedied by a second treaty.

After much debate, in April 1851, the Joint Boundary Commission confirmed latitude 32°22' N, also known as the Bartlett–García Conde Line, as the southern boundary of the territory of New Mexico. Many in the U.S. Congress rejected the Bartlett–García Conde Line as too far north to make a transcontinental railway viable and in 1852 suspended further appropriations for the survey. Others argued that Mexico had deceived the United States into accepting this line and called for a renegotiation of the international boundary. The impasse ended when Governor William Carr Lane of New Mexico rejected latitude 32°22' N as the southern border and claimed jurisdiction over the Mesilla Valley, a claim which would allow for a railway to be built. Although the U.S. government rebuked Governor Lane's actions and Mexico argued for the integrity and legitimacy of the Bartlett–García Conde Line, according to Werne, this brief confrontation opened the way for a renegotiation of the southern boundary.

The new U.S. minister to Mexico, James Gadsden, was instructed to negotiate a new boundary further south with an offer to purchase. Although Mexico initially considered the loss of additional territory as unthinkable and rejected Gadsden's offer of money, as Werne demonstrates, the return of the Democrats to power in Washington, D.C., and Antonio López de Santa Anna's failure to strengthen the army and maintain financial stability convinced Mexico to begin negotiations that concluded with the signing of the Gadsden Treaty in 1854.

While some of his technical discussions border on minutiae, Werne does an admirable job of introducing readers to some of the very colorful characters and especially for highlighting the contributions of the long-neglected Mexican surveyors. It is important to note, however, that discussion of the U.S. surveyors is much more thorough than that concerning their Mexican counterparts. This is probably attributable to the availability of secondary and archival sources, which Werne is careful to address. Overall, Werne is effective in illustrating how the problems inherent in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and in the survey led to the Gadsden Treaty. Borderlands historians in particular will no doubt find this work insightful and invaluable.

MEE-AE KIM, The College of Idaho

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-077

Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History since 1898. By CÉSAR J. AYALA and RAFAEL BERNABE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvi, 428 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.

César J. Ayala and Rafael Bernabe's book explores the nature, structure, and relationship of the relationship between Puerto Rico and United States. The authors differ with Henry Luce's proclamation in 1941 in *Life* magazine about the coming of the American Century and the rise of the United States as a global power after 1945. Ayala and Bernabe argue instead that the American Century began in 1898. By situating the rise of the United States to global power at the beginning of the twentieth century, Ayala and Bernabe push the reader to rethink the role the United States has played in shaping the nations and territories of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The target audience of the book is not specialists but rather the general public. However, the book has value for scholars and students of Caribbean, Latin America, or Latino studies, as well. Ayala and Bernabe introduce the reader to major themes in Puerto Rico's history, different interpretations (both old and current) regarding events, individuals, movements, literature, the role of the United States, national culture, and migrations to New York. The book's vast number of characters (political and labor leaders, military, academics, economists, and cultural figures) can at times be challenging to those not familiar to the history of the island. Yet Ayala and Bernabe are able to link these characters within a larger historical perspective, namely that of an Atlantic history, where Puerto Rico's history and the lives of these islanders are not isolated from outside intellectual, political, economic, and cultural movements. Although Ayala and Bernabe use what I would refer to as traditional Puerto Rican historical narrative (writing the history of the island through the lens of dominant figures such as Luis Muñoz Rivera, Luis Muñoz Marín, José Celso Barbosa, Santiago Iglesias, Carlos Romero Barceló, César Andreu Iglesias, Luisa Capetillo, Antonio Pedreira, Luis Palés Matos, and Pedro Albizu Campos), the authors also introduce other influential actors such as Nilita Vientós Gastón and Alfredo Collado Martell, who rarely are mentioned in general works. By including these characters, Ayala and Bernabe present the history of the island through different voices and perspectives.

The authors divide the twentieth century into the periods before and after World War II and discuss these from a political-economic perspective, also incorporating cultural policies and counterpolicies, literary debates, and the role that migration played in shaping Puerto Rico's history, as well as the emerging and growing Puerto Rican community in the United States. Ayala and Bernabe depict the Puerto Rican diaspora, especially the community in New York, as a historical site where the island's history is reconstructed, where individuals looking for work, escaping oppression, or seeking political alliances, ideas, or education formulate new interpretations of their Puerto Rican identity.

Puerto Rico in the American Century is not only an excellent introduction to the island

for the nonexpert but it is also of value to scholars who are searching for new topics to research on Puerto Rican history and the Puerto Rican diaspora, as the authors explain the major historiographical and scholarly debates in Puerto Rico. Ayala and Bernabe provide us with an account of the history of Puerto Rico and its diaspora where the people are in a constant struggle to define who they are while both battling and accommodating international and local market forces as well as issues related to citizenship, colonial policies, literary movements, migration, and transnational identities. This book is an excellent contribution to the general history of Puerto Rico during the twentieth century.

JOSÉ O. SOLÁ, Cleveland State University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-078

The Catholic Church and Power Politics in Latin America: The Dominican Case in Comparative Perspective. By EMELIO BETANCES. Critical Currents in Latin American Perspective. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 274 pp. Paper, \$32.95.

As Latin America transitioned from military rule and closed economies to civilian rule and market-oriented economic policies in the 1980s, a new relationship—one of mutual cooperation—developed between Latin American states and the Roman Catholic Church. In this well-written monograph, Emelio Betances examines the origins and development of this relationship in the Dominican Republic. He relies on a wide array of primary sources, including over 60 interviews with key clergymen, Dominican newspapers, and the personal documentation of church officials. The author seeks to demonstrate that in countries with unstable political systems, such as the Dominican Republic, the Catholic Church has become a source of political stability, first by becoming a “political mediator” between the Dominican state and its political opponents, and second by building ties with the lower echelons of society through the implementation of various pastoral social programs. In the process, the church has not only provided a degree of legitimacy to the state but has also been able to reinsert itself into the mainstream of Dominican politics.

A significant portion of Betances’s work documents the particulars of this reinsertion in the second half of the twentieth century. In the aftermath of the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965, the church hierarchy developed a special relationship with the U.S.-sponsored regime of Joaquín Balaguer. Balaguer ruled the country with an iron fist, which ensured a degree of “political stability” and thus contributed to prevent the emergence of a popular church movement as it occurred in other parts of Latin America. During this time, a small number of priests addressed issues of socioeconomic and political exclusion and attempted to establish links with the popular classes. In doing so, they were following the dictates emanating from the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) and the Second Conference of Latin American Bishops in Medellín (1968). On the whole, however, the clergy looked with suspicion on the rise of a popular church

movement associated with liberation theology. In fact, the church's support of agrarian reform and a more just distribution of wealth served to legitimate the modern capitalist project advanced by the Dominican state. The church hierarchy, Betances writes, became a source of sociopolitical cohesion and developed "a comfortable relationship" with Balaguer (p. 120).

As international Catholicism took a conservative turn under the papacy of John Paul II and as the Dominican Republic entered the age of civilian rule and neoliberal economic policies in the 1980s, church hierarchs, through what Betances labels a "neo-conservative orientation," increasingly intervened in mediating political conflicts. This was possible not only through the initiative taken by individual clergymen but also by the institutional expansion experienced by the Dominican church in the second half of the twentieth century. The creation of new dioceses, the increase in the number of foreign priests working in the country, and the growth of Catholic-inspired educational institutions all gave the church a greater presence in society. These factors permitted church officials to play a crucial role in the tripartite dialogue of the 1980s and the presidential elections of 1986 and 1994. Meanwhile, a number of priests took significant steps to build a relationship with the marginalized sectors of society. Since the early 1980s they have continually implemented programs that have sought to empower local communities by addressing such pressing issues as housing, land ownership, migration, and human rights violations. In the absence of a popular church movement and the accompanying flourishing of ecclesiastical base communities, these efforts have served to build "the credibility of the Church in local communities and society in general" (p. 188).

Scholars of religion and politics in Latin America will find Betances's comparative perspective illuminating. The author contrasts the political involvement of the church in the Dominican Republic with that of its counterparts in Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Bolivia, where at some point the church supported authoritarian regimes and played a role in mediating political conflicts. Only in the Dominican Republic, however, did the church become a permanent political mediator and did it not fully embrace a popular church movement. Betances attributes this variation to the conservative outlook of the majority of clergymen and to the special relationship that they cultivated with the Balaguer regime. Future studies may well further explore how other national churches in the region have adapted to an increasingly fluid religious landscape. These studies will surely have to come to grips, as Betances has, with the impact of the rise of the evangelical movement in Latin America. It is not a matter of whether Latin America is "turning Protestant," as one author has put it, but rather a matter of conceptualizing a theoretical framework which will allow scholars to see organized religions as more flexible and less monolithic than previously thought.

BONAR L. HERNÁNDEZ SANDOVAL, The University of Texas at Austin

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Marriage of Convenience: Rockefeller International Health and Revolutionary Mexico.

By ANNE-EMANUELLE BIRN. Rochester Studies in Medical History, 8. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 434 pp. Cloth, \$95.00.

Anne-Emanuelle Birn's *Marriage of Convenience* is the latest in a series of studies drawing on the Rockefeller Foundation's rich archival material to analyze its Latin American reform programs, which ranged from disease control to agricultural productivity and educational reform. This work is a deeply researched examination of the evolution of modern medical care in Mexico as well as the roots of global health services in the contemporary era. Birn's study offers insights into the goals and strategies of the foundation as well as its complex relationship with the Mexican state and public health professionals. Interactions between the foundation's International Health Division (IHD) and its Mexican partners were shaped by two often contrasting strategies. The foundation's professionals sought to eradicate specific contagions in campaigns that would be conducted by trained doctors, nurses, and engineers. Mexican professionals, while they did not reject a disease-oriented approach, were also concerned with the social origins of disease such as poverty and malnutrition. They were willing to employ a varied array of nonmedical professionals such as school teachers to try and disseminate the principles of public health. Ultimately the Mexican public health system reflected elements of both approaches.

One of the more interesting aspects of Birn's study is her analysis of the politics of the foundation's public health initiatives. The foundation chose demonstration projects that would quickly impress political leaders and the public, encouraging increased expenditures of national resources in the cause of public health. The joint hookworm campaign provided a striking example of this strategy. Hookworm was by no means the most serious or widespread disease threatening the Mexican population, but it had particular appeal for the foundation, which had already enjoyed considerable success with its hookworm campaign in the American South. The disease was easy to diagnose and readily treatable with medication and preventive measures, and response to treatment was rapid and visible. The Mexican government had its own reasons for embracing the initiative. The project provided a quick and visible benefit to the public as compared with more controversial policies such as land reform and labor laws. Furthermore, the campaign's organizers centered their initial efforts in Veracruz, a volatile area, where the hookworm initiative could win support for a still fragile revolutionary regime. Despite the convergence of interests in the hookworm campaign, points of contention repeatedly challenged the relationship between the U.S. foundation and the Mexican public health system.

American doctors often took a dim view of their Mexican counterparts and Mexican society in general. Mexican doctors and political leaders remained suspicious of the foundation as an extension of American capitalism and U.S. power. Yet despite periodic conflicts, the relationship endured and evolved over the decades from disease-specific

campaigns and training fellowships for Mexican doctors to the creation of cooperative health clinics and advanced training for medical professionals. Birn also demonstrates that while the IHD contributed to the development of the Mexican public health system, it was never a dominant influence. The Mexican state and medical professionals drew on a variety of inspirations, from European medical science to traditional healers, to create their system. Indeed the foundation's influence was rapidly waning by the end of the 1930s and the IHD withdrew from Mexico in 1951. Yet the foundation's strategy of focusing on disease and selecting campaigns for quick results and high visibility influenced not only Mexican public health but global health organizations, most notably the World Health Organization.

As excellent as this study is, it leaves a historian asking for more. While there is passing mention of the link between the foundation's programs and progressivism, the book would have benefited from some discussion of Americans' self-conceived mission to transform Latin America. Not only foundation and medical professionals, but Washington policy makers, corporate executives, Protestant missionaries, and military officers envisioned themselves as reshaping Latin America into free market, individualistic societies much like their own. These reformers, like the foundation's professionals, were certain that American technology could uplift Latin Americans without having to address the social, political, and economic causes of poverty. Placing the Mexican public health project in this larger context would have further enhanced the study's impact. And while the book offers considerable detail about the interactions of Mexican and U.S. professionals, it would have been further enriched by some insight on the dreams, aspirations, and values that inspired doctors on both sides of the border to join in a project that relieved the medical maladies of so many. Yet these are demands on an impressive piece of scholarship that can be read profitably by scholars interested in a range of fields including the American mission in Latin America, Latin American public health, and the origins of multilateral health organizations.

THOMAS F. O'BRIEN, University of Houston

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Counting the Dead: The Culture and Politics of Human Rights Activism in Colombia.

By WINIFRED TATE. California Series in Public Anthropology, 18. Berkeley:

University of California Press, 2007. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index.

xvii, 381 pp. Paper.

This book describes the culture of human rights activism as it originally existed and later evolved in Colombia from the 1980s until the beginning of the twenty-first century. The political setting is that country's ongoing civil war, which has pitted several major guerrilla groups against one of Latin America's historically most stable but rapidly changing oligarchic two-party democracies. While overly modest in recounting her background as a human rights activist, author Winifred Tate is clearly qualified to deal with this

topic. Following almost two decades of fieldwork in Colombia with human rights groups such as Human Rights Watch and the Washington Office on Latin America, she earned a PhD in anthropology and accepted a teaching position at Colby College.

The primary purpose of Tate's book is to demonstrate how the idea of universal human rights (given strong institutional backing by the United States and United Nations after World War II) was used by various Colombian domestic actors within this tumultuous political context to garner support. More specifically, Tate looks at how the discourse surrounding human rights was used by local Colombian activists with ties to global nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), by activists affiliated with this local community who worked for state-based human rights agencies, and by the Colombian military to further their own institutional agendas.

Given her own activist background and the nature of the personal and professional contacts it provided, it is not surprising that Tate focuses primarily on the evolution of local Colombian activist groups. Here, she offers valuable insights with regard to how local activist identities that are associated with Catholic and Marxist worldviews and institutional affiliations are transformed as they come into contact with the more secular and professional perspectives of global activists and NGOs. This is in effect a dual transformation because local activists are "asked" not only to moderate their traditional radical view of the inherently conflictive relationship between the state and society, but also frequently to become professional middle-class activists affiliated with the state itself. As Tate points out, the result is often the emergence of inter- and intrainstitutional tensions within NGOs, tensions that are associated with ambivalence about these new and old modes of identification.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution Tate's book makes to the existing literature on human rights is to show how evolving institutional cultures and identities within activist NGOs in developing countries such as Colombia may affect their choice of strategy and tactics. For while the strong localized Marxist and Catholic worldviews that undergirded traditional Colombian activism apparently led domestic NGOs to emphasize class solidarity and the use of force to affect change, their increasing ties to global NGO networks led to added emphasis on the role of global norms associated with persuasive techniques such as shaming. This is a finding that may have theoretical implications for a host of other countries in the developing world where human rights groups trace their origins to roughly similar traditional institutional configurations.

Tate's book also provides valuable insights regarding other understudied phenomena associated with global activism. For example, one of her chapters deals with the question of how local NGO activists imagine their relationship with their global counterparts. In the case of Colombia, local activists whose roots traced back to Catholic institutions and beliefs often imagined these relationships in quasi-religious terms, viewing European human rights NGOs and institutions as far-off repositories of spiritual values such as salvation and final justice. From this perspective, the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Switzerland, became in effect the secular equivalent of the Vatican in Rome.

Although a source of valuable insights, *Counting the Dead* is problematic in several ways. First, the author fails to engage a significant body of literature which suggests that various state and nonstate actors use human rights discourse not only for instrumental reasons but also because of fundamental “constitutive” changes in their identity over time. From this perspective, while it may be true that institutional actors such as the Colombian armed forces initially embrace human rights rhetoric for purely practical reasons, some academic observers suggest that they will eventually become enmeshed in their own rhetoric and thus subject to the “logic” of normative change.

A second problem is that Tate does not situate Colombia comparatively within the evolving context of human rights change in Latin America. This is unfortunate because there are a number of important questions that could have been asked, particularly with regard to relative progress regarding human rights in neighboring South American countries such as Argentina and Chile. In both of these cases, Marxist and Catholic institutions and beliefs were equally important, but the political context differed dramatically.

In sum, *Counting the Dead* contributes significantly to our understanding of how activist institutional culture and identity evolves in a context where traditional labor and religious activists increasingly engage with and become more deeply enmeshed in the larger global activist community. It will prove particularly valuable to anyone (scholar and/or activist) who wishes to understand the tensions and emotions that are generated by the seemingly inexorable movement from the use of localized frames and understandings of the nature of human rights violations to the more universal and secular understandings associated with global institutions such as the United Nations.

STEPHEN ROPP, University of Wyoming

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A Turbulent Decade Remembered: Scenes from the Latin American Sixties. By DIANA SORENSEN. Cultural Memory in the Present. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 297 pp. Paper, \$24.95. Cloth, \$65.00.

The work of historiography exists in a constant and insoluble state of tension between the obligation to see historical periods on their terms and the temptation to read them from their realized futures. *A Turbulent Decade Remembered: Scenes from the Latin American Sixties* situates Diana Sorensen in this deadlock: “How to recapture a sense of the lived experience of that inaugural moment, as well as the underlying conditions of its mostly grim conclusion?” (p. 1). In her attempt to answer this question, Sorensen gives us a cultural history of the Latin American sixties that focuses on significant scenes of importance for the intersection of aesthetics and politics. Drawing on Adorno’s aesthetic theory, Sorensen conceives the sixties as an intense yet evanescent decade, and, in order to recapture that intensity, she seeks “to elucidate the structure of feeling of the period through the analysis of meaning and values that obtain in particular configurations characterized by the mode of change” (p. 10).

The first three chapters examine three intense “scenes” of negotiation between writing and political life. Sorensen first analyses Che Guevara’s writing to unpack the articulation of a voice affiliated with the state in the modeling of a new order. In the second chapter, she considers key texts by Octavio Paz and Elena Poniatowska as forms of writing that denounce, from outside, the state as the main agent repressor in the Tlatelolco massacre of 1968. Finally, Sorensen looks at the contradictions that Julio Cortázar faced when merging political commitment and artistic experimentation.

The second part of the book focuses on a critical reconsideration of the so-called boom. In chapter 4, Sorensen considers the material and symbolic forces that contributed to the construction of the literary culture of the sixties and located Latin America in a transnational dialogue. But this consideration of “the republic of letters” is set in dialogue with the analysis of the major novels of the decade. This double approach is made clear in chapter 5, the most interesting chapter in the book. Here Sorensen reflects on the forms of filiation and affiliation performed by the boom authors through public declarations and informal meetings; the resulting politics of male friendship ultimately reveals a strong anxiety about belonging. Her comparative analysis of José Donoso’s *Historia personal del “boom”* and María Pilar Donoso’s 1967 appendix “El boom doméstico” is particularly attractive. In this section, Sorensen uses the category of gender to expose some of the tensions of that time, specifically how “gender relations convey the essential traits of the crisis of authorship” (p. 162). The last chapter, “Rereading ‘Boom’ Novels in the Twenty-First Century” is also organized around the concept of gender and shows how some important texts of the boom, such as Cortázar’s *Rayuela* (*Hopscotch*), while yearning for change and revolution, leave the gender system intact and reinforce male bonds by relegating women to an inferior sphere.

In many ways, the book’s power lies in Sorensen’s elegant prose and talent for combining insightful close readings of texts with original interpretive moves that locate writings within the great political, social, and economic changes of the decade. The result is a stimulating, subtly argued study that not only assesses the contradictory relations between writing and politics undertaken in the literary texts, but also provides an original account of the cultural history of the decade.

However, this and other interesting insights are achieved at the cost of submerging the different meanings of “the political” through the decade. Sorensen succeeds in moving toward a less sentimental understanding of the sixties, but her analyses leave the impression that, at least when considering the works of fiction, literary history is autonomous from political history. In this specific aspect, Diana Sorensen’s book will not completely satisfy social and political historians; but they are not its intended audience. The book intends to contribute particularly to current debates in literary criticism and, in general, to cultural history broadly conceived. It might provoke some interesting discussion if assigned in a class on Latin American cultural history.

IRENE DEPETRIS CHAUVIN, Cornell University

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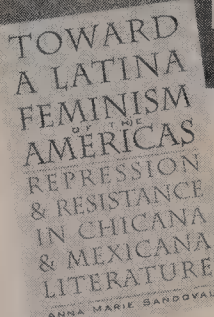
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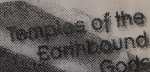
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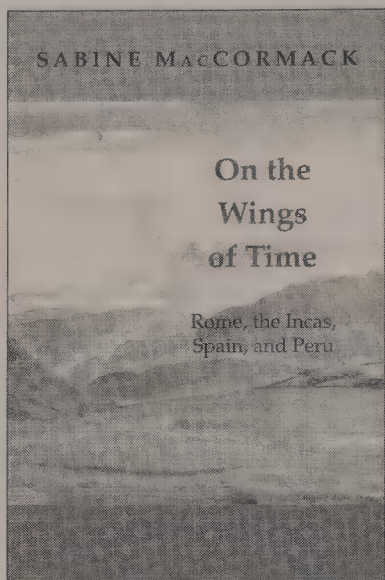
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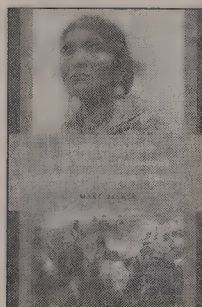
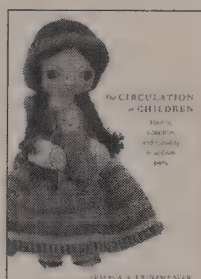
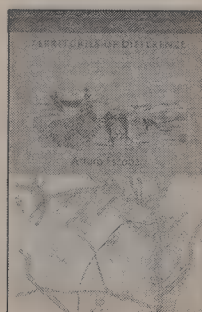
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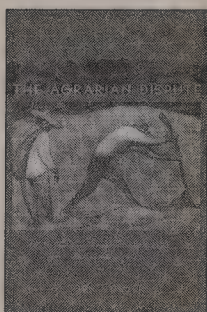
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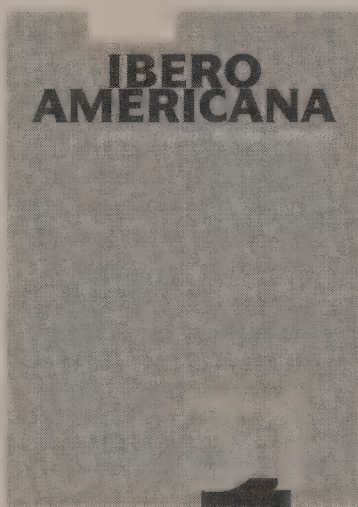
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In This Issue

We devote this issue to the political history of Latin America. The articles cover only two countries, Argentina and Colombia, but their findings raise important questions about the political history of the region as whole. These questions deal with issues of modernization and stability, the rise of a politically relevant middle class, the impact of electoral regimes on conflict and stability, and divisions of power between executive and legislative branches of government.

Ezequiel Adamovsky's study of the Unión Cívica Radical offers a revisionist narrative about this party's relationship with the Argentine "middle class." The UCR is typically described as the political voice of urban-based middle sectors that were politically excluded from the Argentine oligarchic state at the turn of the twentieth century. As one of the first "modern" political parties in Latin America, the Radicales constitute an early example of how these middle sectors struggled to wrestle political power away from the landowning elites. Adamovsky shows that rather than channeling the interests of a previously existing, discernible social class, the UCR contributed to the constitution of that middle class. The discursive invocation of the "middle" reflected the need to counter popular forms of mobilization and their egalitarian proposals. The chronology of the formation of the Argentine middle class is revised as a result. According to Adamovsky, it is only after the 1920s that the UCR discursively referred to the middle class, a social group that it helped to constitute as much as it represented.

José Antonio Sánchez Román's study of tax reform in Argentina offers another revisionist account of Argentine politics in the 1920s and 1930s. The second Radical administration, led by President Marcelo de Alvear, tried to approve the country's first income tax law. This tax reform was not successful. Contrary to what one would expect, however, this lack of success was not due to the opposition of the economic elites (the *estancieros* or urban entrepreneurs). The tax law was defeated in Congress, particularly in the upper house, by representatives of the interior provinces. This leads Sánchez Román to question the historiography's characterizations of the Radical governments as a period of

growing centralization of power. Such characterization, this study shows, does not pay enough attention to the legislative power, where regional elites maintained significant power over taxation and budgetary issues.

As in most of Latin America, the Radical administrations collapsed under the weight of the Great Depression. In Colombia, however, elections were held and power was transferred peacefully to the Liberal opposition. What accounts for this development, which is even more remarkable in light of Colombia's perennial instability during the nineteenth century? Although Colombia is always thought of as a place of endemic political violence and instability, this was not the case for most of the first half of the twentieth century.

Sebastián Mazzuca and James A. Robinson argue that the transition from "chaos" (in the nineteenth century) to "order" (in the twentieth century) was caused by changes in how power was shared by the two main political parties, Liberals and Conservatives. A 1905 electoral reform replaced majoritarian rule with the "incomplete vote," a system by which the minority party was guaranteed one-third of seats in the national legislature. This system, in turn, was replaced with a system of regular proportional representation in 1929. Mazzuca and Robinson note that the Conservatives in power agreed to the 1905 reform—that is, to reduce their own power—as a way to achieve political pacification. The importance of electoral reforms for peaceful power sharing seems to be validated by other Latin American countries that also introduced the incomplete vote, such as Uruguay and Argentina. Indeed, it was the implementation of this system that opened the door for the UCR—the political party studied by Adamovsky and Sánchez Román—to come to power in Argentina.

Acerca de la relación entre el Radicalismo argentino y la “clase media” (una vez más)

Ezequiel Adamovsky

Es una creencia profundamente arraigada en el sentido común que la Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) —el más antiguo de los partidos políticos argentinos— canalizó los intereses de una “clase media” que, según se afirma, experimentó un crecimiento notable a partir de fines del siglo XIX.

Los estudios académicos, tanto dentro como fuera de Argentina, han tendido a reforzar esa creencia. Más aún, en la medida en que la UCR fue uno de los primeros partidos modernos de América Latina, y que encabezó un recambio político que desplazó (al menos parcialmente) a las élites terratenientes que controlaban el estado hasta entonces, el caso de los radicales argentinos ha sido utilizado como ejemplo de procesos y tensiones de la modernización que afectaron a todo el subcontinente. En efecto, trabajos clásicos y enormemente influyentes en la producción académica latinoamericana como los de John Johnson o Gino Germani —por mencionar sólo dos— utilizaron el ejemplo de la UCR para argumentar en favor de las potencialidades “modernizadoras” del protagonismo de la clase media en el desarrollo de América Latina.¹

En los últimos tiempos, el papel de la clase media en América Latina viene siendo reexaminado de acuerdo a presupuestos menos ingenuos. La propia utilización de los conceptos de “clase media” y de “modernización” ha sido objeto de análisis críticos.² En estudios recientes, la clase media, para los latinoameri-

Agradezco los comentarios que sobre versiones anteriores de este trabajo realizaron Alejandro Cattaruzza, Ana Virginia Persello, Enrique Garguin y Mirta Lobato.

1. Ver John Johnson, *Political Change in Latin America: The Emergence of the Middle Sectors* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1958); además de los trabajos mencionados más abajo, Germani tuvo gran influencia en la serie de publicaciones editadas por Theo Crevenna, *Materiales para el estudio de la clase media en la América Latina* (Washington, DC: Unión Panamericana, 1950).

2. Ver Michael F. Jiménez, “The Elision of the Middle Classes and Beyond: History, Politics, and Development Studies in Latin America’s ‘Short Twentieth Century’”, en Jeremy Adelman, ed., *Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 207–28.

canistas, viene dejando de ser una entidad cuya existencia social se presupone, para convertirse en un tipo de identidad específica (y por ello contingente) cuya emergencia es necesario explicar en contextos políticos precisos.³ Sin embargo, ni la clase media argentina, ni su relación con la UCR, han recibido todavía la atención de los académicos.

El objetivo de este artículo es contribuir al debate analizando los modos en los que la UCR pudo haber participado en la constitución de una “clase media” en Argentina, y los contextos políticos específicos en los que esto tuvo lugar. Sostendremos que, más que canalizar los intereses de una clase media previamente existente, la UCR contribuyó a la formación de tal identidad social mediante apelaciones discursivas motivadas más por necesidades y oportunidades político-ideológicas que por una vocación de vehiculizar intereses sectoriales particulares. Como tendremos oportunidad de observar, los hallazgos de nuestro trabajo muestran un marcado desfase temporal entre los tempranos procesos de cambio de la estructura de la sociedad y de la economía argentinas (que comunmente se nombran como “modernización” y que han sido ampliamente documentados), y el surgimiento relativamente tardío de una identidad sociopolítica de “clase media”. Aunque circunscriptas al caso argentino —supuestamente la más “clase media” de las naciones del subcontinente—, las razones de tal desfase pueden contribuir a repensar otros casos en América Latina y en otras zonas periféricas.

UCR, clase media y modernización: El debate historiográfico

Ya desde la década de 1960 un conjunto de trabajos ha salido a matizar la imagen de la UCR como partido “de clase media”. Los matices refieren fundamentalmente a la extracción social de la dirigencia radical, al rol de la UCR en un supuesto proceso de “modernización”, y a la composición de su base electoral. En su estudio clásico de 1963, Ezequiel Gallo y Silvia Sigal apuntaron que la dirigencia radical en sus primeras épocas incluía una importante proporción de miembros de sectores terratenientes tradicionales. No obstante su hallazgo, Gallo y Sigal continúan afirmando que la UCR fue vehículo político de un proceso de “modernización” en el que la clase media ocupaba un lugar central, algo visible en el creciente reclutamiento de electores y dirigencia partidaria de ese

3. Además de la bibliografía sobre la clase media en América Latina que se discutirá más adelante, ver las ponencias presentadas en el Simposio “‘We Shall Be All’: Toward a Global History of the Middle Class”, University of Maryland, 27–29 de abril de 2006.

sector a partir de los primeros gobiernos radicales.⁴ Por su parte, utilizando métodos de sociología electoral, Darío Cantón y José Luis Moreno demostraron en 1970 que, si en 1916 la UCR alcanzó sus mayores apoyos en zonas de clase media, con el correr del tiempo fue cosechando mayores niveles de voto entre los obreros y en zonas menos urbanizadas. De hecho, hacia 1928 y 1930, fueron los sectores de menos recursos los que tendieron a permanecer más fieles a Hipólito Yrigoyen —líder máximo de los radicales, electo Presidente en 1916 y en 1928—, mientras que la clase media fue desertando.⁵ También atento a las variaciones regionales, David Rock cuestionó en 1977 la idea de “modernización” y la tesis de la UCR como su vehículo. De hecho, durante los primeros gobiernos el partido radical se las arregló para movilizar apoyo electoral tanto en zonas “modernas” como en zonas que lo eran menos; por otro lado, en las zonas urbanas su apoyo electoral provenía fundamentalmente de la clase media, pero en medida no despreciable también de los trabajadores. En referencia al origen social de su plantel dirigente, Rock sostiene que a partir de 1924 se haría evidente una transición iniciada varios años antes que, “a la postre, concedería un rol dominante a los grupos de clase media por oposición a los dirigentes-hacendados primitivos”. En conclusión, la UCR fue un partido de “rasgos populistas”, que articuló un “movimiento de coalición” entre un sector de la élite “e importantes sectores de las clases medias”, con una tendencia creciente a apoyarse en estos últimos.⁶

4. Ezequiel Gallo y Silvia Sigal, “La formación de los partidos contemporáneos: La Unión Cívica Radical (1890–1916)”, *Desarrollo Económico* 3, no. 1–2 (abr.–sept. 1963): 173–230.

5. Darío Cantón y José Luis Moreno, “Bases sociales del voto radical en la Argentina de 1928–30”, *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología* 6, no. 3 (sept.–dic. 1970): 459–64. Ver también Darío Cantón, *Elecciones y partidos políticos en la Argentina: Historia, interpretación y balance 1910–1966* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 1973), 149–56. Otro importante estudio de sociología electoral es Richard J. Walter, “Elections in the City of Buenos Aires during the First Yrigoyen Administration: Social Class and Political Preferences”, *HAHR* 58, no. 4 (nov. 1978): 595–624. En este trabajo el autor refuta la tesis de Peter Snow, según la cual no había correlaciones significativas entre clase social y preferencias electorales en el período de los primeros gobiernos radicales. Peter Snow, “The Class Basis of Argentine Political Parties”, *American Political Science Review* 63 (Mar. 1969): 163–67. Por el contrario, Walter demuestra que la UCR tendió a tener más apoyos entre la “clase media” en general, con mayor constancia entre los trabajadores no-manuales de baja categoría (especialmente empleados públicos) y más variabilidad entre los mismos de categorías media y alta. El Partido Socialista tendía a beneficiarse del voto de trabajadores manuales tanto calificados como de baja calificación. Ambos partidos, sin embargo, obtenían importantes caudales de votos en todas las categorías sociales mencionadas.

6. David Rock, *El Radicalismo argentino 1890–1930* (Buenos Aires: Amorrortu, 1977), 266–67, 53, 238, 243–44. Otro aporte cercano a esta interpretación en el de Patricia Romer,

Trabajos más recientes volvieron a atacar la tesis de la UCR como vehículo o expresión de un proceso de modernización. Aníbal Viguera ha mostrado la combinación de prácticas y apelaciones políticas tradicionales y modernas por parte de la UCR en los primeros años de la democracia, dirigidas a una masa de “sectores populares” que, por su escasa diferenciación, sería abusivo dividir en clases “obrero” y “media”.⁷ Por su parte Paula Alonso ha argumentado que, en el momento de su nacimiento, no podría considerarse a la UCR como representante de la clase media o como agente modernizador, ni por las condiciones de su surgimiento, ni por su programa, ni por el origen social de sus dirigentes o sus votantes.⁸ Estudios del surgimiento de la UCR en las provincias llegan a conclusiones similares en lo que respecta al radicalismo como supuesta expresión de un proceso de modernización socioeconómica; antes bien, su surgimiento obedeció puramente a conflictos faccionales intraoligárquicos.⁹

Los matices expuestos, sin embargo, no han alcanzado para poner en cuestión la tesis de la UCR como partido “de clase media”. En las narrativas hegemónicas de la historia argentina y en la historiografía reciente, se ha hecho lugar a las nuevas propuestas interpretativas sin desarmar lo que constituye el *núcleo duro* de aquella tesis, a saber: 1) que en la Argentina, aproximadamente a partir del período 1869–1895, hubo un crecimiento notable de los sectores de clase media y 2) que el predominio de la UCR (si no su surgimiento) fue tanto expresión como canal de ascenso de ese grupo social en el terreno político. Todavía hoy la sociología y la historiografía profesionales continúan difundiendo esa creencia.¹⁰ La evidencia acerca de la extracción predominante de élite

“¿Qué hay de clase media en la Unión Cívica Radical, 1912–1930?”, manuscrito inédito, 1995.

7. Aníbal Viguera, “Participación electoral y prácticas políticas de los sectores populares en Buenos Aires, 1912–1922”, *Entrepasados*, no. 1 (1991): 5–33.

8. Paula Alonso, *Entre la Revolución y las urnas: Los orígenes de la UCR y la política argentina en los años '90* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana-Universidad de San Andrés, 1994), 17–18.

9. Ver Esther María Torino, Azucena del Valle Michel y Rubén Emilio Correa, “Radicalismo en Salta: Grupos y clubes políticos en los orígenes de la Unión Cívica Radical de Salta (1876–1891)”, *Cuadernos de Humanidades* (Universidad Nacional de Salta), no. 8 (1996): 251–83; Gardenia Vidal, *Radicalismo de Córdoba 1912–1930: Los grupos internos: Alianzas, conflictos, ideas, actores* (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1995); María del Mar Solís Carnicer, “Autonomistas, liberales y radicales: La definición de las identidades políticas en Corrientes en el período 1909–1930”, *XII Congreso Nacional y Regional de Historia Argentina* (Separata), Academia Nacional de la Historia, La Plata, 2003.

10. Un ejemplo significativo es el de la *Nueva historia argentina*, suma del conocimiento historiográfico local en 10 volúmenes, publicada en 2000 por un grupo de prestigiosos

de la primera camada de dirigentes radicales y las circunstancias del nacimiento de la UCR a nivel nacional y provincial —más ligadas a los conflictos de poder intraoligárquicos que al ascenso de una nueva clase social—, se circunscribe, justamente, al momento *formativo* del radicalismo, dejando en pie la hipótesis de la UCR *madura* como partido de clase media. Por otro lado, dada la orientación que ha adoptado la historiografía argentina en las últimas décadas, la evidencia de los amplios apoyos electorales de la UCR en la clase trabajadora no afecta la tesis central. La idea de la Argentina de “épocas del aluvión inmigratorio” como una “sociedad de masas de clases medias”, marcada por el ascenso de los “sectores populares” —difundida fundamentalmente por Luis Alberto Romero—, permite limar la aparente contradicción. Porque el concepto de “sectores populares” *incluye* a trabajadores y clase media en un magma social único, de diferenciaciones poco marcadas, definido por la posibilidad de rápido ascenso social en una sociedad abierta e inclusiva.¹¹ En un contexto así delineado, la existencia de un electorado radical entre los trabajadores no cuestiona la tesis de la UCR como partido de clase media, ya que los “sectores populares” se definen implícitamente por el predominio del ideal social y los valores de la clase media (como la propia expresión “sociedad de masas de clase media”

profesionales. Waldo Ansaldi afirma allí que “la clase media urbana” era la “base social clásica del electorado radical” durante los primeros gobiernos de la UCR. Cf. *Nueva historia argentina*, 10 vols. (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2000), vol. 6, p. 50. Ver también vol. 7, p. 202–38. Afirmaciones similares pueden hallarse en numerosas narrativas generales de la historia argentina originadas en el campo académico, incluyendo los influyentes estudios de Gino Germani, *Política y sociedad en una época de transición* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1965), 223–27; y de José Luis Romero, *Las ideas políticas en Argentina* (1946; Buenos Aires: FCE, 1987), 205–18; la *Historia Argentina* en 8 volúmenes, dirigida por Tulio Halperín Donghi (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1972), vol. 6, pp. 53–56; y el fascículo titulado “La clase media en el poder [1916–1930]”, dirigido por Haydée Gorostiegui de Torres y publicado en la serie de divulgación popular *Polémica (Primera Historia Argentina Integral)*, no. 56 (Buenos Aires: CEAL, 1971). La tesis de la UCR como partido de clase media es un lugar común en estudios específicos sobre ese partido, entre otros (además de los ya mencionados *supra*, y dejando de lado los innumerables textos ensayísticos o polémicos), Luis Alberto Romero et al., *El Radicalismo* (Buenos Aires: CEPE, 1969); Roberto Ferrero, *Sabattini y la decadencia del yrigoyenismo* (Buenos Aires: Mar Dulce, 1982).

11. Ver Luis Alberto Romero, “El apogeo de la sociedad de masas”, *Revista Digital* 8, no. 50 (julio 2002), <http://www.efdeportes.com/efd50/romero.htm>; también Leandro Gutiérrez y Luis Alberto Romero, *Sectores populares, cultura y política: Buenos Aires en la entreguerra* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1995); Ricardo González Leandri, “La nueva identidad de los sectores populares”, en *Nueva historia argentina*, 10 vols. (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2000–2002), vol. 7, pp. 201–38.

indica). En algunos trabajos recientes en esta línea, se acentúa incluso más la expansión de la categoría de “clase media” para pasar a referir no ya a un grupo social específico, sino a un sistema de valores compartidos por la gran mayoría de una sociedad concebida como un todo integrado y armónico, de modo tal que incluso la categoría de clase se hace completamente innecesaria. Desaparece entonces la idea de la UCR como partido de la “clase media”, pero sólo porque se asume, implícitamente, que las divisiones de clase no son importantes a la hora de analizar las ideas (ya no ideologías) políticas. Curiosamente, los valores de “progreso social” supuestamente compartidos por los “vecinos y ciudadanos” de toda la sociedad son los mismos que solían caracterizar los del ascenso de la clase media según la historiografía y la sociología de la modernización tradicionales.¹² Ciertamente, análisis recientes de los discursos e identidades políticas de la época, como el brillante trabajo de Matthew Karush sobre el radicalismo en la ciudad de Rosario y su relación con la clase obrera, han vuelto a situar el surgimiento y la tenacidad de una identidad *de clase* entre los trabajadores y las dificultades de las élites sociopolíticas para lidiar con ella como un problema crucial que la interpretación basada en los “sectores populares” oscurece.¹³ Sin embargo, esta interpretación continúa siendo hegemónica tanto en el campo académico como en la cultura argentina en general.

El propósito de este trabajo es someter a un nuevo escrutinio lo que hemos llamado el *nucleo duro* de la tesis de la UCR como partido “de clase media”, aunque sin perder de vista el profundo antagonismo social que marca la sociedad del período referido y sus manifestaciones ideológicas. No lo haremos, sin embargo, a la manera de los estudios de sociología electoral o institucional, es decir, inspeccionando el origen social de los votantes, los dirigentes, o los miembros de la UCR. Tampoco lo haremos analizando los programas y las políticas de los gobiernos radicales para ver si contienen medidas en favor de la clase media. Por motivos que se explican a continuación, los caminos metodológicos seguidos por los estudios precedentes no resultan útiles a la hora de establecer si la UCR fue o no un partido de clase media.

12. Ver Luciano de Privitello, *Vecinos y ciudadanos: Política y sociedad en la Buenos Aires de entreguerras* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2003), 208–9.

13. Karush ha también matizado la idea de la UCR como canal que habría permitido el ascenso social de nuevos grupos sociales a altas posiciones dentro de la élite política. Matthew B. Karush, *Workers or Citizens: Democracy and Identity in Rosario, Argentina (1912–1930)* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 2002), 50–51, 203.

Una clase en cuestión

Para que los métodos de la sociología electoral/institucional o los de la comparación de programas e intereses sociales fueran válidos en la respuesta a la pregunta que nos ocupa, primero deberíamos ponernos de acuerdo sobre uno de los supuestos de la tesis de la UCR como partido de clase media: que en la Argentina de principios del siglo XX existía una entidad social llamada “clase media”. Curiosamente, este supuesto fundamental a través del cual los argentinos tienden a pensar su pasado, nunca ha sido sometido a rigor crítico. Resulta indudable que hacia fines del siglo XIX existía una proporción creciente de, pequeños comerciantes, empleados bancarios o del estado, dueños de pequeñas empresas manufactureras, médicos y maestras. Pero eso no implica que estas categorías sociales constituyan *una* clase (o varias “clases medias”, aún así reductibles a un común denominador). En efecto, resulta opinable que individuos con situaciones tan dispares —patronos y empleados, asalariados e independientes, con estudios universitarios y sin ellos, vinculados al sector privado o al estatal, con niveles de ingresos variables, etc.— deban considerarse parte de una sola clase social. ¿Por qué no considerar a un empleado de comercio o estatal como parte de la clase trabajadora (como indicaría, por ejemplo, el hecho de que vivan de un salario y se organicen sindicalmente en instituciones como la CGT) junto con obreros fabriles? ¿Por qué no admitir que un escribano o un médico forman parte de la clase alta (como, de hecho, solía asumirse en el siglo XIX)? ¿Por qué separar en clases diferentes a un gran industrial y a un pequeño manufacturero, cuando sus intereses suelen ser más coincidentes que divergentes? Por otro lado, incluso si constituyeran una clase unificada, tampoco va de suyo que ésta se sitúe *en el medio* de la sociedad, entre una clase alta y otra baja. No existe ninguna característica o atributo de los empleados bancarios o las maestras que indique que se sitúen “entre medio” de ricos y pobres. La sociedad no es una cantidad, ni tiene un volumen físico del cual pudiera determinarse un “medio”; la idea de “clase media” deriva de una operación metafórica a través de la cual hemos aprendido a pensar la sociedad en categorías del mundo natural. A diferencia de otros significantes que designan categorías sociales a partir de atributos directamente observables (por ejemplo “asalariados” = “los que viven de un salario”, o “empresarios” = “los que poseen empresas”), el significante “clase media”, para ponerlo en términos de Castoriadis, es *puramente* imaginario.

Como han mostrado estudios recientes del caso europeo, la aparición del concepto de “clase media” y la moderna división de la sociedad según la metáfora tripartita —clases *alta*, *media* y *baja*— son fenómenos relativamente recientes, que sólo se hicieron evidentes en algunos países como Inglaterra o

Francia en vísperas de la Revolución francesa, difundiéndose a otras regiones en fechas mucho más tardías. Más aún, en aquellos países la invención del concepto de “clase media” tuvo que ver con los proyectos políticos de determinados sectores de élite para consolidar su hegemonía movilizandolos apoyos de ciertos sectores sociales contra la amenaza que significó el ingreso de las masas a la vida política. Como resultado de la creación y repetición de un discurso de “clase media”, en algunos sitios y en períodos diferentes, se consolidó eventualmente una identidad específica centrada en la idea de “clase media”.¹⁴ Si bien no existen estudios en este sentido para el caso Argentino, trabajos referidos a otros contextos latinoamericanos sugieren similitudes con el escenario europeo, tanto en las funciones que desempeñó el concepto en cuestión, como en las alternativas de su aparición en el siglo XX.¹⁵

Si la existencia de numerosos médicos, empleados de cuello blanco, o pequeños comerciantes no implica que deba haber una “clase media”, y si una identidad tal ha sido en otros sitios resultada de una lucha específica por la hegemonía, entonces la pregunta que nos ocupa debe abordarse con una estrategia diferente. En tanto y en cuanto no hay evidencias de que existiera en

14. Ver Ezequiel Adamovsky, “Aristotle, Diderot, Liberalism, and the Idea of ‘Middle Class’: A Comparison of Two Contexts of Emergence of a Metaphorical Formation”, *History of Political Thought* 26, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 303–33; Geoffrey Crossick, “Formation ou invention des ‘classes moyennes’? Une analyse comparée: Belgique-France-Grande-Bretagne (1880–1914)”, *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis* 26, nos. 3–4 (1996): 105–38; Mechthild Fischer, *Mittelklasse als politischer Begriff in Frankreich seit der Revolution* (Göttingen: Otto Schwartz, 1974); Gilles Le Béguec, “Prélude à un syndicalisme bourgeois: l’Association de défense des classes moyennes (1907–1939)”, *Vingtième Siècle*, no. 37 (janvier–mars 1993): 93–104; Marie-France Piguet, *Classe: Histoire du mot et genèse du concept des Physiocrates aux historiens de la Restauration* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1996); Klaus-Peter Sick, “Le concept de Classes Moyennes: Notion sociologique ou slogan politique?” *Vingtième Siècle*, no. 37 (janvier–mars 1993): 13–33; Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995); Jean Ruhlmann, *Ni bourgeois ni prolétaires: La défense des classes moyennes en France au XIXe. siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 2001).

15. Los pocos estudios para el caso de Latinoamérica revelan también, sin embargo, interesantes particularidades, como la combinación de las identidades de clase media con ilusiones de respetabilidad nacional tanto como social, y con estrategias para ordenar las jerarquías raciales. Ver Brian P. Owensby, *Intimate Ironies: Modernity and the Making of Middle-Class Lives in Brazil* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1999); David S. Parker, *The Idea of the Middle Class: White-Collar Workers and Peruvian Society, 1900–1950* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1998); Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2001).

Argentina una identidad o un discurso explícitos de clase media al momento del ascenso de la UCR al poder (1916), de lo que se trata es de determinar en qué medida los radicales produjeron interpelaciones específicas a una “clase media”, que pudieran haber contribuido al surgimiento de una identidad basada en ese significante. Tal es el objeto del presente trabajo, que se sitúa entonces en la perspectiva metodológica de la *Begriffsgeschichte*, la historia de conceptos. Analizaremos textos producidos por políticos y militantes radicales — libros, revistas, folletos, discursos, intervenciones parlamentarias, etc. — junto con documentos oficiales de la UCR — proclamas, plataformas, panfletos, comunicaciones internas, etc. — del período que va entre el nacimiento del partido y el año 1957, para identificar en qué momento, en qué medida, y con qué propósitos los radicales utilizaron el concepto de “clase media”.¹⁶

“Somos la patria misma”: El discurso oficial de la UCR

Cuando, en vísperas de su asunción como presidente de la república en 1983, Raúl Alfonsín recibió un cuestionario acerca de la naturaleza del radicalismo en el que se le preguntaba si era cierto que su partido está constituido “prioritariamente por los sectores medios”, su respuesta fue tajantemente negativa; con evidente malhumor afirmó: “el radicalismo es policlasista”.¹⁷ La respuesta de Alfonsín refleja una actitud general de dirigentes y militantes radicales. Desde sus orígenes, la UCR eligió definirse como un partido popular, rechazando enfáticamente que representara otros intereses que los de la nación o el “pueblo argentino” en su conjunto. De hecho, en los documentos oficiales del partido, las referencias a la “clase media” son prácticamente inhallables.

En el rechazo a las identificaciones clasistas, los radicales siguen los pasos de sus padres fundadores, para quienes la defensa de intereses materiales constituía un “sensualismo” incompatible con el “idealismo” de un verdadero compromiso

16. La época de la Revolución Libertadora (1955–58) es un buen momento para finalizar nuestra búsqueda, ya que el posterior surgimiento de la variante “desarrollista” de la UCR, que no trataremos aquí, incorporó cambios importantes en el vocabulario político radical. El corpus de fuentes incluye todas las identificadas en el *Manual bibliográfico sobre la UCR*, compilado por Carlos Giacobone y Edit Gallo (Buenos Aires: Compañía Impresora Argentina, 1989), más otras impresas e inéditas ubicadas para el presente trabajo, junto con los *Diarios de Sesiones* del Congreso Nacional para el período seleccionado, y revistas, diarios y films apropiados hasta donde pudo tenerse acceso. Aunque este texto refiere a varias obras de radicales del interior del país, en general he preferido privilegiar las publicaciones y textos de alcance nacional. Queda para otros historiadores la tarea de explorar el universo enorme de las publicaciones del radicalismo del interior.

17. Raúl Alfonsín, *Qué es el radicalismo* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1983), 253.

republicano.¹⁸ La UCR “congregó bajo su bandera a los hombres de todas las clases sociales”, afirmó Hipólito Yrigoyen en 1923: “somos la patria misma, en la verdad de nuestros ideales y en la virtud de nuestros sentimientos”.¹⁹ Por su parte, el lenguaje republicano de Leandro Alem, padre fundador del radicalismo, rara vez admitió preocupaciones por otra cosa que no fuera el “pueblo” (entendido más como concepto político que como categoría sociológica), la “nación” o la “patria”.²⁰ Afirmaciones como la de Yrigoyen fueron repetidas como un mantra por algunos de los principales dirigentes radicales del período que nos ocupa. Ernesto Laclau, militante de la juventud radical, afirmaba en 1928 que el radicalismo “no es un órgano de clases”, sino “un órgano de la sociedad” toda.²¹ En los “Principios de ética cívica” redactados por el diputado Raúl F. Oyhanarte como “norma doctrinaria” para los Clubes Radicales de Hombres Libres, se afirma que la UCR no es “en modo alguno un partido de clase”: es “la República misma”.²² Ricardo Rojas —un destacado hombre de letras devenido luego político radical— fue aún más enfático al sostener que la UCR “refunde en sí a todas las clases sociales”; es “un resumen del pueblo argentino”, una “entelequia política de la argentinidad”.²³ En un discurso en 1938, Marcelo T. de Alvear, por entonces líder máximo del partido, proclamaba que “el partido radical posee en sus filas la representación genuina de todas las clases sociales y la expresión de todas las inquietudes argentinas, en lo espiritual como en lo material”.²⁴ El

18. Ver Ana Virginia Persello, *El Partido Radical: Gobierno y oposición 1916–1943* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2004), 18. Ver también Marcelo Padoan, *Jesús, el templo y los viles mercaderes: Un examen de la discursividad yrigoyenista* (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2002). Matthew Karush sostiene que el rechazo de la mayoría de los radicales a las identificaciones de clase y su apego al idealismo republicano forman parte de una actitud general de las élites políticas argentinas de la época. Así, para enfrentar el desafío que significaba la política de masas, adoptaron un concepto de ciudadanía y de democracia “no pluralista”, que apelaba exclusivamente a un “pueblo” abstracto, y resultaba por ello incapaz de reconocer y representar los legítimos intereses de las diversas clases sociales. Ver Karush, *Workers or Citizens*, 2–3.

19. Hipólito Yrigoyen, *Mi vida y mi doctrina* (Buenos Aires: Leviatán, 1981), 137–38.

20. Ver Leandro Alem, *Mensaje y destino*, 8 vols. (Buenos Aires: Raigal, 1956). Las diferencias de clase eran igualmente ajenas al lenguaje de los jóvenes protagonistas de la fundación de la Unión Cívica. Ver Jorge Landenberger y Francisco Conte, eds., *Unión Cívica: Su origen, organización y tendencias* (Buenos Aires: s./e., 1890).

21. Ernesto Laclau, *La formación política de la sociedad argentina* (Buenos Aires: Araujo, 1928), 59–61.

22. Raúl F. Oyhanarte, *Radicalismo de siempre*, 3ra. ed. (La Plata: Club Radical de Hombres Libres, 1932), 93.

23. Ricardo Rojas, *El radicalismo de mañana* (Buenos Aires: Rosso, 1932), 213, 223.

24. Marcelo T. de Alvear, *¡Argentinos! Acción cívica* (Buenos Aires: Gleizer, 1940), 46.

dirigente Ricardo Balbín, por su parte, manifestaba en un discurso de 1946 que la UCR era el “instrumento definitivo de la liberación del hombre argentino, sin distinguirlo en divisiones de clase”.²⁵ En los textos doctrinarios de Gabriel del Mazo, historiador “oficial” del partido, encontramos elementos similares: “el radicalismo ansía ser la réplica ideal del pueblo argentino, cuya unión indivisible reside en la trabazón ética característica de su espíritu, que es capacidad para la plenitud humana superadora de todo divisionismo, sea ‘de clase’, ‘de raza’, o ‘gremial’”; por ello, el radicalismo “no se vinculó a la suerte exclusiva de una clase, sino que las englobó a todas actuando de una manera vertical en los estamentos de la sociedad argentina”.²⁶ Reaccionando frente a los estereotipos, el periodista Silvano Santander, varias veces diputado radical en las décadas del '40 y el '50, afirmó que “es una verdad relativa” que los “grupos medios” hubieran sido quienes accedieron al gobierno en 1916, ya que el radicalismo “no alentó en particular a ningún sector social. Se integró y robusteció en todas sus etapas con los elementos de todos los sectores, sin definitorias excluyentes, porque se buscaba la redención política, económica y social de todos, en su condición de ciudadanos argentinos. [. . .] Al lado del hacendado estaba el peón, próximo al industrial se hallaba el almacenero.”²⁷

Incluso cuando ya se distinguen claramente matices más “sociológicos” en el uso de la categoría de “pueblo”, los documentos oficiales del partido, como la “Declaración de Avellaneda” (1945) o los del “Primer Congreso del Movimiento de Intransigencia y Renovación” (1947) repiten lineamientos similares en lo que respecta a la identificación de la UCR con el pueblo todo, sin distinciones de clase.²⁸

“Ahora mandan las plebes sudorosas”:

Identificaciones de la UCR con las clases subalternas

Entre los publicistas y políticos conservadores, la UCR de los primeros gobiernos solía asociarse con las clases bajas, antes que con alguna “clase media”. Si, como

25. Ricardo Balbín, *Discursos políticos-parlamentarios*, ed. Carlos Giacobone (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Congreso de la Nación, 1987), 18–19.

26. Gabriel del Mazo, *El Radicalismo*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires: Gure, 1957), vol. 1, pp. 121, 168.

27. Silvano Santander, *Yrigoyen* (Buenos Aires: La Fragua, 1965), 47.

28. En Carlos Giacobone y Edit Gallo, eds., *Radicalismo, un siglo al servicio de la patria* (Buenos Aires: UCR, 1991), 249–54, 261. Ver también el estudio de Inés Izaguirre, “Imagen de clase en los partidos políticos argentinos: El caso del radicalismo”, *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología* 3, no. 2 (julio 1967): 196–231.

opinaba el escritor y político Luis Reyna Almandós hacia 1919, la población en Argentina se dividía en “patricios y plebeyos”, era claro que el gobierno de Yrigoyen representaba a la “plebe radical”.²⁹ El periódico conservador *La Fronda* no se privaba de epítetos racistas a la hora de calificar al yrigoyenismo como un movimiento de “manumisión de los negritos”³⁰, mientras que el senador conservador (ex radical antipersonalista³¹) Benjamín Villafañe destilaba todavía en los años treinta su odio contra esos “últimos detritos humanos” que componían el “populacho” que apoyaba al viejo líder radical justamente derrocado.³² Por lo menos durante el primer gobierno de Yrigoyen, los socialistas también solían considerar que la UCR movilizaba apoyos entre los “bajos fondos”, el “malevaje” y el “gauchaje”.³³

Invirtiendo por supuesto la carga peyorativa, entre los propios radicales no faltaron las identificaciones del partido (real o ideal) con las clases bajas. De hecho, en los documentos oficiales, en los casos en los que se perciben preferencias por algún sector, nunca es la clase media, sino los trabajadores o las “clases populares”. En rigor, desde muy temprano la retórica de la UCR se preocupó por la suerte de los trabajadores, y no son raras las identificaciones de ese partido con los grupos subalternos (especialmente desde que el Partido Socialista se convirtiera en un competidor electoral con capacidad de disputarle apoyo entre los obreros, ya en la década de 1910).³⁴ Hacia mediados de la década de 1940, bajo influjo de la corriente intransigente y de los grupos de juventud del partido, y especialmente bajo la presión del peronismo —cuyo surgimiento amenazaba con dejar al radicalismo sin apoyos entre las clases subalternas—, los documentos programáticos radicalizan, en su lenguaje, el compromiso con esas clases. Así, la tradicional oposición *política* planteada por los radicales en términos de “oligarquía” vs. “pueblo argentino”, adquiere un matiz más claramente *social*. Por ejemplo, en el “Programa de la Juventud Radical Bonaerense” del 20 de febrero de 1944 se proclama que “la función histórica del radicalismo” es ser “la expresión

29. Luis Reyna Almandos, *La demagogia radical y la tiranía* (1916–1919), 2da. ed. (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1920), 26, 79.

30. Citado en Ricardo Sidicaro, *La política mirada desde arriba: Las ideas del diario La Nación, 1909–1989* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1993), 111.

31. “Personalista” y “antipersonalista” remiten a la división interna la UCR de mediados de la década de 1920 entre los partidarios del presidente Yrigoyen y sus detractores.

32. Argentina, Cámara de Senadores de la Nación, *Diario de Sesiones*, 1932, vol. 2, p. 53; 1936, vol. 3, pp. 460–61.

33. Viguera, “Participación electoral y prácticas políticas”, 14, 24.

34. Viguera, “Participación electoral y prácticas políticas”, 17.

política de las clases populares”; poco más de un año después, la “Declaración de Rosario” afirmaba que “el radicalismo es el instrumento de la liberación económica, política y cultural de las masas trabajadoras y de la economía del pueblo”.³⁵ Por la misma época, el grupo universitario “Acción Raíz Argentina” también proponía convertir al radicalismo en el “organismo cívico” mediante el cual “el trabajador” conquistara “su libertad económica”,³⁶ mientras que el semanario informativo de la UCR *La Semana Radical* abundaba en artículos sobre los obreros y sus condiciones de vida. Por entonces también los intelectuales radicales de FORJA trabajaban en un programa de nacionalismo popular en el que se superponían las aspiraciones tradicionales de la UCR de representar a la nación tanto como al pueblo llano.

En declaraciones y textos de dirigentes y miembros de la UCR se perciben elementos similares de identificación con los trabajadores, incluso con niveles de radicalidad tempranos e inesperados, como en la corriente de Ricardo Caballero, líder rosarino durante las décadas de 1910 y 1920.³⁷ En un texto algo extravagante de 1933, furiosamente obrerista y antiimperialista, Luciano Catalano afirmaba que “el radicalismo es la revolución creadora de la nueva civilización”, es “la clase explotada, que tomará las direcciones para abolir las clases sociales”.³⁸ El militante radical Luc Ximénez proponía en 1941 una profunda renovación de la UCR: “el radicalismo tendrá que renovarse o morir”. Su propuesta apuntaba a que el partido pasara a defender una “democracia radical” mediante un esquema de “corporativismo” que asegurara la justicia social para el “pueblo” y “obrero”. Con respecto a la “clase media”, Ximénez tenía las peores opiniones: egoísta, patética, ocupada sólo en adquirir dinero y prestigio, conformista, y despreciativa del trabajador, la clase media le resultaba “un terrible peso muerto en toda la sociedad”.³⁹ Por su parte, en su poema de 1950 “La revolución social”, referido a la época de Yrigoyen, Yderla Anzoátegui anotaba:

Ahora mandan ellos, las plebes sudorosas,
“la chusma”, como dice la rancia oligarquía,
ahora mandan ellos, los de almas candorosas,
aquellos oprimidos de infames satrapías.

35. En Giacobone y Gallo, *Radicalismo*, 247, 259.

36. En Gabriel del Mazo, *El Radicalismo: Notas sobre su historia y su doctrina (1922–1952)* (Buenos Aires: Raigal, 1955), 300.

37. Ver Karush, *Workers or Citizens*.

38. Luciano R. Catalano, *Plan constructivo del radicalismo: El libro de las masas productoras* (Buenos Aires: Laboratorio Social, 1933), 12.

39. Luc Ximénez, *La misión histórica del radicalismo en el continente* (Buenos Aires: Luc, 1941), 111, 129, 179.

Su fraternidad humana va hacia el obrerismo,
Hipólito Yrigoyen cuida al trabajador,
será esa la bandera que su radicalismo
debe cuidar por siempre con patriótico amor.⁴⁰

Aunque tales extremos contrastan con el estilo más circunspecto que cultivaban la mayoría de los radicales de entonces, no faltan, en los años marcados por el peronismo, llamados como los de Arturo Frondizi para que la UCR abriera más sus filas a los obreros, o los de Crisólogo Larralde para que el partido reclamara su lugar de iniciador y verdadero guardián de las políticas sociales.⁴¹

La “clase media” en el discurso radical

La aparición de la expresión “clase media” en el vocabulario radical es bastante más tardía de lo que uno podría imaginar. Tan infrecuente era su uso —y extraña la idea de que el radicalismo fuera una fuerza de “clase media”—, que todavía en 1923 el senador y dirigente del radicalismo “personalista” (aunque más tarde devenido antipersonalista) rosarino Ricardo Caballero se permitía argumentar en el Congreso que

desde el advenimiento de la democracia moderna, es decir, desde que la Revolución Francesa universalizó sus principios y los incorporó a las leyes, el antiguo privilegio, se llamara real, feudal o teocrático, se unió a la clase media, a la clase burguesa, que fue en realidad la única beneficiaria de esa revolución hecha por los pueblos para liberarse y destruir la injusticia económica [. . .] Esta conquista del derecho de propiedad ilimitado, realizada por la clase media en combinación con los restos de las tiranías reales, feudales y teocráticas, tuvo por consecuencia que la clase media se dividiera, de común acuerdo con ellas, la propiedad de la tierra y de los medios de producción; y en cuanto al pueblo, que había realizado los más grandes esfuerzos por la conquista de la libertad y de

40. Yderla G. Anzoátegui, *Alem e Yrigoyen: Cantos de exaltación lírica* (Buenos Aires: s./e., 1950).

41. Ver Arturo Frondizi, *Petróleo y política*, tomo 5, vol. 1 de la serie *Hipólito Yrigoyen: Pueblo y gobierno* (Buenos Aires: Raigal, 1954), lxxi; Crisólogo Larralde, *Antecedentes de la política social argentina* (folleto) (Avellaneda, 1945). Larralde publicó también otros textos sobre las políticas de la UCR hacia los obreros. Resulta interesante que, en el texto citado, el autor se ocupa cuidadosamente de resaltar su propia niñez humilde.

la justicia, volvió a sumergirse en los tormentos de una servidumbre despiadada.⁴²

Esta notable referencia a la historia forma parte del enérgico discurso de Caballero en defensa de los obreros, en este caso en oposición a las subas de los precios de los alquileres que se discutían entonces. En el mismo discurso, el senador identifica claramente a la UCR como un partido que representa los intereses de las “masas criollas desposeídas” contra el “egoísmo” de la “libre concurrencia”, la “economía individualista” y la “extensión ilimitada del derecho de propiedad”, que han “cubierto la tierra de revoluciones y crímenes”. La cita de Caballero es interesante en la medida en que utiliza la expresión “clase media” con un sentido un tanto anacrónico, como solía utilizarse en época del gobierno de Guizot en Francia o en la Inglaterra decimonónica —es decir, como sinónimo de “burguesía” y en vinculación con la clase alta como un todo, antes que en referencia a un estrato *intermedio* entre la burguesía y los trabajadores. En la visión de Caballero, la misión de la UCR era combatir los intereses de la “clase media”/burguesía en favor de las masas, incluso, con mayor efectividad que el propio socialismo. Su curiosa utilización de la expresión que nos incumbe con sentido negativo, aunque no tenga paralelo en textos de otros radicales, es indicativa de que en la época no estaba claramente definido a qué grupo social refería el concepto, ni que la UCR fuera o debiera ser representante de alguna “clase media”.

En nuestra investigación, no hemos encontrado evidencias significativas que indiquen que los radicales utilizaran con alguna frecuencia el concepto de “clase media” como parte de su vocabulario político y con sentido positivo *antes de 1924*. Incluso en los años subsiguientes continuó siendo relativamente inusual. Tampoco existen evidencias contundentes que indiquen que la UCR fuera percibida por otros como un partido “de clase media” antes de esa fecha (salvo, quizás, entre grupos izquierdistas). Ciertamente, existe un estudio que Leopoldo Maupás publicó en 1912 en la *Revista Argentina de Ciencias Políticas*, en el que se caracteriza a la UCR como el partido que representaría (más por su base electoral que por su dirigencia) a la “burguesía media” o “clase media”, un grupo social que —reconoce el autor— permanece aún como una abstracción, ya que carece de “solidaridad” interna entre sus componentes y de dirigentes que la

42. Ricardo Caballero, *Discursos y documentos políticos* (Buenos Aires: El Inca, 1929), 338–44. En 1939 Caballero todavía utilizó la expresión “clase media” con el mismo sentido: Argentina, Cámara de Senadores de la Nación, *Diario de sesiones*, 7 y 8 sept. 1939, vol. 2, p. 253.

representen, y tiende a identificarse con la clase alta.⁴³ Sin embargo, las opiniones de Maupás —a veces esgrimidas en trabajos historiográficos como prueba de que la UCR era evidentemente un partido “de clase media” — no pueden generalizarse, ya que son claramente infrecuentes para la época, y por lo demás se expresan mediante herramientas conceptuales de origen académico que no necesariamente reflejan el vocabulario político predominante en ese momento.⁴⁴

Los contextos en que aparece utilizada la expresión “clase media” y sus variantes en textos radicales sugieren que la novedad terminológica fue introducida con fines ideológicos precisos.

La UCR como fuerza moderadora y de defensa de la “clase media”

La utilización del concepto de “clase media” en el discurso radical tiene que ver con exploraciones orientadas a movilizar más efectivamente una base de apoyo electoral y protegerse de amenazas tanto por “por arriba” (la oligarquía recalci-trante) como “por abajo” (la orientación insurgente de la clase trabajadora). En el contexto de la década del veinte, cuando los conservadores mantenían aún el control de importantes resortes de poder, la defección de los “antipersonalistas” y su acercamiento a la élite tradicional suponía una amenaza seria a la gobernabilidad. Por otro lado, la presencia inquietante de grupos de acción directa de masas (como la Liga Patriótica por derecha, y los anarquistas por izquierda), comenzaba a señalar la dificultad de la democracia liberal para integrar las fuerzas centrífugas que amenazaban el sistema de representación. En Argentina (como en el resto del mundo) crecía la disconformidad respecto de la vaguedad e indefinición del discurso republicano tradicional. Más visiblemente luego de 1930, pero ya desde tiempo antes la gran prédica que lograban los modelos corporativos de representación de intereses socioeconómicos y el nuevo auge de la política revolucionaria de masas ponían en cuestión los modelos de repre-

43. Leopoldo Maupas, “Trascendencias políticas de la nueva ley electoral”, *Revista Argentina de Ciencias Políticas* 4, no. 22 (12 julio 1912): 409–28. Poco después, en la misma publicación, otro autor repitió la caracterización de Maupás de la UCR como partido de “clase media”: Julio Monzó, “Las clases dirigentes (ensayo de un capítulo de sociología argentina)”, *Revista Argentina de Ciencias Políticas* 3, no. 34 (12 julio 1913): 392–97.

44. Por dar un sólo ejemplo, los diputados Fonrouge y Varela consideraban en 1911 una verdad de sentido común que en la Argentina de entonces, con excepción del Partido Socialista, no existían partidos políticos “de principios”, es decir, que representaran intereses sociales concretos más que lealtades personales. Ver Argentina, Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, *Diario de sesiones*, vol. 3, 1911, p. 134.

sentación meramente “individualistas” que ofrecía la democracia liberal. En ese contexto, muchos radicales comenzaron a sentir que el discurso político de la UCR no estaba a la altura de las circunstancias, y que necesitaba reemplazar su tradicional generalidad y vaguedad por apelaciones dirigidas a fuerzas sociales colectivas concretas y por definiciones programáticas más taxativas.

El concepto de “clase media” aparece en fuentes de la UCR primeramente como simple apelativo político, en llamamientos a la clase media a organizarse y/o a apoyar al radicalismo, o en descripciones de la UCR como un partido que representa ó debe representar a la clase media (sin que esto excluya las pretensiones de representar *también* a los trabajadores). Un ejemplo temprano de este uso puede encontrarse en el manifiesto con el que Carlos J. Rodríguez —caudillo fundador de un “Partido Demócrata Social” en la ciudad de Río IV— hizo pública su adhesión a la UCR en 1915, fecha cercana a la elección que consagró a Yrigoyen como primer presidente radical. En la lucha planteada entonces “entre el espíritu conservador y el espíritu nuevo”, los liberales del Partido Demócrata Progresista representaban el primero, es decir, a “las clases que disfrutaban de mejor posición social”. En cambio “la UCR encarna fielmente la energía que necesita la idea nueva para abrirse paso; y por ello corren a seguir su bandera los innovadores de la vida y de la acción, la juventud y las clases medias y proletarias...”⁴⁵ En esa época, sin embargo, tales identificaciones todavía no eran frecuentes. Casi una década más tarde, el diario yrigoyenista *La Epoca* —por entonces muy ocupado en atacar la defección que significaba el “contubernio” entre antipersonalistas y conservadores— publica una editorial en vísperas de la elección porteña de noviembre de 1924, en la que anunciaba que la UCR avanzaba electoralmente para “consolidar las conquistas alcanzadas y amenazadas por la deslealtad y la inconsecuencia”. Y continúa: “Es que el pueblo está con la Unión Cívica Radical. Seamos más precisos. La Unión Cívica Radical es el pueblo mismo en función de perfeccionamiento político y de mejoramiento social. Los aportes cuantiosos de las clases obreras, las contribuciones serenas e incommovibles de la clase media, forman el cuerpo mismo del radicalismo”.⁴⁶

Poco después encontramos un marcado interés por la situación de la clase media en *La tercera emancipación* (1926), del correntino Manuel Ortiz Pereyra.

45. *Los Principios* (Córdoba), 16 oct. 1915. Citado en Gardenia Vidal, “Los partidos políticos políticos y el fenómeno clientelístico luego de la aplicación de la Ley Sáenz Peña: La UCR de la provincia de Córdoba 1912–1930”, en Fernando J. Devoto y Marcela P. Ferrari, eds., *La construcción de las democracias rioplatenses: Proyectos institucionales y prácticas políticas 1900–1930* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 1994), 189–217, cita en p. 196.

46. “En vísperas de la victoria”, *La Epoca*, 11 nov. 1924, p. 1.

Yrigoyenista desde joven, doctor en jurisprudencia y senador por la UCR en su provincia, Ortiz era un defensor de los intereses de trabajadores y colonos. Con este libro y otros escritos se convertiría en el más notable abogado de la “liberación económica” dentro del radicalismo. En los años '30 colaboró con la fundación del grupo FORJA, y se alineó con los radicales que, desde el ala izquierda, buscaban imprimirle al partido un sentido social más explícito. En el prólogo de su libro, Ortiz Pereyra se ocupa extensamente de la “clase media”, las “más numerosa y la más triste” de las clases sociales, una clase “vergonzante” formada por “empleados, pequeños comerciantes y factores intermediarios del comercio”, que debe soportar “todas las exigencias propias de las clases ricas” con recursos “generalmente inferiores a los del proletariado neto”. La aclaración “neto” resulta interesante: para el autor, existían “proletarios de la clase obrera y de la clase media”. Las medidas de estímulo al mutualismo y la cooperación que recomienda el libro están dirigidas especialmente a resolver los problemas de esta clase.⁴⁷

Por la misma época el concepto de “clase media” aparece desempeñando una función más específica, con ribetes más visiblemente “contrainsurgentes”. En este tipo de utilizaciones, la clase media —y también la UCR como su representante por antonomasia— aparece como fuerza de *equilibrio* y moderación frente a dos *extremos* que deben contrapesarse: el de los intereses inmediatos de las clases altas y el liberalismo irrestricto por un lado, y la agitación revolucionaria de la clase trabajadora por el otro. Este tipo de argumentaciones puede calificarse de “contrainsurgente” en la medida en que los dos extremos que dice combatir no son en modo alguno peligros equivalentes. En general, explícita o implícitamente, el peligro “de arriba” es sólo el de la miopía de la clase alta y de los conservadores, que se aferran a privilegios ya anacrónicos y no se dan cuenta de la necesidad de introducir algunas reformas indispensables para evitar el avance de la verdadera amenaza: la de las “clases peligrosas” y/o la de las ideologías revolucionarias que habían hecho una demostración de fuerza sin precedentes a nivel mundial en 1917 y localmente durante la “semana trágica” de 1919.

El papel de la UCR como fuerza “intermedia” y moderadora se encuentra claramente expresado en el “Programa histórico del partido radical”, publicado por Joaquín Castellanos en 1917. Allí, el autor —miembro fundador del partido, gobernador de Salta, y electo dos veces diputado nacional— argumenta: “Sin el radicalismo el país estaría hoy dividido en dos fuerzas opuestas irreconciliables,

47. Manuel Ortíz Pereyra, *La tercera emancipación* (Buenos Aires: Lajouane, 1926), xii–xx.

igualmente peligrosas: abajo el anarquismo sin cauces; arriba, la oligarquía sin freno. Entre ambos se interpuso la fuerza radical, conteniendo a la vez el oleaje inferior y las descargas de arriba; fue dique y pararrayo”.⁴⁸ Castellanos no utiliza todavía el concepto de “clase media” asociado a esta imagen del radicalismo;⁴⁹ aquel concepto pronto aparecería asociado al rol “intermedio” que algunos miembros de la UCR reclamaban para sí.

El papel “moderador” de la defensa de los intereses de la “clase media” aparece ya esbozado en la fundamentación del proyecto de creación de un “Instituto Nacional de Casas para Trabajadores”, presentado por Víctor M. Molina a la Cámara de Diputados de la Nación en 1921. Molina —hacendado, electo diputado en 1888 y reelecto (ya devenido radical, pronto antipersonalista) en 1916, para convertirse en 1927 en Ministro de Hacienda del presidente Alvear— argumentaba entonces que su proyecto aliviaría los sufrimientos “de las clases media y proletaria” a causa de los altos alquileres. El proyecto “es, además, en las circunstancias presentes, la solución de una crisis. Dividiendo la propiedad y haciéndola accesible al mayor número, se contribuye poderosamente al orden social . . .”.⁵⁰

Muy pronto, la imagen de la UCR como partido del “justo medio” y, por ello, de “clase media”, aparecería de manera más explícita. En un debate en el Congreso Nacional en 1924, el diputado Romeo David Saccone —radical yrigoyenista de orígenes rurales modestos— quejándose del “contubernio” que se gestaba entonces contra el gobierno, se preguntaba:

¿Qué es el radicalismo, señor presidente? Hoy en el ambiente político argentino es la única fuerza de equilibrio. Señala el equilibrio social, sin apartarse de las exigencias de la evolución contemporánea. Nosotros señalamos el justo medio, la línea divisoria entre dos polos igualmente peligrosos por sus modalidades exageradas: el extremismo y el conservadurismo. Nosotros deseamos el equilibrio social, desenvuelto dentro de un nacionalismo saludable y sincero; somos la entidad política amante de nuestra patria y cuidadosa de nuestras fronteras, que desempeñamos, por su nacionalismo [sic], un papel de partido político

48. Joaquín Castellanos, *Acción y pensamiento* (Buenos Aires: Pellerano, 1917), 101.

49. De hecho, en las raras apariciones de la expresión “clases intermedias” o “clase media” en textos anteriores de Castellanos, la clase en cuestión no aparece como un grupo valorable o particularmente ligado a la misión de la UCR. Ver Joaquín Castellanos, *Labor dispersa* (Lausanne: Payot, 1909), 122, 293.

50. Víctor M. Molina, *Instituto Nacional de Casas para Trabajadores*, tirada aparte del *Diario de sesiones* de la Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, s./e., s./l., 1921.

eficaz, y por nuestra tendencia social, favorable a las clases media y proletaria, la contrafuerza de contención de esa otra fuerza extremista y utópica que se llama socialismo.⁵¹

Similares afirmaciones se encuentran implícitas en otro extraordinario documento de campaña, esta vez para las elecciones de 1928: el film documental mudo “La obra del gobierno radical”, atribuido al cineasta Federico Valle. El film, de casi 40 minutos de duración, presenta a Yrigoyen como campeón de las “reivindicaciones populares” y garantía contra las “extrañas alianzas entre conservadores y extremistas” que amenazan las mejoras sociales obtenidas. Casi toda la cinta se dedica a imágenes y alusiones a la “clase obrera”, los “hogares humildes”, los “proletarios”, o “empleados”, que aparecen como objeto de la defensa gubernamental, contra la “usura”, la “oligarquía”, y la “explotación”. Sin embargo, una placa y una imagen aluden taxativamente a la “clase media”. Ilustrando la política radical respecto a la rebaja de los alquileres, el texto (acompañado de una imagen de trabajadores administrativos, probablemente bancarios) afirma: “La clase media, hermana del obrero en el sufrimiento y en la fuerza productiva, sentía también pesar sobre ella el problema de la vivienda que absorbía casi todo el fruto de su trabajo”.⁵²

El golpe de Estado de 1930, leído como un intento de restauración oligárquica, agregó motivos para apelar a la “clase media”. Esto se hizo evidente ya en la asamblea de la juventud radical de todo el país realizada en Rosario en noviembre de 1930, cuyo objetivo era unificar el partido de cara a la amenaza militar-conservadora. En esa multitudinaria reunión, Ernesto Laclau —un radical crítico del personalismo de Yrigoyen, y que dos años antes había negado que la UCR tuviera un carácter de clase— dió un discurso orientado a reforzar el sentido de la misión histórica del partido y de su necesidad actual. La UCR, argumentaba, no nació sólo por un mero afán de normalidad institucional, sino por “razones más profundas, de carácter sociológico”: el hecho “acaso inconsciente” de haber “solidarizado el destino de una realidad social olvidada hasta entonces: la clase media”. Es por ello que el partido había sobrevivido con su misión intacta luego de la instauración de elecciones libres. La tarea actual, según Laclau, era dotar a la UCR de un programa de promoción social más activo, dando al estado un protagonismo social renovado, dividiendo la tierra,

51. Argentina, Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, *Diario de sesiones*, 23 junio 1924, tomo I, p. 653–55.

52. “La obra del gobierno radical”, Archivo General de la Nación, video no. 216, tambor 1111, legajo 1962.

atacando el privilegio y los monopolios comerciales, e impulsando una reforma impositiva que contribuyera a “la nivelación económica de las clases”.⁵³ En la misma asamblea otro dirigente de la juventud radical, Nicolás Romano, habría afirmado que, “equidistante entre el patriciado ganadero y los extremismos exóticos”, la UCR “encarna la clase media, con sus intereses, sus defensas y sus ideales”.⁵⁴ Poco después, en 1932 civiles y militares partidarios del radicalismo preparaban clandestinamente una sublevación contra el gobierno de Justo; su programa consistía en una pronta convocatoria a elecciones y una serie de medidas transitorias (que incluían beneficios a los pequeños y medianos productores). La revolución nunca llegó a estallar ya que Regino P. Lascano, uno de los líderes militares de la conspiración, fue apresado y muerto por la policía en el mes de junio. En su poder se encontró un “Manifiesto” llamando a la acción contra “la miserable legión de fascistas del Jockey Club y del Círculo de Armas” que había usurpado el poder, y cuyo gobierno favorecía a las grandes empresas extranjeras mientras que hundía “en la miseria y en la pobreza a los habitantes de las clases medias y proletarias”. El Manifiesto terminaba vivando a la UCR y haciendo un llamado general a militares, obreros, chacareros, estudiantes, y “pequeños comerciantes, industriales y propietarios” para que apoyaran la “santa cruzada rebelde” por la democracia y por “la independencia política y económica de la nación y de sus clases populares”.⁵⁵ En un texto de 1931 de un tipo muy diferente, encontramos ya una narración de la historia de la UCR en clave de una “sociología de la modernización” *avant la lettre*. Reflexionando sobre la historia nacional, Jorge Walter Perkins —dirigente del radicalismo tucumano y crítico del “personalismo” de Yrigoyen— opinaba entonces que, desde finales de la época de la colonia, había ido surgiendo en Argentina una “clase media” que fue adquiriendo “consideración personal” por medios diferentes de los del “patrimonio agrario y el poder político”. Esa clase media “no se sentía reflejada en la vida política argentina y aspiraba a estarlo”. El partido radical, precisamente, fue el que “recogió esa aspiración”.⁵⁶ El mismo año, Antonio B. Toledo —diputado nacional radical por Tucumán entre 1922 y 1926— comenzaba una larga serie de llamamientos dentro de la UCR para aprender de los infortunios del pasado

53. “La Asamblea de la Juventud Radical se realizó anoche”, *La Capital* (Rosario), 9 nov. 1930, p. 16.

54. Citado en Eduardo Passalacqua, “El Yrigoyenismo 1916–1930”, *Todo es Historia*, no. 100 (sept. 1975): 39. No he podido encontrar documentos que confirmen la validez de esta cita.

55. Repr. en Romero et al., *El Radicalismo*, 301–2.

56. Jorge Walter Perkins, *¿Qué ha hecho crisis en la Argentina?* (Buenos Aires: Rosso, 1931), 48.

y renovar su discurso y su programa. En su libro *El Partido Radical (o la lucha por la democracia)*, Toledo argumentaba que la “época romántica” del radicalismo había concluido, y que ahora era necesario, finalmente, implementar el “programa reparador” del que hablaba Alem. Tal programa, en opinión de Toledo, consistía en lograr la “justicia social” mediante una mejor “redistribución de la riqueza”. Como parte de su llamamiento, el autor argumentaba que en Argentina la “clase media” —ese grupo que funciona como “cámara amortiguadora” de los choques entre los “dos extremos formados por la clase trabajadora y la capitalista”— “en su mayoría es radical”. Sin embargo, “el Partido Radical deberá prestarle mayor atención” para obtener en el futuro inmediato las mejoras que “su situación moral y económica reclaman”.⁵⁷

Existe alguna evidencia —bien que escasa— que indica que hacia finales del gobierno de Alvear funcionarios del Departamento Nacional del Trabajo estaban reformulando su comprensión de la “cuestión social” para incluir no sólo los problemas de los obreros, sino también los de la “clase media”.⁵⁸ Sin embargo, el tema de la clase media como baluarte de la moderación se haría más frecuente en medios radicales luego de la crisis de 1930. Con frecuencia, este tema se encuentra asociado al temor a los avances del comunismo y del fascismo en el mundo. Por ejemplo, buscando argumentos contra la prédica comunista, Raúl F. Oyhanarte —dirigente radical, electo varias veces diputado nacional— argumentaba en una carta abierta publicada en la prensa en 1936 que, a diferencia de otros países, en Argentina “la clase obrera no es mayoría”. Aquí, “esa mayoría la integra la clase media, y en consecuencia la revolución comunista en Argentina sería hecha por una minoría en beneficio de esa misma minoría”. La UCR, por otro lado, rechaza igual “a la dictadura burguesa que a la dictadura del proletariado”; por ello Oyhanarte insta al partido a participar en las elecciones, para superar a los “partidos extremos” mediante el voto, y así “vencer la lucha

57. Antonio B. Toledo, *El Partido Radical (o la lucha por la democracia)* (Buenos Aires: s./e., 1931), 6, 174–75.

58. Así, en un notable manual de política social publicado en 1927, Daniel Antokoletz —por entonces Jefe de la División de Legislación del Departamento Nacional del Trabajo y profesor de la UBA— afirma que la “cuestión social” no es “una cuestión obrera solamente, sino una cuestión social aplicable a la clase media, al trabajo intelectual, al trabajo manual”. Daniel Antokoletz, *Curso de legislación del trabajo*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1927), vol. I, pp. 9, 21. Aunque escape a los alcances de este trabajo, es interesante resaltar que uno de los partidos provinciales herederos de la UCR, el Bloquismo sanjuanino, parece haber tenido una noción más clara de la importancia de desarrollar políticas estatales focalizadas en la defensa de la “clase media”. Ver P. José Gallardo, *Definición doctrinaria del Bloquismo sanjuanino* (Rosario: Americana, 1932), 201–3.

de clases suprimiendo el antagonismo”.⁵⁹ Carlos M. Noel —intendente porteño bajo Alvear, diputado radical entre 1936 y 1941, dueño de la famosa fábrica de alimentos que lleva su apellido y por un tiempo presidente de la Unión Industrial Argentina— predicaba hacia principios de los años treinta la necesidad de que el estado tuviera un papel más activo en la economía, de que se limitara el derecho de propiedad en algunos casos, y que se diera participación a los obreros en las ganancias patronales. Preocupado por los avances del comunismo y el fascismo, y por los efectos de la “propaganda clasista”, Noel sostenía que la solución del problema social se reducía al “problema del equilibrio entre aquellos que poseen y los que nada tienen”: lo “anormal”, en la Argentina deseada, debería ser “la gran fortuna o la gran miseria”.⁶⁰ En una conferencia radial en 1936 afirmó: “Estoy más convencido que nunca de que sólo una política constructiva y realizadora, resumida en un plan de lucha contra la crisis, permitirá a la vez combatir a las fuerzas reaccionarias y reunir en todo el país, junto a las masas obreras de la ciudad y a los peones del campo, a las clases medias y a todas las fuerzas vivas de la nación”.⁶¹ Tal preocupación reaparece en el proyecto de creación de un Consejo Económico Nacional con capacidad para regular la economía, que Noel presentó a la Cámara de Diputados en 1938. El proyecto, que finalmente no prosperó, proponía que el Consejo estuviera integrado por políticos electos pero también por representantes de sindicatos, de los empresarios, y de asociaciones de trabajadores intelectuales y profesionales. Una de las primeras medidas que el proyecto recomendaba era la creación de una comisión que estudiara medidas para fomentar la creación de asociaciones profesionales de los diversos rubros, incluyendo los técnicos y las profesiones liberales.⁶²

Por su parte, preocupado en 1939 por la “penetración de ideas totalitarias en Argentina”, favorecida por la falta de libertades políticas impuesta por una “clase dirigente” que pretendía convertirse en “élite” recurriendo al fraude, Marcelo T. de Alvear aún encontraba motivos para el optimismo: “felizmente, el país posee una auténtica clase media y un pueblo que no ha perdido sus reser-

59. “El sufragio revolucionario termina con el voto sumiso y el cambio violento, expresa en una carta abierta el Dr. Raúl Oyhanarte”, *Crítica*, 4 feb. 1936, p. 8. Ver también Raúl F. Oyhanarte, *El sufragio revolucionario* (La Plata: s./e., 1946), 63, 98. Otro ejemplo contemporáneo de asociación entre “clase media”, moderación y UCR, puede hallarse en Alcides Greca, *Tras el alambrado de Martín García* (Buenos Aires: Tor, 1934), 157. Dirigente radical, Greca ocupó una banca de diputado nacional hasta el golpe de 1930.

60. Carlos M. Noel, *La democracia en América; Definiciones sobre el izquierdismo radical* (Buenos Aires: s./e., 1933), 26.

61. Carlos M. Noel, *Principios y orientaciones* (Buenos Aires: Gleizer, 1939), 107.

62. Ver Persello, *El Partido Radical*, 218–20.

vas morales”.⁶³ Félix Liceaga manifestaba en 1940 una similar preocupación por la prédica de la “sirena antidemocrática” que, con sus “sofismas y engaños” pretendía distraer al pueblo “del cauce de sus preferencias ideológicas”. Para contrarrestar tales influencias, proponía al Comité Capital de la UCR la realización de unas “Jornadas Radicales” consistentes en un ciclo de conferencias populares sobre diversos temas, que llevaran una “palabra serena, segura e ilustrada” en los tiempos “inciertos” que por entonces corrían. Entre los quince temas de conferencias propuestos, sugería que uno versara sobre “Las clases media y trabajadora, su progreso moral e higiénico, obra del radicalismo”. Las Jornadas Radicales se realizaron con éxito en 1941, aunque no sabemos a ciencia cierta si el tema mencionado fue finalmente eje de alguna de las conferencias.⁶⁴ Las apelaciones a la “clase media” podían aparecer también justificadas por medio de apreciaciones acerca de su papel privilegiado en la vida nacional. En un debate sobre la reforma de la ley de impuesto a los réditos en 1942, por ejemplo, el diputado radical porteño, abogado, y antiguo dirigente estudiantil, Eduardo Araujo defendía uno de los proyectos presentados argumentando que la “clase media” resultaría beneficiada, “lo cual es justo, pues hay interés social en aliviar las cargas fiscales al sector de la población que más lucha y trabaja por la grandeza del país”.⁶⁵ Pocos días antes, en un discurso pronunciado durante un acto multitudinario organizado por una entidad defensora de los almaceneros y de simpatías radicales, Araujo prometía apoyo del bloque radical para promover una ley contra los monopolios y los comercios en cadena. Entre los considerandos de su discurso, Araujo sostenía que era fundamental proteger a la “clase media”, ese “pueblo ahorrativo en cuyas fuentes económicas ha reposado y vivido” el “poderío y la grandeza” de países como Francia, Inglaterra, o Estados Unidos.⁶⁶

Pasemos ahora a analizar algunos casos particularmente relevantes de despliegue de un discurso de “clase media” dentro del radicalismo.

63. Marcelo T. de Alvear, *¡Argentinos! Acción cívica* (Buenos Aires: Gleizer, 1940), p. 191.

64. Félix Liceaga, “Proyecto de resolución enviado a la Comisión de Propaganda del Comité Capital de la Unión Cívica Radical, 27 de diciembre de 1940” (e idem, del 25 de julio de 1941), en Archivo Emilio Ravignani (Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana “Dr. Emilio Ravignani”), caja 3 (UCR), fojas 39, 40, 59 y 60.

65. Argentina, Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, *Diario de sesiones*, 22 y 23 sept. 1942, vol. 5, p. 468.

66. “Diputados de todos los sectores proclamaron su propósito de colaborar con la sanción de la Ley reprimiendo los monopolios y negocios en cadena”, *La Defensa*, no. 414 (22 agosto 1942): 4–9. Cita en p. 5.

Los defensores de la clase media

Entre los dirigentes radicales, Alejandro Maino fue uno de los más fuertes defensores de la “clase media” y del papel moderador de la UCR. Maestro de escuela de orígenes relativamente modestos, Maino ingresó a la UCR en 1910. Luego de ocupar cargos legislativos y ejecutivos en el municipio de San Pedro y en la Provincia de Buenos Aires, fue elegido senador nacional en 1935 (aunque renuncia al cargo en protesta contra el gobierno) y diputado entre 1938 y 1942. Realizó una importante tarea de publicista radical como director del semanario *Yunque* y a través de variados libros y folletos. Ya en su obra *La función social de la Unión Cívica Radical* (1932) Maino se mostró fuertemente preocupado por el avance del comunismo. Frente a tal amenaza, Maino presenta a la UCR como punto intermedio “entre el capitalismo que explota al obrero y el estado que lo explotará con el socialismo”. La UCR “anhela que sean propietarios todos, porque comparte el pensamiento de que la propiedad es económicamente necesaria, y de que se justifica desde el punto de vista social, estimulando la previsión y constituyendo la independencia personal”. En la parte propositiva, Maino presenta la idea de introducir una serie de reformas impositivas que contribuyan a la mayor igualación de las riquezas y, con ella, a la “paz social”.⁶⁷ Algunos años más tarde, envía al Congreso un extenso proyecto de reforma impositiva, que proponía incorporar impuestos a los réditos y a las tierras por tasas progresivas, suprimir varios impuestos que encarecían innecesariamente el consumo, y limitar los costos de los arrendamientos y del préstamo de dinero. El proyecto fue editado también como un folleto para el público, que apelaba, desde su propio título, a la “clase media”: *Hacia la elevación de los no poseyentes o poco poseyentes a la clase media, por un régimen impositivo nacional* (1938). En los fundamentos del proyecto, tal como los presenta el folleto, la UCR aparece encarnando el justo medio entre “la doctrina conservadora que en cuanto a distribución de la riqueza mantiene su viejo egoísmo de clase” y las doctrinas “socializantes” que pretenden “la supresión de la propiedad privada”. Así, la doctrina radical busca “la disminución de las desigualdades económicas de los habitantes de la República” pero sin que esto suponga “una igualdad absoluta”. Citando a los políticos europeos Francesco Nitti y Salvador de Madariaga, critica al comunismo, defiende la utilidad de la propiedad privada, y argumenta en favor de la existencia de “vastas clases medias, que son la columna de sustentación de la sociedad y el seguro contra conmociones” que pudieran alterar la “paz social”. Más aún, la “clase media”

67. Alejandro Maino, *La función social de la Unión Cívica Radical: Escuelas económicas, el comunismo y la libertad, el plan radical* (Buenos Aires: Rosso, 1932), 124–25, 138, 146–50.

es el grupo de donde “todo lo que es inteligencia, energía, sentimiento, libertad, ha procedido casi siempre”: “casi toda la civilización occidental se debe a las clases medias. Civilización quiere decir casi exclusivamente vida de las clases medias occidentales”.⁶⁸ En un debate sobre la creación de un Consejo Nacional Agrario, y sobre políticas de colonización de tierras en 1939, Maino intervino en favor de una más justa distribución de la riqueza presentando argumentos similares sobre el papel político de las “clases medias, que se oponen siempre a los extremismos de derecha o de izquierda.”⁶⁹ En los años siguientes, tras la llegada del peronismo, Maino intensificará su campaña para que la UCR se preocupe por la clase media. Así, en 1946 argumentaba que, para volver a ser mayoría, el radicalismo necesitaba una gran transformación interna que fuera más allá del recambio de hombres: “el problema es de contenido y no de continente. Las batallas del futuro deben ser dirigidas por una expansión de ideas que debe comenzar hoy mismo”. Como parte de esa expansión de ideas para “reeducar al pueblo”, Maino vuelve a la carga con sus planes para suprimir la pobreza y el privilegio mediante impuestos que contribuyan a una mejor distribución de la riqueza: “propenderemos a la formación de nuevas vastas clases medias, que son la columna de sustentación de la sociedad”, y el “seguro contra conmociones” sociales.⁷⁰ Todavía en 1954, en su libro *Una estructuración doctrinaria del radicalismo*, Maino continuaba quejándose de la falta de “una doctrina económico-social categórica” entre los radicales: su adquisición era “cuestión de vida o muerte, de ser o no ser”. Frente a la “demagogia” de Perón, que “nada ha hecho en el sentido de la igualación económica puesto que son más numerosos y más ricos los grandes ricos, menos numerosas y menos prósperas las clases medias, y más frustrados por crecientes costos de la vida los aumentos de salarios”, la UCR debía proponer un programa alternativo. El radicalismo debía hacer de la reforma impositiva su “bandera”, para contribuir así a la “formación de una extensa clase media” y obtener así “definitivamente el mandato de los estamentos económicos inferiores y medios de la colectividad nacional”.⁷¹

Otro abogado de las clases medias dentro del radicalismo fue Luis Denegri,

68. Alejandro Maino, *Hacia la elevación de los no poseyentes o poco poseyentes a la clase media, por un nuevo régimen impositivo nacional: Proyecto de ley presentado a la Honorable Cámara el 27 de julio de 1938* (Buenos Aires: s./e., 1938), 14, 16–17, 28, 30.

69. Argentina, Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, *Diario de sesiones*, 20 julio 1939, vol. 2, pp. 546–75.

70. Alejandro Maino, *El radicalismo ante el escrutinio* (Buenos Aires: s./e., 1946), 29, 33, 38, 42.

71. Alejandro Maino, *Una estructuración doctrinaria del radicalismo* (Buenos Aires: s./e., 1954), 85–86, 93, 97, 108.

el legendario dirigente de la Liga Agraria pampeana, encarcelado tras las huelgas rurales de 1919, y difusor del georgismo en Argentina. Convertido en militante radical, propone en 1935 un programa de ideas para el partido “en oposición al pseudo-liberalismo económico y político de las clases reaccionarias y al colectivismo pseudo-democrático de las dictaduras proletarias”. Su programa consistía en terminar con la “injusta distribución de los resultados del trabajo” que imperaba en las sociedades mediante el librecambio total y la eliminación de cualquier impuesto que encarezca la producción, combinado con la introducción de otros impuestos que acaben progresivamente con el monopolio de la tierra. Como parte de su fundamentación, Denegri pintaba un panorama sombrío de la evolución de la sociedad en caso de que no se adoptaran las medidas propuestas, marcado por la injusticia económica y la “usurpación de los derechos cívicos” por parte de las clases privilegiadas:

De un estado social como el documentado por hechos tan notorios, fácilmente se deduce que la clase media está condenada a desaparecer en los extremos de una embrutecedora miseria y un degradante servilismo. [. . .] [L]a clase media que es el alma y el cerebro de los pueblos por el desarrollo de superiores facultades espirituales, propulsoras del progreso en las ciencias y en las artes, tiene fatalmente que degradarse y desaparecer, rompiendo el equilibrio de un régimen social cimentado en la negación del más fundamental de los derechos humanos.

Y concluye con un llamado a la acción:

La juventud que integra la clase media por el esfuerzo de los padres [. . .] no puede resistir estoica, ante los imperativos de la vida, el suplicio impuesto con invisibles ataduras por un orden social, económico y político que la ilustra y le refina los gustos, ampliando el campo de sus deseos con las seductoras perspectivas de más dilatados horizontes a la expansión espiritual, para hundirla de inmediato, sedienta de amor y grandeza, en la charca infecta de una crónica miseria.⁷²

Sin desmedro de los casos anteriores, los intentos más sistemáticos y los llamamientos más importantes a orientar a la UCR hacia la “clase media” provinieron sin duda de la revista radical *Hechos e Ideas*. Dirigida por Enrique Eduardo García, la revista tuvo una gran importancia entre 1935 y 1941 como tribuna

72. Luis Denegri, *La doctrina radical, sus fundamentos científicos y lógicas conclusiones* (Buenos Aires: s./e., 1935), 12, 17–19, 53.

de aquellos radicales que, incluso siendo en proporción importante alvearistas, veían sin embargo la necesidad de modernizar el discurso y el programa de la UCR para dotarlos de aristas más sociales, de modo de combatir mejor los peligros del comunismo y el fascismo (preocupaciones permanentes de la publicación). Debe recordarse que la década de 1930 en Argentina está marcada por una creciente presencia del comunismo en las luchas obreras, y por la mayor visibilidad de la prédica de grupos nacionalistas de derecha. Así, en las páginas de *Hechos e Ideas* solía abogarse por una más justa distribución de la riqueza, un mayor intervencionismo del estado en la economía, una alternativa al “individualismo liberal”, e incluso un “nuevo orden social” inspirado en el “socialismo de Estado” propuesto por el alemán Adolph Wagner.⁷³ Con toda su heterodoxia, sin embargo, no debe perderse de vista que *Hechos e Ideas* exploraba estas ideas sin abandonar el credo “liberal y democrático” que la caracterizaba. Ante la profunda crisis del liberalismo tradicional que se evidenciaba en esa época, incluso los liberales conservadores del Partido Demócrata Nacional podían abogar por límites y regulaciones del individualismo irrestricto en nombre del liberalismo.⁷⁴ No existen datos precisos acerca de la circulación de la revista, pero en apariencia era bastante amplia: sus editores se jactaban de que se leía en todo el país e incluso en el exterior.⁷⁵

Una parte central del programa “modernizador” de la revista se relacionaba con la necesidad de que la UCR reconociera, de una vez por todas, la realidad innegable de la existencia de clases sociales que, si no necesariamente y siempre antagónicas, tenían intereses diferenciados. Si el Partido podía aún en los años 20 darse el lujo de afirmar que su programa se limitaba a la “Constitución Nacional”, tal vaguedad condenaba a la UCR en los años treinta, según los impulsores de la revista, a una irre realidad que la alienaba de sus bases. De allí la necesidad de movilizar apoyos electorales a través de un discurso político que reconociera las clases como realidades concretas con necesidades particulares. En otras palabras, se trataba de dotar a la UCR de apoyos sociales más concretos que los que podía proporcionar un vago y general llamamiento a la “nación” o

73. Ver Alberto Gabriel Piñeiro, “El radicalismo social moderno: *Hechos e Ideas* (1935–1941)”, en W. Ansaldi, A. Pucciarelli y J. C. Villarruel, eds., *Argentina en la paz de dos guerras, 1914–1945* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 1993), 295–318; Ana Virginia Persello, “De la diversidad a la unidad: *Hechos e Ideas* (1935–1955)”, en N. Girbal-Blacha y D. Quattrocchi-Woisson, eds., *Cuando opinar es actuar: Revistas argentinas del siglo XX* (Buenos Aires: ANH, 1999), 273–302; Alejandro Cattaruzza, *Historia y política en los años 30: Comentarios en torno al caso radical* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 1991).

74. Ver Persello, *El Partido Radical*, 212–24.

75. Ver *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 13 (julio 1936).

el “pueblo”. Es en ese contexto que la revista comienza a impulsar, a partir de septiembre de 1935, un discurso de “clase media”: Federico Monjardín, referente del radicalismo bonaerense, se ocupa entonces del problema del latifundio y las penurias de la “clase media” rural empobrecida, mientras que el dirigente radical porteño Arquímedes Soldano afirma en otro artículo que la “vilipendiada clase media” merece atención, ya que es “el paragon social, la que mantiene es status quo, la comprimida por los de arriba y los de abajo”.⁷⁶ El editorial de abril de 1936 clarifica el interés de la revista por la “clase media”:

El absurdo principio de que el radicalismo debe actuar por encima de todos los intereses, es incompatible con el propósito de consolidar el orden institucional argentino. Existe un interés general que debe ser protegido y defendido por el radicalismo; el del interés general que comprende la defensa del consumidor, de los pequeños y medianos productores de la industria, del comercio, de la agricultura, de los empleados y asalariados que en el proceso histórico argentino representan las únicas fuerzas auténticas y efectivas que alientan el espíritu democrático de la nación. De estas zonas de intereses y aspiraciones ha surgido el radicalismo y es su más fiel exponente. De ahí, pues, que el radicalismo no debe ser solamente un genérico partido de gobierno; antes bien, debe convertirse en un aspecto concreto y en un movimiento específico de la realidad económica. Las clases medias, o mejor dicho, las clases menores constituyen el terreno natural de su propaganda y de su acción. [. . .] En conclusión, el radicalismo tiene encomendada la misión histórica de hacer revivir la democracia argentina [. . .] propulsando la ascensión de aquellas categorías sociales que son una garantía para la estabilidad social y para el sistema democrático. [. . .] [L]a UCR debe tener presente que su orientación general debe coincidir con la elevación moral y material de los trabajadores y resolver el problema del bienestar y del poder de las clases medias.⁷⁷

En el mismo número Julio Barcos anticipa el prólogo de su obra *El trágico destino de la clase media*, que publicará *in extenso* en el número siguiente, y de la que nos ocuparemos luego. Poco tiempo después, la revista hace extensivo el llamamiento al liberalismo en general: si quiere convertirse en una fuerza “activa y eficaz”, el

76. Federico Monjardín, “Apuntes a propósito del latifundismo”, y Arquímedes Soldano, “Los partidos políticos”, *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 4 (sept. 1935).

77. “Los grandes problemas del momento y los deberes del radicalismo” [editorial], *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 10 (abril 1936).

“liberalismo” debe definir si es “conservador o decididamente democrático”, es decir, si tiene “algo que conservar como clase”, o si se identifica con “las clases obreras medias [sic] que no teniendo nada que conservar, tienen todo por conquistar: la libertad y el bienestar”.⁷⁸ Los llamamientos a proteger los intereses de la “clase media” abundan en los números posteriores, en términos más o menos similares. El editorial de junio de 1937 llama a ocuparse de las dificultades que atraviesa la “clase media”, la “auténtica reserva moral de la Nación, depositaria de los sentimientos liberales del país”.⁷⁹ El de julio del mismo año presenta una interesante advertencia a los conservadores, que en rigor es más una invitación a la reflexión que una amenaza, y que revela las intenciones contrainsurgentes del interés por la “clase media”:

Nuestros conservadores no deberían dejar de contemplar que una poderosa categoría social, la clase media, divorciada por su cultura, por sus intereses y por sus sentimientos políticos del conservatismo tradicional, puede dejar de ser la fuerza expectante y pasiva al verse privada de los instrumentos políticos que hasta ahora le permitieron gravitar en los negocios públicos, para convertirse en una fuerza activa y rebelde. Nuestros conservadores, que tanta predilección sienten por todo cuanto lleva el sello extranjero, deberían extraer las fecundas enseñanzas que les proporcionan algunos países europeos; la reacción inglesa, la francesa y la norteamericana no acudieron, como acontece aquí, a los aventureros políticos ni al detritus social para que le preservaran sus prerrogativas sociales, sino que se resignaron a cercenar sus privilegios milenarios, dejando que las organizaciones políticas que representan los intereses de la clase media restablecieran el equilibrio social, fuertemente resentido por la guerra y la crisis económica última.⁸⁰

El editorial del mes siguiente vuelve a la carga contra la “oligarquía improvisada”, cuyas políticas económicas atacan injustamente a la “clase media”, base social del radicalismo, clase cuyo debilitamiento explica el desequilibrio y las perturbaciones que atraviesa Europa: “De tal suerte que para mantener el vigor y la robustez del radicalismo, se imponga como tarea presente y futura, impedir en una acción múltiple que una insignificante minoría social, adueñada de todos

78. “Glosas políticas”, *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 14 (sept. 1936).

79. “Horas decisivas para la democracia argentina” [editorial], *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 22 (junio 1937).

80. “La mentira y la simulación como sistema de gobierno” [editorial], *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 23 (julio 1937): 146.

los resortes administrativos y constitucionales, asfixie económicamente al país con su gestión tributaria e hipoteque las riquezas naturales de la nación [. . .] en perjuicio directo de las amplias masas obreras y los sectores de la clase media.”⁸¹ En 1938 sigue la campaña intensa por un discurso de “clase media” en términos similares. Ernesto C. Boatti —ingeniero, Ministro de Obras Públicas de la Provincia de Buenos Aires durante los años veinte, varias veces diputado nacional a partir de 1924, y hombre fuerte del alvearismo bonaerense durante los años treinta— publica entonces su artículo “La clase media y su organización política”. En este texto, Boatti llama a la clase media a unirse, a adquirir conciencia de su misión histórica, a “tomar sin vacilaciones la posición de vanguardia”, y a “organizar sus cuadros en el solo partido político que, en el marco de la Nación, puede absorber sus aspiraciones y defender sus postulados”: la UCR.⁸² Editoriales de ese mismo año retoman la temática de la “clase media”, y también se publican entonces los fundamentos del proyecto de reforma impositiva del diputado Maino, en los que se apela a la “clase media” como fuerza moderadora retomando ideas del político liberal español Salvador de Madariaga.⁸³ De 1939 a 1941 la campaña continúa en términos similares, aunque con algo menos de intensidad.⁸⁴

Otro defensor de la “clase media” dentro del radicalismo fue Bernardino C. Horne, quien también solía escribir para *Hechos e Ideas*. Abogado, nieto de inmigrantes e hijo de colonos rurales de Entre Ríos, Horne dedicó la mayor parte de su energía a la promoción del cooperativismo agrario y la defensa de los pequeños productores del campo. Militante radical, ocupó cargos legislativos y ejecu-

81. “Hacia la dictadura” [editorial], *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 24 (agosto 1937): 259–61.

82. Ernesto C. Boatti, “La clase media y su organización política”, *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 27 (marzo–abril 1938): 128–29.

83. “Independencia Argentina” [editorial], *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 29 (julio–agosto 1938): 326; “Proyecto de reformas fundamentales a nuestro régimen impositivo, del diputado Alejandro Maino”, *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 30 (sept.–oct. 1938): 121–29.

84. Ver “Glosas políticas” [editorial], *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 32 (mayo 1939): 277; no. 36 (marzo–abril 1940): 263; no. 37 (oct. 1940); “Proyecto de ley de financiación de la cosecha 1940–41 presentado a la Cámara de Diputados de la Nación por representantes de la UCR”, *Hechos e Ideas*, nos. 38–39 (enero 1941): 285; François Perroux: “Límites y extralimitaciones del concepto de clase”, *Hechos e Ideas*, no. 41 (nov. 1941). Sin desmedro de lo señalado, y como bien ha demostrado Alejandro Cattaruzza, cabe destacar que la apelación a la clase media no fue obstáculo para que, en un sentido bastante tradicional, *Hechos e Ideas* siguiera presentando a la UCR como un partido policlasista, la “encarnación de la argentinidad” toda. Ver Alejandro Cattaruzza, *Hechos e Ideas (1935–1941): Una aproximación al pensamiento político argentino*, Tesis de Maestría inédita, Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires, 1992, pp. 64–72.

tivos en su provincia natal en la década del treinta, hasta que fue electo diputado nacional, banca que ocupó entre 1936 y 1940, y nuevamente entre 1942 y 1943. Durante el gobierno de Frondizi tuvo a su cargo la Secretaría de Agricultura y Ganadería, dependiente del Ministerio de Economía. Aunque ya había escrito trabajos y dado discursos en defensa de los pequeños propietarios agrarios en la década del treinta, su preocupación más general por la “clase media” comienza hacia 1942. En su libro *Política agraria y regulación económica*, publicado ese año, Horne se ocupa de demostrar la utilidad social de la existencia de una extensa capa de pequeños y medianos productores rurales. En la Argentina del siglo XIX no existía tal capa, hasta que las políticas de colonización, luego de 1852, fomentaron la división de la tierra. Así se formó una “clase media” en el campo, “con hábitos y costumbres civilizados”, que es “la que impulsa el progreso en forma rápida, a pesar de que el latifundio continúa dominando”. Esa clase se debilita a consecuencia de la crisis de 1930, y hoy se encuentra en una difícil situación económica. Criticando los excesos del capitalismo y el liberalismo, que no comprenden la “función social” que debe desempeñar la propiedad privada, Horne reclama mayor protección de la “clase agraria” mediana por parte del estado, en forma de apoyo a las cooperativas, créditos baratos, y formas de “regulación económica” o incluso de “economía dirigida”. Entre sus justificaciones, Horne argumenta que esta “clase media” es “necesaria para el equilibrio social y económico”, entre otras cosas, porque contribuye a descomprimir la situación del proletariado en las ciudades.⁸⁵ En *Un ensayo social agrario* (1957), Horne vuelve a la carga en apoyo de la “clase media” rural, a la que imagina en un futuro próximo desempeñando un papel de primer orden en la política nacional, en alianza con los trabajadores urbanos. El autor imagina que los sindicatos de obreros, y las cooperativas agrarias, serán las “células de una nueva estructura social y económica” que, junto con el creciente peso social de los técnicos y profesionales, transformará profundamente la estructura social del país, de la que desaparecerá la minoría terrateniente y también “la antigua minoría burguesa o financiera”.⁸⁶

Durante los años marcados por el peronismo, los discursos de defensa de la “clase media” dentro del radicalismo se vuelven menos visibles. En ocasiones, legisladores radicales se manifestaron por la defensa de la “clase media”, sea contra los efectos de la inflación sobre sus bolsillos, sea contra los proyectos

85. Bernardino C. Horne, *Política agraria y regulación económica*, 2da. ed. (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1945), 39, 55–56, 93.

86. Bernardino C. Horne, *Un ensayo social agrario: La colonia San José, Entre Ríos, 1857–1957* (Buenos Aires: Leviatán 1957), 79–80, 89–93.

del peronismo —considerados “fascistas”— para sindicalizar a las profesiones liberales, artistas e intelectuales en una Confederación General de Profesionales.⁸⁷ Pero esas intervenciones explícitas en favor de la “clase media” fueron más la excepción que la regla. Como ya hemos mencionado, muchos radicales —especialmente los sabatinistas y los alineados con el Movimiento Intransigencia y Renovación, surgido en 1945 contra la facción “unionista” y que controlará el partido a partir de 1948— prefirieron embarcarse en el intento vano de disputarle las bases trabajadoras al peronismo mediante un discurso marcadamente popular. Cabe recordar que se trataba entonces no sólo de conservar los apoyos electorales entre los obreros, sino también la lealtad de los cuadros dirigentes que, en número nada despreciable, decidían en esos días pasarse al peronismo, con cuyo programa más claramente popular se sentían identificados. Si esa era la estrategia, probablemente se explique la disminución de las apelaciones explícitas que venimos siguiendo como un intento de evitar que, por comparación, la UCR fuera catalogada como un partido de “clase media” (y, por ello, no lo suficientemente comprometido con los más humildes).⁸⁸ Sobreactuando su compromiso con las clases populares en 1954 un dirigente intransigente como Frondizi se permitía incluso tener observaciones poco elogiosas hacia la “clase media”, a la que acusaba de ser una base de apoyo importante del fascismo, y de haber sido uno de los sectores que, por su pasividad, había permitido el golpe de estado de 1930.⁸⁹ Curiosamente, poco tiempo después, tras su conversión al “desarrollismo”, Frondizi sería mucho más benévolo con esa clase.

Sin embargo, algunos radicales, incluso intransigentes, siguieron planteando abiertamente una defensa de la “clase media” en años peronistas. Por ejemplo, el entrerriano Eduardo Laurencena, un importante dirigente unionista, elegía en 1946 las páginas del periódico antiperonista *Antinazi* para emprender tal defensa. Nutrida de la pequeña y mediana empresa, esa clase, opinaba Laurencena, “tiene un enorme valor social, porque ella está formada por los grupos de mayor cultura” y por los más “emprendedores” y “activos”. Su papel es central para promover la movilidad social ascendente: “La existencia de una numerosa y fuerte clase media es la mayor garantía de que una sociedad no podrá dividirse en

87. Ver los discursos de Arturo Frondizi y de Carlos H. Perette, Argentina, Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, *Diario de sesiones*, 7 jul. 1950, vol. 2, pp. 945–51; 27 sept. 1954, vol. 3, pp. 1917–21.

88. Es sintomático que en 1947 el radical Leopoldo Velasco haya argumentado extensamente en favor de una “filosofía del justo medio” asociada a la función política de la UCR y contra la “demagogia” imperante, pero sin hacer mención de ninguna “clase media”. Leopoldo Velasco, *Pedro C. Molina, caballero de la libertad* (Córdoba: Ross, 1947), 147–56.

89. Frondizi, *Petróleo y política*, 279, 288.

clases o grupos cerrados, separados por barreras infranqueables”.⁹⁰ Por su parte C. M. Almada Stessens, militante radical intransigente santiagueño, planteaba en 1947 el programa para un radicalismo “de izquierda” en los siguientes términos: “Nuestra misión argentina, nuestros afanes de crear una democracia nuestra, con alma y sensibilidad nativas, no es otra cosa que elevar al de abajo y bajar al de muy arriba, hasta dar con el justo medio que haga la felicidad de todos y borre hasta el menor vestigio de diferencias de clase, mediante la transformación pacífica, sin odios y sin derramamiento de sangre entre hermanos, y por tal, nos afianzamos en la clase media.” En la apelación de Almada Stessens a la “clase media”, el argumento del “justo medio” —que habíamos encontrado hasta ahora utilizado contra la amenaza anarquista y comunista— está claramente relacionada con la necesidad de refrenar el ascendente movimiento de las masas peronistas. Así, el autor señala que “el pueblo trabajador argentino ha sido informado demagógicamente de sus derechos”, por lo que se ha “convulsionado en un fanatismo tóxico”. Frente a la irracionalidad peronista, la “clase media” aparece como fuente de sensatez política:

Las dictaduras fascistas, para justificarse a la vista de quienes enseguida ha de utilizar, necesita[n] fatalmente hacerlos creer que persigue[n] al capital, matando dos pájaros de un tiro; mientras atrae[n] a los fácilmente impresionables, los pobres, destruye[n] la verdadera democracia, a la clase intermedia, atacándola fieramente; ésta es su peor enemiga; al no depender de nadie, piensa por sí sola y ve con claridad; jamás será servil a los audaces irresponsables ni se prestará a turbios manejos; nada espera de hombres providenciales, ni cree tampoco en supuestos mesías. [. . .] Por eso la clase intermedia que forma la verdadera democracia, debe ser el puntal más firme, y la columna más sólida en que se afianzará el radicalismo . . .⁹¹

Por la misma época, José V. Liceaga —diputado radical intransigente en la legislatura de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, y defensor tenaz de los pequeños y medianos productores agrarios contra el mal del latifundio— proponía un similar giro “hacia la izquierda” por parte del radicalismo, para contrarrestar la demagogia peronista: “El radicalismo debe, fundamentalmente, tender a ser el partido de los trabajadores y de las clases medias, si realmente quiere volver a su

90. Eduardo Laurencena, “Hay que defender las pequeñas empresas”, *Antinazi*, no. 49 (31 enero 1946): 1.

91. C. M. Almada Stessens, *Bosquejo radical intransigente* (Añatuya: s./e., 1947), 13, 41-42, 55.

viejo contenido revolucionario. Es necesario que las reivindicaciones de estas dos clases encuentren en él un hondo apoyo y constituyan la base de su masa de afiliados. Para ello, debemos defender con energía y tesón todas sus aspiraciones”.⁹²

La retórica como la de Liceaga finalmente se abriría paso —aunque tardíamente y siempre con escasa visibilidad— en un documento oficial del partido tras la caída de Perón. En julio de 1957 la Convención Nacional (CN) de la UCR del Pueblo se reúne bajo la presidencia de Nicolás Romano, y se decide participar en las elecciones de Constituyentes propuestas por el gobierno de facto para derogar la Constitución peronista. El texto de la resolución de la CN anuncia que sus candidatos propondrán ratificar la Constitución de 1853, pero con el agregado de una serie de veintiuna reformas. Éstas incluyen, entre otras, la protección de los derechos del trabajador, la reforma agraria, la “función social de la propiedad”, el fomento del cooperativismo y el “estudio de las medidas para el amparo de la clase media”.⁹³

Un caso especial: Julio Barcos

Habíamos mencionado a Julio R. Barcos como uno de los que más intensamente participaron del interés por la “clase media” en el círculo de la revista *Hechos e Ideas*. Su abordaje de la cuestión, sin embargo, desentona en el contexto de los casos que hemos explorado aquí, por lo que merece un tratamiento aparte.

La fascinante evolución política e intelectual de Barcos ha sido poco estudiada. Educador y publicista, anarquista en su época juvenil, en 1915 lo encontramos llamando a la huelga y la sublevación general del pueblo, y despreciando al radicalismo, “un partido político regresivo” al que “nada le queda por hacer

92. José V. Liceaga, *En defensa de la soberanía nacional (III): Ensayo sobre la actual orientación política de la Unión Cívica Radical* (La Plata: s./e., 1947), 58, 61–62. El mismo año, otro compañero de Liceaga en la Cámara de Diputados de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, el diputado radical Raúl Manzi, homenajeaba en un discurso el legado de Leandro Alem y el mito fundacional de la Revolución de 1893 argumentando que ésta fue la manifestación “de la clase media de un pueblo que había sido proscrita de los atrios por los intereses espurios de esa plutocracia del Unicato”. Repr. en Leandro N. Alem, *Obra parlamentaria*, 6 vols. (La Plata: s./e., 1949), vol. 1, p. 23.

93. Ver “La UCR del Pueblo y la reforma constitucional”, *La Nación*, 10 julio 1957, p. 12. Recuérdesse que nos referimos aquí a referencias explícitas a la “clase media”. Las plataformas de la UCR desde mucho tiempo antes contenían medidas de protección de la “pequeña industria y del artesanado autónomo”, de “reglamentación de las profesiones liberales”, o de estímulo a las cooperativas de trabajadores y de “pequeños comerciantes”. Ver la Plataforma electoral de 1937, inserta en Argentina, Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, *Diario de sesiones*, 1952, vol. 3, p. 2291.

en la actualidad, ni dentro ni fuera del gobierno”.⁹⁴ Poco tiempo después, sin embargo, rechaza el anarquismo como ideología y se hace radical. En 1931, en su libro *Política para intelectuales*, elogia la democratización que llevó a cabo Yrigoyen movilizando el apoyo de “la pequeña burguesía, clase media y proletariado” (aún a pesar de la “demagogia” del líder, que el autor desaprueba). Barcos también utiliza entonces el argumento de la tercera vía para explicar su propia postura política: “Ni aristocracia ni plebocracia; ni el despotismo ilustrado de ninguna pretendida élite, ni la dictadura del rebaño analfabeto”. Alarmado por el golpe de estado de Uriburu, llama a los intelectuales a tomar partido en favor de los trabajadores en la “lucha de clases” que supone la vuelta de los conservadores. El capítulo “Gremialismo y clase media” argumenta que es necesaria la organización de ese sector social que carece de conciencia de clase y que, a diferencia de proletarios y capitalistas, aún no ha asumido su “misión” histórica. Tal misión consiste en abandonar su “individualismo burgués” o, en otras palabras, en utilizar las herramientas intelectuales que la distinguen (ya que Barcos utiliza “clase media” casi como sinónimo de “profesionales” o “intelectuales”) para ponerse al servicio de la sociedad a través del estado, y en diseñar políticas públicas científicas “que levanten cátedra frente a los políticos palabreros” que dominan la escena local.⁹⁵ En un texto de 1933 llama a la movilización de “todas las fuerzas sociales (ganaderos, agricultores, clase media, proletariado y comerciantes)” en un “frente único, defensor de la argentinidad encadenada” contra la “servidumbre a que nos ha reducido el dólar y la libra esterlina”.⁹⁶ Su opúsculo *El trágico destino de la clase media*, publicado por *Hechos e Ideas* en 1936, vuelve a la carga con ideas similares, aunque con mayor virulencia. El texto comienza con un poema alusivo de Federico Gutierrez —también, como Barcos, un anarquista en sus años de juventud—,⁹⁷ en el que la “clase media” aparece pintada con los peores tonos, como una “rémora”, “alcahueta” de los poderosos, “pobre caricatura de burgués”, “vanidosa”, “parasitaria”, “mediocre”, “egoísta”, “imbécil” y profundamente antiobrera. “¡No sirves para nada!”: con esta invectiva concluye el poema. El texto del propio Barcos, quien por entonces se alineaba con los antialvearistas, es menos condenatorio (de hecho asigna una misión crucial a la “clase media”) pero aún así destila una intolerante impaciencia. Los intelectu-

94. Julio R. Barcos, *La felicidad del pueblo es la suprema ley: Cuadros de psicología política y social* (Buenos Aires: Otero, 1915), 106–9.

95. Julio R. Barcos, *Política para intelectuales* (Buenos Aires: s./e., 1931), 10, 15, 77, 120, 135–39, 145–51.

96. Julio R. Barcos, *Por el pan del pueblo* (Buenos Aires: Renacimiento, 1933), 46.

97. Debo este dato a Horacio Tarcus.

ales (para Barcos sinónimo de “clase media”) carecen de peso como clase. Sin embargo, tienen en sus manos una función fundamental: la de imprimirle un “sentido” a la acción que protagonizan otras clases. Ni el burgués ni el proletario “tienen una idea propia”: rigen el mundo de la “producción material” pero “no producen cultura”; la “ética de una y otra clase la ha manufacturado el intelectual de la clase media”. Pero por ello mismo la “clase media” debe decidir en qué bando se ubicará en el “proceso revolucionario” al que asistimos. La intención de Barcos es alentarla a abandonar a la burguesía para ponerse al lado del proletariado, como su “guía”, ya que éste, “por sí solo, no va a ninguna parte” y no es menos carente de sentido de lo “espiritual” que la propia burguesía (ambos están sumergidos en el “materialismo”). El intelectual, por el contrario, es un “generador de fuerzas morales” que debe ayudar a contrarrestar el “*sprit-moutonier* [sic; espíritu de rebaño, E.A.] de las masas”, que por ser masas, justamente, carecen de “personalidad individual”. Por lo demás, a fin de cuentas, también la intelectualidad va camino a la “proletarización” por obra del desarrollo del capitalismo, esa “civilización ultra materialista” que está llegando a su fin. Pero no imagina Barcos un liderazgo intelectual de la clase obrera a la manera de la Revolución rusa, que ha suprimido “la libertad interna del hombre”; el comunismo “no es planta de nuestro clima”. Argentina, por obra de Yrigoyen y de la democracia, es “un país de clase media”, donde incluso el minoritario proletariado asciende a esa clase con facilidad: en nuestra democracia naciente no existen “clases irreconciliables”, sino que todos devienen “clase media”, una clase que “ha de ser con el tiempo clase única”. Por eso, mientras que “proletarizarlo todo” es el lema soviético, “el nuestro sería hacer a todos propietarios”. Sin embargo, la crisis económica y el control fraudulento del estado por parte de la “oligarquía” amenaza con hundir a la “clase media” en la miseria. Es hora entonces de que el proletariado y la “clase media”, “el brazo y el cerebro de la Nación”, se junten para quitarse de encima a “los zánganos de la colmena”, los miembros de la “oligarquía político-financiera” que “parasitan sobre ambas clases”. Es en esta tarea que los intelectuales deben colaborar, librándose de su individualismo y egolatría: los hombres de cultura deben “ponerse al servicio de la comunidad argentina” para instruir al pueblo, organizar la economía, proteger la salud pública, y construir el “yo colectivo” indispensable para la vida en sociedad:

Donde la dialéctica corrosiva y disociadora del extremismo crea antinomias irreductibles como trincheras de guerra, el genio pragmático del constructor encontrará las ecuaciones sociales de incuestionable utilidad común. [. . .] La reconstrucción moral y material del mundo sobre nuevas bases éticas, jurídicas y económicas ¡Esa es la labor ininterrumpida

del intelectual de la clase media! [. . .] El hombre cerebral cuya mente es el dínamo que produce la corriente continua del pensamiento, vale decir, que vive sin interrupción sus ideales, es quien mantiene la llama espiritual bajo la forma de creencias, ideas y sentimientos de una época, entre sus contemporáneos. El torrente es el pueblo; el ingeniero que lo convierte en fuerza motriz, aplicándole las turbinas de un ideal, es siempre el hombre de la cultura.

En términos más concretos, e impresionado por el avance del nazismo, Barcos imagina la formación de un “frente común” entre las clases baja y media, siguiendo el ejemplo del “frente popular” de Francia y España.⁹⁸ Para ello, la “clase media” debe iniciarse en el camino del “gremialismo”, pero conformando asociaciones profesionales que no estén sólo interesadas en defender los intereses materiales de sus miembros, sino que asuman plenamente su misión espiritual en favor del bien común. En la propuesta de Barcos, este gremialismo colaboraría con la estatización del trabajo de los profesionales: a la manera del sistema de educación pública, o de la defensa militar, también los profesionales de la salud, por ejemplo, deberían trabajar para una medicina nacionalizada: “nacionalizar la medicina significa darle al médico el doble rango de benefactor y de hombre de ciencia, sacándole de su actual condición de curandero con ribetes de comerciante”. Así como el estado regimenta “el servicio militar y el de la enseñanza, debe organizar y regimentar el de la medicina” y acabar así con el “individualismo profesional”. De esta forma se contribuiría a crear una sociedad “civilizada, humanamente, racionalmente constituida”.⁹⁹ Todavía en 1947 Barcos intentaba que la UCR se convirtiera en vehículo de esta unión de “la clase media y la clase obrera”.¹⁰⁰

Si bien encontramos en Barcos algunos elementos similares a los que habíamos analizado hasta aquí, en otros sentidos su utilización de la idea de “clase media” es diferente. Aunque hay elementos de una prosa contrainsurgente también en Barcos —en su idea de que la “masa” debe alejarse del “extremismo” y dejarse dirigir por los intelectuales— no encontramos este elemento asociado a

98. En esta expectativa Barcos no estaba solo. De hecho, el 1 de mayo de 1936 los radicales conmemoraron el Día del Trabajador en un acto conjunto con socialistas y demócratas progresistas, acto que muchos interpretaron como un paso hacia la conformación de un Frente Popular, cosa que finalmente no sucedería.

99. Julio R. Barcos, “El trágico destino de la clase media”, en *Hechos e Ideas*, nos. 11–12 (mayo–junio 1936): 243–319.

100. Julio R. Barcos, *Para el Radicalismo reformarse es vivir* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos Ayacucho, 1947), 39–40.

la idea de “justo medio”. En otras palabras, el autor no imagina un futuro sin oligarquía, o sin enormes diferencias de riqueza, sino lisa y llanamente sin burguesía. Ciertamente, ya habíamos encontrado, por ejemplo en Horne o incluso en Noel, una apelación a la clase que nos incumbe asociada a una crítica del capitalismo irrestricto, de la burguesía, del liberalismo, de la propiedad ilimitada, y a un llamado a establecer una economía con un protagonismo mayor del estado. Horne incluso llegaba a imaginar la progresiva desaparición de la burguesía como clase. Pero esta espera en Barcos estaba clara y explícitamente relacionada con una utopía tecnocrática en la que la burguesía y el mercado son reemplazados, como clase rectora y mecanismo fundamental de organización del trabajo, por los “intelectuales/profesionales” y el estado. Para ponerlo en términos de Barbara y John Ehrenreich, estaríamos en presencia de un caso típico del anticapitalismo propio de los sectores “profesionales-gerenciales” que floreció como ideología en varios rincones del mundo y en distintos momentos a partir de principios del siglo XX. Esta ideología alimentó una parte importante del movimiento socialista en todo el mundo, en buena medida liderado no por trabajadores sino por profesionales o intelectuales que imaginaban un mundo científicamente organizado y coordinado por gente como ellos, más que uno en el que desapareciera la desigualdad en cualquiera de sus formas.¹⁰¹ Las ideas de Barcos (y quizás también las de Horne) reflejan sin duda una imaginación similar, y están también en sintonía con una creencia, que se extendería a partir de fines de la década del treinta, en la “convergencia” entre sociedades capitalistas y socialistas en virtud de una “revolución gerencial” o “burocratización del mundo” por la expansión del peso social y el poder de los administradores y burócratas (que controlaban el proceso productivo en las empresas y el creciente aparato estatal) por sobre los antiguos burgueses (cuyo poder derivaba de una propiedad privada que, según creían, se hacía cada vez menos relevante).¹⁰² Aunque produzca extrañeza, este tipo de ideas no eran totalmente extrañas en el radicalismo de los años treinta, en los que la crisis de la democracia liberal fue terreno propicio para diversas exploraciones y heterodoxias intelectuales. Lo que sí es peculiar es la asociación de estas búsquedas con un llamado a la movilización de la “clase media”.

101. Ver Barbara y John Ehrenreich, “The Professional-Managerial Class”, en Pat Walker, ed., *Between Labor and Capital* (Boston: South End Press, 1979), 5–45.

102. Ver James Burnham, *La revolución de los directores* (1941; Buenos Aires: Huemul, 1962); Bruno Rizzi, *La burocratización del mundo* (1939; Barcelona: Península, 1980).

Conclusiones

Del recorrido anterior pueden extraerse algunas conclusiones. En primer lugar, no existen huellas *en el discurso* de los radicales que indiquen que la UCR fuera un partido “de clase media” antes de la división del partido en 1924; más aún, el discurso de “clase media” sólo adquiere peso entre los radicales hacia mediados de la década del 30. Considerando que en la cultura argentina en general tampoco existía por entonces un discurso como el que nos compete, ya instalado en forma explícita o visiblemente extendido, podemos concluir que la UCR pudo haber desempeñado un papel importante en la difusión de la idea de la centralidad de la “clase media” en la sociedad argentina. El hecho de que el concepto en cuestión no haya, en general, formado parte de los documentos *oficiales* del partido no debe llamarnos a engaño: está en la lógica intrínseca de la ideología de los partidos con voluntad hegemónica (cuya razón de ser es cosechar la mayor cantidad posible de apoyo electoral) el evitar apelativos de clase que pudieran darle una apariencia de parcialidad y alienar el voto de vastos grupos sociales.¹⁰³

En segundo lugar, podemos concluir que el *contexto de emergencia* del discurso de “clase media” entre los radicales es específicamente *político*, antes que *social*. No se verifican correlaciones evidentes entre, por ejemplo, los momentos de inicio o de mayor intensidad del discurso y cambios notables en la estructura social argentina. Tampoco hay correlaciones evidentes con el origen social de aquellos radicales que movilizaron un discurso de “clase media” (salvo su no pertenencia a los sectores excluidos de la sociedad, por supuesto). Entre quienes se interesaron por la “clase media” encontramos algunos de procedencia relativamente modesta (como Saccone, Maino o Horne) pero también otros de posición acomodada (como Noel o Alvear).¹⁰⁴ Por el contrario, el uso del concepto de

103. Haciendo un recorrido por la historia de la UCR en 2005, el propio diputado radical Aldo Neri reconoce esta distancia entre “ser” y “reconocerse” como un partido de “clase media”: a partir de la época de Perón, dice Neri, cuando los trabajadores encontraron otro partido que los represente, el radicalismo, “*sin querer reconocerlo del todo*, se consolidó en sectores medios” [el énfasis es mío, E.A.]. Aldo Neri, “La pobreza dinamita la política”, *Clarín*, 3 enero 2005. <http://www.clarin.com/diario/2005/01/03/opinion/0-02301.htm>.

104. Tampoco hay correlaciones evidentes con la pertenencia a las diferentes orientaciones internas de la UCR: aunque el discurso de “clase media” pueda haberse utilizado contra el “contubernio” entre 1924 y 1928, contribuyeron a su formación personalistas y antipersonalistas, alvearistas y antialvearistas, e incluso también algunos intransigentes. Este hecho refuerza las interpretaciones recientes de la historia de la UCR, que ponen en cuestión la vieja imagen de un partido dividido en “dos troncos” ideológicos perfectamente delimitados, uno más “oligárquico” y otro más claramente “nacional y popular”.

“clase media” como parte del vocabulario radical se vincula claramente con necesidades propiamente políticas. En general, el discurso en cuestión aparece asociado a la estrategia retórica del justo medio, que apuntaba a recortar para la UCR un espacio de legitimidad como portadora de un programa reformista que, ilustrando, disciplinando, o desplazando a cierta élite socioeconómica (aquí hay matices diferentes entre los autores), introdujera las medidas necesarias para salvaguardar el orden social amenazado. La introducción del concepto de “clase media” estuvo vinculada a la necesidad de actualizar el discurso liberal clásico para dotarlo de mejores herramientas contra sus adversarios. Hemos considerado a ésta una estrategia “contrainsurgente” en la medida en que busca contrarrestar el igualitarismo “extremo” de los movimientos revolucionarios de carácter plebeyo o “incivilizado”: frente a movimientos que amenazan con desconocer toda jerarquía social, la estrategia del justo medio ofrece instaurar un “mejor equilibrio” entre las clases (y así, en última instancia, salvaguardarlas). Debido a su carácter supuestamente intermedio, se postula a la “clase media” como encarnación de ese equilibrio; al mismo tiempo, ese mismo apelativo “despega” a los sectores a los que intenta referir de su posible solidaridad con los movimientos insurgentes. Esta utilización contrainsurgente de la idea de clase media, y su contexto propiamente político de emergencia, coinciden con el itinerario y función de la misma idea en otros países y épocas.¹⁰⁵ Los momentos específicos de utilización de este complejo de ideas, y los contextos a los que aluden, no dejan lugar a dudas. Se trata de conjurar la amenaza plebeya del anarquismo/comunismo luego de 1917–1919, la del comunismo/fascismo a mediados de los años treinta (e incluso los aspectos plebeyos del peronismo en los cuarenta) reclamando una “tercera vía” reformista contra la obstinación y la amenaza de la élite tradicional. La años 1924–1928, 1930, o 1935 —a partir de los cuales percibimos una cierta intensificación del discurso de “clase media”— son clave en este sentido: los primeros corresponden al “contubernio”, el segundo al golpe de estado, y el tercero al levantamiento de la abstención por parte de la UCR y la decisión de enfrentar a los conservadores en terreno electoral valiéndose de un programa social renovado. Cabe destacar que por entonces también el Partido Socialista, e incluso el Partido Comunista (embarcado en la política del Frente Popular) habían salido a seducir electoralmente a la “clase media”.

En conclusión, los hallazgos aquí presentados confirman y a la vez cuestionan la validez de la tesis de la UCR como partido “de clase media”. La confirman en la medida en que, a juzgar por el plano discursivo, el radicalismo puede efectivamente considerarse un partido “de clase media”, aunque *únicamente luego*

105. Ver la bibliografía citada en la nota no. 14.

de 1924 y no excluyentemente. Sin embargo, el énfasis que hemos puesto en el carácter *discursivo* y en el origen *político* de las apelaciones a una “clase media”, sumado al hecho de que no hay evidencias fuertes que indiquen que una identidad explícitamente de clase media existiera en la Argentina de principios de los años veinte, ponen en cuestión uno de los puntos centrales de la tesis referida. En efecto, podría pensarse que la UCR no fue meramente representante o vehículo de un sector social en ascenso, sino que de hecho contribuyó a constituirlo o “inventarlo” discursivamente. Como hemos argumentado, el carácter unitario, “intermedio” y distintivo que el concepto de “clase media” confiere a un conglomerado heterogéneo de grupos sociales *no va de suyo*. La identidad de clase media no emana natural y necesariamente de la posición que cada uno de esos grupos ocupa en la sociedad, sino que es fruto de una operación discursiva específica. Está aún por escribirse la historia del surgimiento de tal identidad en Argentina. Sin embargo, en base a nuestros hallazgos, podemos advertir que el radicalismo contribuyó sin dudas a su formación.

Para llegar a conclusiones firmes, sin embargo, sería preciso contar con muchas más investigaciones que las disponibles en la historiografía actual, que ha dejado el concepto y la identidad de clase media en Argentina en gran medida inexplorados. Mientras tanto, quizás el estudio comparativo de esta cuestión en Latinoamérica pueda darnos algunas claves para seguir cuestionando el paradigma de la sociología de la modernización que, explícita o implícitamente, aún sigue dominando la historiografía argentina. De acuerdo al notable estudio de David Parker, por ejemplo, el caso peruano se distinguiría notablemente del argentino. Así, en Perú el concepto de “clase media” aparece asociado tempranamente con una identidad construida mediante operaciones discursivas que se realizan en un plano *sociopolítico* antes que en uno puramente *político*. La identidad de clase media surge en Perú como parte de las luchas reivindicativas de los empleados de comercio hacia fines de la década de 1910, en un contexto en el que buscaban, al mismo tiempo, distinguirse de los trabajadores manuales (considerados en ese país social, racial, y culturalmente inferiores). Al presentarse como “clase media”, los empleados podían reclamar beneficios laborales sin perder, por asociación con las luchas proletarias que se desarrollaban en Perú también por entonces, la respetabilidad a la que aspiraban (y que los diferenciaba claramente de la plebe rural y urbana). Trasladándonos al discurso propiamente político, a partir de 1927 Raúl Haya de la Torre y luego el APRA se presentaron como un partido antiimperialista y revolucionario claramente identificado, doctrinaria y programáticamente, con la “clase media”. Para hacerlo, utilizaron explícitamente la identidad que habían construido previamente las organiza-

ciones de empleados; de hecho, el APRA contó con vínculos estrechos con esas organizaciones gremiales.¹⁰⁶

Si nuestros hallazgos están en lo correcto, le emergencia de un discurso y una identidad de clase media en Argentina sería más tardía que en Perú, un país tradicionalmente considerado menos "moderno" en su estructura e identidades sociales. Asimismo, la movilización política de esa identidad, en el discurso aprista, se consolida antes que en la UCR, y parece tener menos componentes contrainsurgentes que en el caso de los radicales. Este *excursus* comparativo refuerza la necesidad de estudiar los contextos específicos de emergencia de apelaciones políticas e identidades sociales, antes que tomarlos como función relativamente *necesaria* de procesos de cambio socioeconómico (operación que está implícita en el *núcleo duro* de la idea tradicional de la UCR como partido de clase media, todavía hoy hegemónica en el campo académico argentino).

106. Ver Parker, *The Idea of the Middle Class*.

Economic Elites, Regional Cleavages, and the First Attempts at Introducing the Income Tax in Argentina

José Antonio Sánchez Román

In 1932, the Argentine Congress passed the first income tax law in the nation's history. This was the beginning of a shift in the main sources of revenue for the treasury from traditional import taxes to a fiscal system based on direct taxation. The 1932 income tax was encouraged by the economic depression and the decline in revenue from customs duties. However, this was not the first attempt to introduce the new tax in the country. On several occasions in the 1920s, Radical Party governments tried to reform the taxation system. Tax reform was a wider Latin American phenomenon: both Brazil and Mexico implemented their first income taxes in the 1920s.¹ Because of the success of Argentina's export economy in comparison to Brazil and Mexico, Argentina could avoid the imposition of an income tax longer than the other countries. However, as this article

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1. The income tax was introduced in Brazil in 1924 and in Mexico in 1925. See Daniel Díaz Fuentes, *Las políticas fiscales latinoamericanas frente a la Gran Depresión: Argentina, Brasil y México (1920–1940)* (Madrid: Institutos de Estudios Fiscales, 1993), chap. 2; and Annibal Villanova Villela and Wilson Suzigan, *Política do governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro: IPEA / INPES, 1973), 137, 168. In Europe the income tax was established mainly at the beginning of the twentieth century. Germany set up its first federal income tax in 1913 and France did the same during World War I. The case of Britain is quite exceptional because it had a stable income tax since 1842, when it was reintroduced by Robert Peel. The tax acquired its progressive feature in 1909, thanks to Lloyd George's reform, which introduced a graduated scale for the first time. See Martin Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1799–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), chap. 6; and "Payment and Participation: Welfare and State-Formation in Britain 1900–1951," *Past and Present* no. 150 (1996): 176–78.

will show, the failure of the attempted tax reform in the 1920s was not only the result of economic success; it also had important political roots.²

In the following pages, I will provide a political explanation for the failure of the Argentine fiscal reform by looking at the reactions of the economic elite and interior oligarchies to the new tax device and the legislative debate that surrounded it. I will focus on the attempt made in 1924 by Minister of Finance Víctor Molina of the government of Marcelo de Alvear, the second president elected from the Radical Party. I have chosen Molina's attempted reform, although it was not the first, because it was the most consistently pursued and the most progressive. The possibility of a new tax triggered reactions from different social groups. Argentina's entrepreneurs maintained an ambiguous and, to some extent, acquiescent position toward the new tax and tended to tolerate it in exchange for more favorable economic policies. Although landowners or industrialists and their corporate representatives were not supportive of the measure, they were not the main obstacle to its implementation, either.

Molina's project was passed by the Argentine lower chamber and supported by a favorable public, but it was blocked in the Senate.³ This occurrence is not altogether unexpected. According to a classic study of the taxation issue within a federal system, the different levels of government constrain the imposition of a new tax as much as do individuals, interest groups, and classes.⁴ Therefore, the failure of the reform demands a political explanation that focuses on the composition and behavior of the Argentine legislative branch, particularly the upper house. As far as the taxation issue was concerned, the overrepresentation of the interior provinces in the Congress and the shared interests of governors, provincial senators, and congressmen beyond party affiliations are important features to consider in understanding Argentine fiscal structure. Regional cleavages and Argentine federalism were on many occasions of greater importance than other social or economic considerations in the implementation of key economic policies. The opposition by the majority of representatives of the interior provinces of Argentina is the key to understanding the failure of the reform before 1932. Introducing the income tax implied the elimination of certain taxes and unifi-

2. On the different export performances, see Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 57–68.

3. On the public opinion surrounding the introduction of progressive taxation in Argentina, see José Antonio Sánchez Román, "El poliedro de la igualdad: Nociones de justicia impositiva en el Brasil y la Argentina en las décadas de 1920 y 1930," *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana Dr. Emilio Ravignani* 28 (2005): 95–127.

4. Margaret Levi, *Of Rule and Revenue* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1988), 146.

cation of the fiscal system; the oligarchies from the most backward provinces perceived both processes as a threat to their precarious economic life.

The failure of the attempted reform highlights the complexity of Argentina's federal system. David Rock, in his well-known study of the Radical Party, suggested that the Pampas region was not only the most developed area of the nation but also the core of political power: "The interior was politically weak."⁵ Richard Walter has also mentioned that national policies favored the littoral rather than the interior provinces.⁶ Rock and most of the literature emphasized the trend toward increasing centralization during the twentieth century and a weaker influence of interior provinces on national politics since the arrival of the first democratically elected national government in 1916. Nonetheless, Rock did not consider the structure of Argentine federalism—most importantly the composition of the Senate—or the bargaining power of the interior provinces. Thus, most historians of Radical governments have detected a tendency toward increased centralization but have neglected the role of Congress in the decision-making process.⁷

As far as the taxation system is concerned, this view is not entirely accurate. Processes of increasing centralization, for instance in revenue collection, have been accompanied by a sort of perverse federalism in which the poorest provinces can lead political and economic reform to collapse without altering the regional distribution of wealth. Related to this, the provinces' leverage was the result of their capacity to control the national Senate and the actual capacity to decide embedded in that chamber. The interior provinces, thanks to their control of the Senate, could not only block the tax reform but even, under certain circumstances, implement their own budget. The key issues of taxation and expenditure depended to a large extent on the legislative power.⁸

5. David Rock, *Politics in Argentina, 1890–1930: The Rise and Fall of Radicalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1975), 9.

6. Richard J. Walter, *The Province of Buenos Aires and Argentine Politics, 1912–1943* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985), 47.

7. According to the most important study on the Argentine Congress, the legislature was weak as policy maker, and power ultimately "resided in the Executive Branch." Peter H. Smith, *Argentina and the Failure of Democracy: Conflict among Political Elites, 1904–1955* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1974), xviii–xix. An important exception that emphasized the role of federalism and the leverage of interior provinces in order to understand the working and crisis of Argentina's first democratic attempt is Anne L. Potter, "The Failure of Democracy in Argentina 1916–1930: An Institutional Perspective," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 13, no. 1 (May 1981): 83–109.

8. As Kent Eaton has remarked, taxation reforms are deemed without legislators' participation. Eaton, *Politicians and Economic Reform in New Democracies: Argentina and Philippines in the 1990s* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2002), 69.

Finally, this article explores some of the most neglected aspects Alvear's government. By showing Molina's personal commitment to a progressive taxation reform, it will contradict the image of Alvear's administration as more conservative than that of Hipólito Yrigoyen.⁹

Reflections on Fiscal Reform in the 1920s

In the aftermath of World War I, the Argentine state played an increased role in the economic life of the country.¹⁰ In Argentina, as in most Latin American countries, government intervention was never as widespread as it had been in the belligerent nations during the conflict. Nevertheless, the practices of Radical governments, added to the impact of the war, resulted in increased numbers of bureaucrats and public functions, in investment in public utilities and public enterprises such as railways, and in the promulgation of some social legislation.¹¹ Between 1920 and 1930, Argentine public spending rose by 100 percent.¹² This process was also the result of the increasing complexity of the Argentine economy since the turn of the century and of the export prosperity that enabled the government to finance its deficit through loans arranged in Europe and the United States. Between 1900 and 1930 (with the exception of 1920), the government's expenses were higher than its income, and external credit compensated for these imbalances over the whole period. In 1900, the deficit was more than 9 million pesos (*moneda nacional*); it was over 150 million during World War

9. Rock, *Politics in Argentina*, 222. "[Alvear] seeming to reject the more adventurous and progressive sides of Yrigoyen's policies." Walter subscribes to that view as well in *The Province of Buenos Aires and Argentine Politics*, 64–65. A more original perspective is that of Colin M. Lewis, who also underlines the scarce attention devoted to Alvear's administration. Lewis, "Immigrant Entrepreneurs, Manufacturing and Industrial Policy in the Argentine, 1922–28," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 16, no. 1 (1987): 77–108.

10. On the economic consequences of the war, in Europe and in the rest of the world, see Derek H. Aldcroft, *From Versailles to Wall Street, 1919–1929* (London: Allen Lane, 1977), chap. 2. For the consequences of the war in Latin America, see Bill Albert, *South America and the First World War: The Impact of the War on Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Chile* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988).

11. The Radical governments tried to pass (sometimes with success) many measures concerning social insurance, minimum wages, the extension of the eight-hour day, and the mandatory rest day for all workers. These policies provoked the annoyance of the economic elites, who accused the government of encouraging social unrest for the sake of electoral benefits.

12. Pablo Gerchunoff and Lucas Llach, *El ciclo de la ilusión y el desencanto: Un siglo de políticas económicas argentinas* (Buenos Aires: Ariel, 1998), 469.

I and reached a record amount of more than 400 million in 1930.¹³ Despite a sixfold increase in the governmental revenue throughout the period, starting at 150 million pesos in 1900 and reaching 650 million in 1927, tax collections were insufficient to match the expanding expenditures.¹⁴

This trend was observed before the war, but the conflict brought new worries for Argentine policy makers. The first was the tax system itself, which was extremely dependent on the sources of revenue related to international trade. In 1900, these taxes (mainly the import tax, but also an export tax and some fees charged to foreign goods at the port of Buenos Aires) amounted to 52 percent of the total income. The situation had not changed in the 1920s: import taxes plus the other taxes on international trade still comprised around 60 percent of Argentina's budget.¹⁵ Before the war, this dependency was not considered a problem because of the general belief in both the continuation of prosperity and the limitless expansion of international trade. But the war changed all this. Import tax collections fell by half during the period, demonstrating the vulnerability of the system. The problem was not only that the war had reduced the possibility of importing and, therefore, affected public income of nations like Argentina, but also that the export sector itself was damaged by the conflict. Although exports kept increasing during the 1920s, they did so in an unstable way, and the net terms of trade deteriorated after 1917 and did not recover to prewar levels until 1928.¹⁶ The good performance of Argentine exports was key to obtaining resources that paid for imports and ultimately for governmental revenues. Besides, a buoyant export economy eased the negotiation of essential foreign loans.

Although the economic growth during the 1920s compensated for the fiscal imbalances, increasing deficits and hard-to-control public expenditures dampened prospects for the country's future development. In fact, public expenses grew faster than the gross domestic product after 1920.¹⁷ Politicians, the economic elite, and some intellectuals developed a gloomier view of the elasticity of taxes based on international trade. The concept of elasticity was widely used to

13. Congreso de la Nación Argentina, *Diario de Sesiones* (hereafter DS), vol. 5 (1928): 453–54; and Díaz Fuentes, *Las políticas fiscales latinoamericanas frente a la Gran Depresión*, 52.

14. DS, vol. 5 (1928): 453–54.

15. Ibid., table 8.

16. Argentine export values were more unstable in the period between 1917 and 1929 than at any other time since 1864. See Héctor Diéguez, "Crecimiento e inestabilidad del valor y el volumen físico de las exportaciones en el período 1864–1963," *Desarrollo Económico* 12, no. 46 (1972): 341; and Gerchunoff and Llach, *El ciclo de la ilusión y el desencanto*, 466.

17. Díaz Fuentes, *Las políticas fiscales latinoamericanas frente a la Gran Depresión*, 123.

explain the advantages of the income tax, viewed as a scientific taxation system. This idea and the appeal for a fairer distribution of burdens among the social classes were both legacies of the war in Europe that immediately migrated to the Latin American political arena. In 1923, the participants in the first congress of the University of La Plata (the capital city of the province of Buenos Aires), discussed the problems of public finances and reached the following conclusions:

Although it could be admitted that the current revenue of the nation will increase in the future, this increase will scarcely match the needs, also growing, of the national administration. . . . It is unavoidable, therefore, to carry out the implementation of a more flexible and abundant system of resources. . . . The science and practice of public finances have demonstrated that no other fiscal resource is better or even equal to the income tax as far as yield and elasticity are concerned. In Great Britain, the *income tax* has been the financial nerve of the war since its creation. . . . The war of 1914 has demonstrated . . . that customs revenues are the most uncertain ones as soon as a war breaks out, even in the neutral countries. . . . [The income tax is] an indispensable solution in order to reach a greater fiscal equity.¹⁸

These ideas enjoyed a wide consensus and the above statement was signed by followers of different ideologies.

Public expenditure and the troublesome relationship between the executive and the legislature as far as the management budget was concerned also encouraged reflection on the need for a fiscal reform.¹⁹ Argentine public finances from 1923 to 1931 were based on the budget of 1923, with slight annual modifications, due to Congress's inability or unwillingness to produce a new budget every year. Contemporaries blamed the deputies' inability to produce a new budget for the failure of fiscal reform and to some extent for the rising public expenditures of the 1920s. As a British diplomat stated, "The principal obstacle to maintaining order and equilibrium in Argentine finances are the annual delays which occur

18. Proceedings of the first Annual University Congress of La Plata University, 5 Nov. 1923, in *Revista de Economía Argentina* (hereafter *REA*), no. 73 (July 1924): 89. The italicized words are in English in the original.

19. The conflicts between the executive and the legislative branches began with the government of Hipólito Yrigoyen, who faced a Congress with a conservative majority. For Ana María Mustapic, the origin of these conflicts was a different political view over the constitutional rights of both powers. Ana María Mustapic, "Conflictos institucionales durante el primer gobierno radical, 1916–1922," *Desarrollo Económico* 24, no. 93 (Apr.–June 1984): 85–108.

in the sanction of the estimates.”²⁰ The opposition blamed the government for this. Socialist representatives accused the government of deliberately avoiding the control of Congress on the most important issue of political life by delaying the submission of the budget draft, which produced an urgent need for immediate approval of the project. “What inconvenience, what disadvantage, what novelty would there be in discussing the budget after the study of the commission and the previous revision of its figures, in peaceful sessions, and at the opportune moment? The aim is obviously for Parliament to work as little as possible,” complained a socialist deputy.²¹

The government itself blamed the new role of the executive, increased expenditures, and the reluctance of Congress to pass an income tax law for the delay in offering a budget. President Alvear’s second minister of finance, Víctor M. Molina, complained about it repeatedly.²² At the end of every congressional season, both the government and the legislature had an opportune excuse for not even contemplating the income tax reform because of the need for a quick approval of the budget.²³

Outside Congress, intellectuals and members of the upper classes blamed Congress for the situation of public finances, but at the same time linked this fact to the results of the electoral democracy. In 1924, the Radical Party split into two sectors, one supporting former president Hipólito Yrigoyen, the so-called *yrigoyenistas* or *personalistas*, and the other opposing the preeminence of this leader, the *anti-personalistas*. The conservative newspaper *La Nación* gladly welcomed the government of Marcelo T. de Alvear, the second Radical president, and supported its financial program. But the paper showed concern regarding failure of the fiscal reform and blamed this on the yrigoyenista majority in Congress: “The disastrous policy developed regarding this point [the fiscal reform] by the electoral elements that control the parliament ruined the executive’s plans. . . . The groups under the influence of the former administration could not stand the fact of the second Radical presidency introducing order and legality while the first one had founded its electoral strength on disorder and lavishness.”²⁴

20. Great Britain, Department of Overseas Trade, *Report on the Financial and Economic Conditions of the Argentine Republic*, by H. B. Chalkley, Commercial Secretary to His Majesty’s Legation (Buenos Aires, Sept. 1922), 6.

21. *DS*, 30 Sept. 1927, vol. 6 (1927): 436.

22. *DS*, 16 Dec. 1926, vol. 8 (1926): 45; and *DS*, 30 Sept. 1927, vol. 6 (1927): 454.

23. *Report on the Financial and Economic Conditions of the Argentine Republic* (Sept. 1923): 6.

24. *La Nación*, 17 Sept. 1924.

Whatever the reasons for the legislature's disarray, the critics were right when they pointed out that the absence of an annually elaborated budget allowed the government to evade Congress's control and was one of the devices to increase public spending.²⁵ It was difficult to evaluate expenses and incomes during the 1920s because of the way in which the government calculated them. The executive's projection included as income the future sales of bonds, the short-term loans that formed the so-called floating debt and in turn paid for the annual deficit, and also the transfer of credits from one financial year to another. Finally, another problem was the use of extrabudgetary expenditure sanctioned by special laws or by executive or presidential decrees.²⁶ Besides the short-term loans, the government had two tools for compiling extrabudgetary expenditures: government agreements (*acuerdos de gobierno*) and special laws (*leyes especiales*). The former amounted to more than 1 million pesos in 1923 but had reached more than 78 million in 1922. The latter corresponded to the impressive figure of 259 million in 1927 (the actual budgetary expenditure for that year was 614 million), according to a survey of the Argentine Congress in 1930 (see table 1).

In the 1920s, for many people, the income tax seemed an obvious alternative to finance this increased expenditure and even to constrain the government's largesse. The instability of import taxes, the recurrent deficits of the 1920s, and the problems of elaborating a new budget every year made the need for a shift in the fiscal system clear to many people at the time. However, the main reform attempt, launched by Molina in 1924, failed.

Molina's Income Tax Law Proposal

Molina's was not the first attempt to introduce the new tax in Argentina. The first democratically elected government in the nation, led by the Radical Party leader Hipólito Yrigoyen, also had a program of fiscal reform.²⁷ Yrigoyen's finance minister, Domingo Salaberry, submitted a proposal to the Congress in

25. In 1926, Alejandro Bunge wrote about a "financial dictatorship," a consequence of "the inaction of the Congress that has given up its most elemental rights and duties." *REA*, no. 96 (June 1926): 486.

26. *Report on the Financial and Economic Conditions of the Argentine Republic* (Sept. 1923): 7.

27. In 1912, the Argentine legislature passed a set of electoral laws (known as the Saenz Peña Law, after the president who promoted it) guaranteeing for the first time the honest application of the male universal suffrage system in the country. On the fiscal reform, see Rock, *Politics in Argentina*, 107–10.

Table 1. Actual extrabudgetary expenditure (1920–27) in pesos moneda nacional.

Year	Government's agreements	Special laws
1920	37,150,866.89	30,990,231.86
1921	65,298,788.05	11,317,696.03
1922	78,627,440.15	10,207,332.50
1923	1,159,431.60	44,297,130.43
1924	10,317,977.26	14,604,627.32
1925	33,067,616.59	45,804,766.18
1926	37,774,541.85	34,149,273.35
1927	19,604,122.23	259,712,204.19

Source: Congreso de la Nación Argentina, *Diario de Sesiones*, 16 Jan. 1930, vol. 5 (1929), 713.

1918 aimed at eliminating a foreseen deficit of 30 million pesos in the 1919 budget. The proposal provoked a short-lived debate in the Buenos Aires press, but the draft was not even considered.²⁸ The rates in the proposal were moderate, and the budget commission of the Chamber of Deputies, led by then-deputy Molina, revised it.²⁹ The law was passed by the chamber *en general*, that is, in the first general debate in 1920, but its articles were never discussed separately (*en particular*), as the chamber rules required. It was therefore neither submitted to the Senate nor implemented. Yrigoyen had to face a hostile Senate and did not obtain a majority in Congress until 1920, and most of his legislative proposals, including the income tax reform, were blocked by the legislative branch.³⁰

The first minister of finance of the Alvear government, Rafael Herrera Vegas, designed a new draft in agreement with an ad hoc commission of entrepreneurs. However, Herrera Vegas only submitted partial measures to Congress, such as a graduated stamp tax, licensing tax, real estate tax, or land tax. The government found a justification for its timidity in the difficulty of organizing the bureaucracy required for such a complicated system and in the slow

28. See, for example, *La Nación*, 4 Sept. 1918, 5 Sept. 1918, 9 Sept. 1918, 10 Sept. 1918, 13 Sept. 1918; and *La Razón*, 3 Sept. 1918, 22 Sept. 1918.

29. Salaberry's draft in *DS*, 24 June 1919, vol. 2 (1919): 466–69; and Molina's reform in *DS*, 5 Feb. 1920, vol. 8 (1919): 826–29.

30. Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Vida y muerte de la República verdadera (1910–1930)* (Buenos Aires: Ariel, 2000), 156–57. Mustapic has pointed out that Yrigoyen found greater difficulties in obtaining the legislature's cooperation in political rather than economic issues. Mustapic, "Conflictos institucionales durante el primer gobierno radical," 87. Nonetheless, this was not the case for the income tax.

parliamentary process.³¹ These were real problems, but the minister was also well aware of the possible reactions. In June 1923, the government introduced a progressive real estate tax with the peculiarity that it was only applicable to the Federal Capital (Buenos Aires city) and the National Territories, while the interior provinces were exempted. The socialist representatives complained about it and criticized Herrera Vegas's commitment: "But now the interests seem to come together both of the true supporters of the tax and of those who accept it as a lesser evil, such as the minister of finance, who privately, I know, is against the income tax, but who as a politician accepts it because he expects it to balance the budget."³²

Herrera Vegas was replaced by Molina after a year in office. Molina's proposal of fiscal reform was the most consistent and radical of the decade and aroused a major debate. One of the differences between the new minister and his predecessors was his clear commitment to the project of tax reform. In 1920, during the parliamentary debate on the revision of Salaberry's draft, Molina declared, "It is a project which I love; it is almost my child in this chamber . . . because my purpose in occupying this seat is to modify the national taxation regime."³³ That year, the government increased some customs tariffs, and Molina, defender of a freer trade policy but member of the still united Radical Party, accused Salaberry of maintaining an archaic fiscal system and of having changed his mind concerning the income tax issue.³⁴

The income tax project of 1924 was intended to thoroughly reform the Argentine fiscal system. The new tax proposed the elimination of other taxes, such as the export tax, the licensing taxes (*patentes*), and the tax on real estate (*contribución territorial*), and a slight reform of the customs duties.³⁵ Moreover, the income tax was accompanied by a proposal to eradicate the internal taxes (provincial levies on production or on trade) in order to achieve a complete unification of the domestic market.³⁶

The plan established five different types of income subjected to taxation, following a system of schedules on real estate, assets, incomes derived from

31. DS, 15 May 1923, vol. 1 (1923): 244; and DS, 27 June 1923, vol. 4 (1923): 381.

32. DS, 27 June 1923, vol. 4 (1923): 381.

33. DS, 9 June 1920, vol. 1 (1920): 655.

34. DS, 22 June 1920, vol. 2 (1920): 183. The minister defended himself, arguing that "as far as the taxes are concerned, one had to follow the advice of circumstances" (188).

35. *Impuesto a la renta: Proyecto del P. E. y observaciones formuladas por la Unión Industrial Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos Caracciolo y Plantié, 1925).

36. DS, 20 June 1924, vol. 2 (1924): 15.

trade and industry, those from agriculture and cattle ranching, and wages. The tax was graduated with a different scale for each schedule. Thus, profits from assets (and bank interests received, etc.) would start paying $\frac{1}{2}$ percent for incomes ranging from 1,001 pesos to 5,000 pesos and were charged 11 percent for incomes over 300,000 pesos. Industry and trade incomes would start paying 1 percent, and the highest rate chargeable was 12 percent. The rural sector producers had to contribute $\frac{1}{2}$ percent of their incomes if their annual profits were lower than 10,000 pesos. As a maximum they would pay 10 percent of their net incomes. Finally, salaried individuals received the mildest treatment. They would only pay if their incomes were higher than 3,000 pesos, and the maximum rate applied was 7 percent. To these taxes on schedules, another non-graduated global tax of 2 percent would be added for all income, except those of workers (see table 2).

Molina's progressive proposal was relatively mild compared to the European models. Like its British counterpart, the Argentine income tax was split into two types: a progressive surtax and a proportional tax. However, unlike in Britain, in Argentina the progressive surtax was applied to the schedules and not to the global income. The rates were also different. Compared to the 12 percent maximum in the Argentine project, in the United Kingdom the standard rate in 1920 was 30 percent.³⁷

A comparison with France is also interesting. In France, there was also a proportional tax, but this was in turn divided into two groups of payments: a flat tax on wages and salaries of 7.2 percent, and a tax on dividends and interests of 12 percent. There were two other important differences. First, Molina, rather optimistically, foresaw that in the first year the new tax would produce 60 million pesos, that is, over 10 percent of the total revenue, while the French equivalent accounted for 20 percent of the incomes from 1923. Secondly, the French tax system accompanied the income tax with indirect taxation focused on luxury and upper-class consumption items, while the Argentine system, even when reformed, was based on regressive indirect excise taxes.³⁸

37. Martin Daunton, *Just Taxes: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1914–1979* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002), 138.

38. Charles S. Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe: Stabilization in France, Germany, and Italy in the Decade after World War I* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1977), 466–67; and *DS*, 27 Oct. 1924, vol. 4 (1924): 5–6.

Table 2. Molina's income tax proposal: pesos moneda nacional followed by the percentage paid (in parentheses). In addition to the schedule tax, all income earners would pay a global flat tax of 2%.

<i>Income class</i>	<i>Real estate</i>	<i>Capital assets (shares, bonds, etc.)</i>	<i>Trade and industry</i>	<i>Rural business</i>	<i>Salaried incomes</i>
1	1,001-2,000 (1%)	1,001-5,000 (½%)	1,001-5,000 (1%)	2,001-10,000 (½%)	3,001-5,000 (½%)
2	2,001-3,000 (2%)	5,001-10,000 (1%)	5,001-10,000 (2%)	10,001-20,000 (1%)	10,001-20,000 (1%)
3	3,001-5,000 (3%)	10,001-20,000 (2%)	10,001-20,000 (3%)	20,001-30,000 (2%)	20,001-30,000 (2%)
4	5,001-7,000 (4%)	20,001-30,000 (3%)	20,001-30,000 (4%)	30,001-40,000 (3%)	30,001-40,000 (3%)
5	7,001-9,000 (5%)	30,001-40,000 (4%)	30,001-40,000 (5%)	40,001-50,000 (4%)	40,001-60,000 (4%)
6	9,001-0,000 (6%)	40,001-50,000 (5%)	40,001-50,000 (6%)	50,001-60,000 (5%)	60,001-80,000 (5%)
7	10,001-20,000 (7%)	50,001-60,000 (6%)	50,001-60,000 (7%)	60,001-80,000 (6%)	80,001-100,000 (6%)
8	20,001-30,000 (8%)	60,001-80,000 (7%)	60,001-80,000 (8%)	80,001-100,000 (7%)	Over 100,000 (7%)
9	30,001-40,000 (9%)	80,001-100,000 (8%)	80,001-100,000 (9%)	101,000-200,000 (8%)	—
10	40,001-50,000 (10%)	100,001-200,000 (9%)	100,001-200,000 (10%)	201,000-300,000 (9%)	—
11	Over 50,000 (6% per 1,000 pesos)	200,001-300,000 (10%)	200,001-300,000 (11%)	Over 300,000 (10%)	—
12	—	Over 300,000 (11%)	Over 300,000 (12%)	—	—

Source: *Impuesto a la renta: Proyecto del P. E. y observaciones formuladas por la Unión Industrial Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos Caracciolo y Plantié, 1925).

The Reaction of the Economic Elites

Argentina's economic elites showed a remarkable consensus on the income tax issue. For both rural producers and industrial entrepreneurs, the income tax was not a major concern during this decade, and although they disagreed on the government proposals of 1924, they reacted to the pro-income tax atmosphere with mixed feelings. The prospect of heavier taxation was unwelcome, but the final arrangement of the public finance merited enthusiastic support.

Both the Sociedad Rural Argentina (SRA) and the Unión Industrial Argentina (UIA), the main associations representing the *estancieros* (landowners) from the Pampas and industrial entrepreneurs, respectively, manifested their preference for the previous scheme attempted by Herrera Vegas (see table 3). One reason for this could have been their feeling of being ignored. In fact, during the 1920s the self-named *fuerzas vivas* (living forces, that is, those who produced and made the nation wealthier) increasingly complained about being neglected by the government. Besides, major economic interests were implicated in Herrera Vegas's project.³⁹

There were also other reasons for the upper classes to criticize Molina's project. The rural producers fretted about the instability of their income during the decade and, therefore, they subtly introduced some demands in exchange for their support:

In order to justify the opposition of this Society [Sociedad Rural] to the proposed income tax, it is enough to point out that owing to the unstable values of our country, the inconvenience of an income tax is apparent. . . . The income will be arbitrarily measured and on many occasions the tax will have to be paid, not by means of the income derived from the capital but with the capital itself. [This] would have happened for instance if the income tax for 1920, when the haciendas had a remunerative value, had had to be paid in 1921, when the price crisis had absorbed a great amount of the cattle capital. . . . Lastly, it should be borne in mind . . . [that we lack] a regime for the permanent defense [of values].⁴⁰

The Sociedad Rural linked the "inconvenience" of an income tax to the absence of a permanent scheme to defend values. But by "values" the cattle ranchers meant the price of meat. During the 1920s, the international, mainly British market for Argentine meat had plummeted, and the Argentine *frigorífi-*

39. *REA*, no. 163 (Feb. 1932): 147.

40. *Anales de la Sociedad Rural* 15, no. 18 (Sept. 1925): 891.

Table 3. Herrera Vegas's income tax proposal: flat tax of 2%, paid by all incomes over 1,500 pesos if the taxpayer is single and over 2,000 if the taxpayer is married and lives with his/her spouse; plus surtax on the excess income, shown here.

<i>Income (pesos)</i>	<i>Tax rate (%)</i>
3,000–6,000	1
6,001–8,000	2
8,001–10,000	3
10,001–15,000	4
15,001–20,000	5
20,001–30,000	6
30,001–50,000	7
50,001–80,000	8
80,001–120,000	9
120,001–200,000	10
200,001–300,000	11
Over 300,000	12

Source: *Revista de Economía Argentina*, no. 62 (Aug. 1923): 143.

cos (meatpackers), in British and American hands, managed to transfer the cost of the fall in prices to the *estancieros*. Argentine major commodities lost 60 percent of their value between 1919 and 1923. The decline was particularly extreme for beef prices, which between 1920 and 1922 dropped by more than half. In fact, beef prices did not reach 1919 levels again at any time during the 1920s.⁴¹

In 1923 Congress passed a law stipulating a minimum price for Argentine meat in order to benefit rural producers. However, the meat companies boycotted the legislation by refusing to purchase the product. The big landowners and the fatteners (those specializing in the high-quality product), who could not survive without the business offered by the packers, felt that their size and market scale allowed them to weather the storm. They pressed for the suspension of the law, which in fact occurred at the end of that year.⁴² The position was harder for the medium or small owners, the ranchers, and for the cattle breeders who were

41. Nonetheless, 1919 was an exceptional year. In fact, prewar figures were recovered already in 1922. The figures are drawn from the Oxford Latin American Economic History Database (<http://oxlad.qeh.ox.ac.uk/>) and Roy Hora, *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas: A Social and Political History, 1860–1945* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), 167.

42. On this issue, see Hora, *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas*, 163–75; and Peter H. Smith, *Politics and Beef in Argentina: Patterns of Conflict and Change* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1969), 86–107.

disappointed by the withdrawal of the minimum price measure. At that time, the president of the Sociedad Rural, Pedro Pagés, was one of their peers and tried unsuccessfully to restore the former legislation.

Thus, the Sociedad Rural related its support of the fiscal reform, or lack of it, to its traditional grievances. However, this point should not be exaggerated. First of all, in 1925, when the Sociedad Rural made the statement quoted above, the market had gained momentum again and the minimum price enforcement was no longer an emergency.⁴³ Secondly, the income tax was a secondary issue for rural producers during the decade. In fact, the above quotation was one of the few references to the matter made by the Sociedad Rural during that period. Probably the landowners, along with the remaining economic elite, were conscious of the difficulties surrounding income tax proposals and of the weak commitment of the Radicals to the reform of the tax structure.

However, to some extent they were willing to tolerate an income tax. Reform of the tax structure could have been a solution both to the government's fiscal problems and to threats to the landowners' wealth. This situation was obvious in the province of Buenos Aires. Provincial expenditure had rocketed since 1920, and the provincial government attempted to increase the revenue by revaluing tax-paying land properties.⁴⁴ The same occurred again in 1927, when the governor of the province, the Radical Valentín Vergara, facing an enormous deficit, proposed the first new assessment of landed property since 1912, which was met by anger from the proprietors.⁴⁵ In both cases, the conservative representatives in the Buenos Aires legislature became the best allies of the landowners; one of their proposals was to establish an income tax to organize public finances. In 1932, when the income tax legislation was finally passed by the National Congress, a conservative deputy from Buenos Aires, Manuel Fresco, while emphasizing the paradox of a conservative legislature approving the quintessential progressive law, recalled their support for the income tax in the legislature of Buenos Aires and their fight against the revaluation measure: "The Honorable Chamber discusses and will pass, with the votes of the parties called reactionaries, one of the greatest social achievements of the taxation regime . . . the income tax. The deputy Vicente Solano Lima recalled that in the Buenos Aires legislature, when the law of revaluation was being discussed, our voices rose from the seats that we represented, reiterating the need for the progressive tax."⁴⁶

43. Hora, *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas*, 171.

44. *Ibid.*, 156.

45. Walter, *The Province of Buenos Aires and Argentine Politics*, 74–77.

46. *DS*, 18 Apr. 1932, vol. 1 (1932): 673–75.

A similar story could be told about the industrialist's position. Like the Sociedad Rural, the Unión Industrial preferred Herrera Vegas's version of the tax. However, the association representing the industrial entrepreneurs had additional reasons for criticizing Molinas's proposal. They felt that their sector was being heavily taxed, and comparatively, they were right. The net profits coming from trade or industrial business started being taxed at levels as low as 1,000 pesos at rates of 1 percent, while rural business incomes started to pay ½ percent at 2,000 pesos. The maximum taxation was 12 percent for the industrialist, compared with 10 percent for the rural producer. (See table 2.) Industrialists also disagreed on the pattern of taxation chosen. They claimed that the flat tax should be charged on each schedule and the progressive tax on the global income, as in proposals of 1918 and 1923. Their objective was to eliminate or to minimize the graduations within the scale and thereby reduce the burden of taxation for the upper echelon. Another concern for manufacturers was how to define profit. According to article 60 of the law, net profits included that part of the income devoted to the increase in a company's capital. Entrepreneurs asked for tax exemption on these profits because if "they are originally profits, in truth they do not have the same goal, because they are used for the further development of commerce or industry, which in addition to being beneficial for the country, is the origin of further profits, ultimately incomes, for the future."⁴⁷ Moreover, the industrialists wanted the progressive taxation on shares, bonds, debentures, and other kinds of assets of the corporations to be replaced by a flat tax of 2 percent and its discount at the final payment, as was drafted in Herrera Vegas's proposal.⁴⁸ This complaint mainly concerned the interests of the big entrepreneurs, who were acquiring a strong position within the management of the UIA. They were worried that heavy taxation would discourage potential shareholders. Corporations, although not fully developed in Argentina, were of particular significance for the industrial sector.⁴⁹

Nonetheless, during the 1920s, the income tax reform was not very important to the industrialists compared to other issues such as protectionism and social policies. Indeed, the possibility of reducing the customs tariff was seen as more dangerous than the tax itself. Molina's proposal also included a reform of customs duties. It would eliminate the so-called additional taxes (*adicionales*) of 2 and 7 percent added to all goods entering the country. Some specific duties were reduced, such as that on yerba maté, olives, cheese, and so on. And finally,

47. *Impuesto a la renta*, 38.

48. *Ibid.*, 39.

49. *REA*, no. 125 (Nov. 1928): 407.

some articles, such as iron, steel, zinc bars, and building materials, were exempt from customs duties.⁵⁰ These reductions were part of a larger plan announced by the minister to Congress and to some newspapers in the capital, which stated that the introduction of the income tax presaged the slow decline of the customs duties as the main source of governmental revenue.⁵¹

For Your Honor to study, there is the project of an income tax, designed by the executive. It is a serious, equitable [*equitativo*], logical system, because those who have, are forced to pay more. . . . It is evident that if the income tax gave the expected turnout, another unjustified burden could be eliminated. The former commission interpreted it in this way and believed that the import duty should be attacked. It was a mistake. The import duty must be firmly maintained with economic criteria . . . taking protection to the necessary extreme.⁵²

However, the threat of removing customs tariffs was a remote one. The first years of implementing the income tax were always difficult in every country, and the Argentine government could not afford to shut down customs. Even the confident Molina recognized "that now the customs revenue is the most important state resource; and the government cannot accomplish the program of improvement of the taxation system by reducing abruptly or by eliminating this indirect tax, because it would risk provoking incurable imbalances."⁵³

The main concern for industrialists was not the income tax in itself but the alteration of tariff policies. However, like the rural producers, the UIA understood that approval of the law was a difficult task for the government and therefore they did not devote much energy to attacking it.⁵⁴ On the other hand, some behavior suggested that the industrialists, like rural producers, were ready to accept the new taxation. First of all, their criticism focused on the technical aspects of the reform without challenging the philosophy behind it or even asserting a positive judgment: "The Argentine Industrial Union recognizes . . .

50. DS, 20 June 1924, vol. 2 (1924): 10–14.

51. Ibid., 44. See also *La Nación*, 21 Sept. 1924 and 23 Sept. 1924.

52. *Texto del Memorial con que la Unión Industrial Argentina respondió a la consulta que le formulara la Comisión de Presupuesto y Hacienda de la H. Cámara de Diputados sobre el actual estado económico del país* (Buenos Aires: L. J. Rosso y Cía., 1922), 56–57.

53. DS, 20 June 1924, vol. 2 (1924): 8.

54. In fact, the industrialists devoted most of their efforts during 1924 to a more immediate threat: the approval of the Pension Law no. 11,289. See Joel Horowitz, "Cuando las élites y los trabajadores coincidieron: La resistencia al programa de bienestar patrocinado por el gobierno argentino, 1923–24," *Anuario IEHS*, no. 16 (2001): 109–28.

that the current taxation system is old fashioned and hardly equitable. . . . it does not distribute the public burden in the rightful proportions, according to the economic capacity of the taxpayer.”⁵⁵ Of course, one could consider this to be a rhetorical device. But even as a rhetorical device it put a limit to the entrepreneurs’ criticism.

Moreover, the industrial entrepreneurs also had some interest in fiscal reform. At the beginning of the 1890s, as the result of a severe financial crisis, the Argentine government established the so-called internal duties (excises) on some products as an emergency measure. These taxes had been irregularly collected by the provinces.⁵⁶ The provinces were obliged to profoundly reconstruct their fiscal structure. Moreover, the financial turmoil of the 1890s provoked a lack of confidence in the financial condition of the interior provinces, and their governments found it increasingly difficult to borrow money from abroad. To counteract this constraint, many provinces introduced new taxes on production and consumption. Some of these were disguised duties on the interprovincial trade, something forbidden by the constitution.⁵⁷ The heterodox fiscal “solutions” established by the provinces became a regular feature of turn-of-the-century Argentina as the economic gap grew between the burgeoning littoral (Buenos Aires and the other provinces located on the Atlantic coast) and the less developed interior. The situation had not changed in the 1920s and as a consequence hindered development of a unified national market. The industrialists, whose production, unlike rural commodities, was entirely devoted to the domestic market, saw this situation as an obstacle that had to be removed.

Luis Colombo, the president of the UIA, stated in an article in *La Nación*: “Let’s not talk about the already famous consumption taxes, truly interprovincial customs duties that are ruining the different national industries. The budget

55. *Impuesto a la renta*, 30.

56. Since the 1890s, the excises levied by the national government on different products, such as sugar, beer, and tobacco, and the different provincial taxes on sales or production received the same name: *impuestos internos*, which I translate here as “domestic” or “internal taxes.” The conflict about the domestic taxes was therefore a double conflict about two different taxation systems. The conflict about the “*devolución*” (return) of the domestic taxes referred to provinces’ complaints about the right of the nation to levy those excises. The conflict about the “nationalization” of the domestic taxes is related to the complaints of different political and social actors about the consequences for the domestic market of the existence of complicated and overlapping provincial taxes.

57. On the fiscal transformation of an interior province after the 1890s crisis, see José Antonio Sánchez Román, “Tucumán y la industria azucarera ante la crisis de 1890,” *Desarrollo Económico* 41, no. 163 (2001): 467–94.

disarray is greater than the national interest can tolerate.”⁵⁸ The industrialists’ representatives understood that the provincial taxes were connected to interior budgetary disarray and, therefore, that the transformation of the national tax structure could have brought a definitive solution.

Colombo’s criticism of the fiscal policies adopted by some provinces became apparent in a conference of governors in the province of La Rioja in 1927. This was a reunion of some governors of the less affluent provinces and representatives of the proprietor classes of the country; their objective was to launch an alternative economic program to counter what they perceived as the administration’s inability to deal with the nation’s main problems. While Colombo’s speech blamed the national government for some obstacles to economic development, it also blamed local administrators for their reliance on import taxes and their responsibility for the overlapping of taxes:

Not only is the customs a protection device. . . . Taxation and budget laws are in fact basic elements to guide and guarantee the progress of industries. . . . And as a matter of fact we have reached an excess of taxation all over the country. . . . On the other hand, and I must refer to some provinces represented here, the creation of some customs barriers hidden behind the “consumption tax” cannot be referred to as industrial protection.⁵⁹

The only proprietors’ association openly opposed to the income tax was the Argentine Confederation of Commerce, Industry, and Production (Confederación Argentina del Comercio, la Industria y la Producción, known by its Spanish acronym CACIP). The CACIP had been formed in 1916 with the aim of bringing together the different interests of the proprietor groups to face the new political scene (namely, the process of democratization and the arrival of Radicalism to the government).⁶⁰ The CACIP developed a strong economic nationalism through its activities and tried to strengthen the links between the entrepreneurs of the littoral and those from the interior. The president of the CACIP, Méndez Casariego, deputy for the province of Entre Ríos in 1920, stated, “Without being a constitutionalist, I think I can assert that this is a tax

58. Luis Colombo, “La protección a las industrias propias,” *La Nación*, 7 Jan. 1928.

59. “Segunda Conferencia de Gobernadores,” 6 Apr. 1927, La Rioja, in *REA*, no. 108 (June 1927): 501.

60. See María Ester Rapalo, “De la Asociación del Trabajo a la revista *Criterio*: Encuentros entre propietarios e ideólogos, 1919–1929,” in *La derecha argentina: Nacionalistas, neoliberales, militares y clericales* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones B, 2001).

which belongs to the Federal states.”⁶¹ The position of the CACIP became increasingly radical throughout the decade. In 1928 at the third National Economic Conference, a meeting of all the national producers, the directors of the CACIP announced prior to the meeting, “Of course, the income tax project has an unfavorable welcome. Our institution has expressed its categorical opinion against this system and has explained . . . the constitutional and practical reasons to oppose its implementation in Argentina.”⁶²

Nonetheless, this had not always been the CACIP’s point of view. In August 1923, the CACIP had submitted a document to the Senate complaining about the new taxation proposals passed in Congress. The American chargé d’affaires in Buenos Aires reported this about the CACIP statement: “Of the impost on movable values, it says that economic conflicts must result, since it is imposed in addition to provincial charges; further that it is an unjust and partial tax as it falls on some kind of income and not upon others and can show no reason for discrimination. A tax on general income, it is considered, would be preferable.”⁶³ Therefore, the CACIP position shifted during the 1920s. It was probably concern for the less affluent provinces that motivated the CACIP to more directly oppose the income tax. Nonetheless, even the CACIP was aware that the permanent provincial and national deficit and the pernicious effects of overlapping duties, even for the producers of the interior, meant that an income tax could not be absent from Argentina for much longer.⁶⁴

The Reaction of the Interior’s Oligarchies:

The Debate on the 1926 Budget

No matter what the elites’ position, fiscal reform would probably have been achieved had the interior’s representatives at the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate not impeded it. Molina’s project was stuck in the treasury commission of Congress during Alvear’s administration. The main opposition arose in the Senate; the issues at stake corresponded to the interests of the interior prov-

61. *DS*, 5 Feb. 1920, vol. 7 (1919): 831.

62. “Convocatoria de la Tercera Conferencia Económica Nacional, organizada por la Confederación del Comercio, de la Industria y de la Producción,” *REA*, no. 115 (Jan. 1928): 54.

63. “Records of the Department of State Relating Internal Affairs of Argentina, 1910–1929. Willing Spencer to the Department of State, Buenos Aires, August 17, 1923,” National Archives, Washington, DC, document 835.512/37.

64. “Conclusiones de la Tercera Conferencia Económica Nacional,” *REA*, no. 128 (Feb. 1929): 162.

inces. For those against the reform, one of the main problems was article 67 of the national constitution, which stated that direct taxation belonged to the provinces and that the federation could only establish this kind of tax as a temporary resource.⁶⁵

Most importantly, the income tax act would be accompanied by a centralization of the entire tax structure. In June 1924, Minister of Finance Molina launched another proposal to unify taxes that seriously eroded the financial autonomy of the provinces. It established that national executive power had the exclusive right to collect domestic taxes. It also included some measures of punishment for provinces that disobeyed the law, which had not been contemplated in the previous proposals.

The taxes on consumption and trade were essential for some provinces. Facing a major threat to their economies, the provinces reacted vigorously. In September 1924, the deputy of the province of San Juan, Belisario Albarracín, proposed in Congress a meeting of the representatives of the provinces to organize a new national fiscal system more suited to the interior's necessities. Albarracín observed that the application of domestic taxes by the Argentine federation since 1890 had been the first attack on the provincial rights, and Molina's fiscal reform was the latest one: it represented "the exaggeration of the centralist spirit."⁶⁶

Albarracín's ideas were implemented, and between 1924 and 1928 the political mobilization of the interior elites was at its peak. In June 1926, the first governors' conference was held in the city of Salta, in the northwest of the country near the Bolivian border.⁶⁷ The governors of Salta, Jujuy, Santiago del Estero, and Tucumán, and representatives of Catamarca and La Rioja attended the event. One of the conference's conclusions was to pressure the Congress to approve an ambitious plan of public works for the interior.⁶⁸ The

65. Article 67, however, was ambiguous enough for a more willing executive or congress to pass the law. The mentioned article stated that the Chamber of Deputies had the right to "Impose direct taxes for a determined period and proportionally equals in all the territory of the Nation, as far as the defence, common security, and general welfare of the State will demand it," *Constitución de la Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Bibliográfica Argentina, 1961), 24.

66. *DS*, 24 Sept. 1924, vol. 6 (1924): 822.

67. The Governors' Conference reminded the participants of the former League of Governors, which held a decisive political grip in the construction of the Argentine state in the nineteenth century.

68. "La Conferencia de Gobernadores: Conclusiones aprobadas," in *REA*, no. 98 (Aug. 1926): 95.

active governor of Jujuy, Benjamín Villafañe, immediately became the main speaker of the group. In a letter addressed to the governor of Mendoza, Alejandro Orfila, Villafañe wrote: "I think, Governor, that due to the domestic taxes issue, our federalism and the future and life of our nation are at the stake. . . . To this threat, the threat of the income tax should be added. If such an attack succeeded, the provinces would remain with no municipal revenues or direct duties. . . . It is my deep conviction, sir, that the provinces must fight for the return [*devolución*] of the domestic taxes."⁶⁹

The governors' strategy was successful. In 1925, the income tax reform was paralyzed, and the national government eliminated this source of revenue from the budget of 1926. Molina complained about the legislators' attitude: "Even though the resources have been calculated on the basis of the current tax laws, the executive dares to require from Your Honorable Chamber the tax law reform—particularly the passing of the income tax."⁷⁰

The interior provinces' reaction went beyond blocking the tax reform. Taking advantage of the weakness of the national government due to the split in the Radical Party, the representatives of the provinces pushed forward their project of a vast public works program. This was reflected in the modifications introduced by the Senate to the 1926 budget. The Senate altered the original proposal—a transposition of the last budget to the first eight months of 1926—and added extraordinary expenses on public works to the amount of 150 million pesos (the total ordinary expenses were 650 million). In addition, the upper chamber added a new item in the budget devoted to the building of railroad tracks in the interior provinces to the amount of 33 million pesos.⁷¹

A more detailed account of the modifications introduced by the Senate to the original proposal is quite revealing. The main victim of the reform was the Federal Capital (Buenos Aires city), which lost 8,410,000 pesos of the formerly proposed investments. An investment of 8,400,000 pesos in the new port facilities of the capital was eradicated, which meant a major shift in an expanding budget. The second loser was the province of Buenos Aires. Most of the funds eliminated had been destined for the construction of buildings with a clear public function. Thus, the Senate eliminated the subsidies to the migrant communities (French, Italian) and other institutions for building cheap houses or for subsidizing charities in the province of Buenos Aires. Even Tucumán, one of

69. "Los problemas de los impuestos internos," carta de Benjamín Villafañe a Alejandro Orfila, Jujuy, 18 de Agosto de 1926, in *REA*, no. 106 (Apr. 1927): 373.

70. *DS*, 27 Jan. 1926, vol. 7 (1925): 13.

71. *DS*, 10 Oct. 1926, vol. 3 (1926): 721.

the favored provinces, lost subsidies for the Casa del Maestro (teacher's house) and the Centro de Trabajadores (workers' center) in the town of Monteros, both places of important social significance. The main beneficiaries were the provinces of the west and the north of the country, and the main goal of the additional expenses was public works. Salta, Catamarca, Jujuy, Tucumán, Mendoza, San Juan, and San Luis were among the beneficiaries of railway investments aimed to link the poorest areas of the country with the neighboring nations Bolivia and Chile. This responded to a long-standing desire of the interior elites, who felt far away and isolated from the port of Buenos Aires.

The Senate introduced a special fund in the budget, the so-called annex L, for public works, mainly devoted to irrigation works. The most important investments were destined for reservoirs and ditches: 2 million pesos for the reservoir of La Puerta (Catamarca), 540,000 for one in Río Tercero (Córdoba), 400,000 in La Quebrada (La Rioja), 1 million pesos for the Río Negro Superior works, and 200,000 for La Ciénaga y Las Maderas ditch.⁷²

The Senate-reformed budget for 1926 was one of the most controversial issues discussed in Congress that year, occupying several days of debate and almost two volumes of written records in the *Diario de Sesiones*. The interior governors launched an active campaign of support for the Senate's proposal. The governors of Mendoza, Salta, Catamarca, La Rioja, Jujuy, Santiago del Estero, and Tucumán addressed messages to the Congress asking for approval of the Senate's reform. The governor of Mendoza stated: "The Honorable Senate has passed an appendix of public works, in which works of essential importance for the interior provinces are included, one of which corresponds to the building of the railway to Algarrobal."⁷³ In a telegram, the governor of Santiago del Estero asked a deputy of his province to actively defend the project: "As it turns out to be items which, if passed, should contribute efficiently to the economic development of northern provinces and being this petition embedded in article 5 of the conclusions of the Governors' Conference held recently in the city of Salta, I have no doubt that the Deputy will devote them his attention as requested."⁷⁴

The Senate's draft reached the lower chamber in July 1926 for its first appraisal. The congressmen who opposed the budget pointed out the anomaly of the process. According to article 44 of the constitution, the upper house had no right to levy taxes or introduce new expenses on the budget. Particularly, the Socialist deputies complained about the overrepresentation of the interior

72. Ibid., 635–721.

73. DS, 10 Oct. 1926, vol. 3 (1926): 806.

74. Ibid., 808.

provinces (in terms of population) in the Congress and accused the Senate of usurping the chamber's function: "I address the deputies from the littoral provinces, who can therefore lose their legitimate influence, not only in the Senate, where they have already lost it because of the constitution itself, but . . . also in this chamber if this new system of approving the budget is introduced."⁷⁵

The Socialist representatives proposed the reform of the fiscal system in the nation and in the provinces. In the latter, they encouraged a land tax as a means of reducing the provinces' dependence on the customs duties and as an attack on the perceived privileged proprietor classes of the interior. In the former, as customs duties would become less significant for the provinces, Socialists supported its replacement by the income tax. The interior elites opposed both solutions. They argued that the land in the interior, unlike in the pampas, lacked value and could therefore not be taxed. The public works were needed to "add value" to the empty lands of the interior: "Those who want the nationalization of the domestic taxes and the abolition of the current tax overlapping also want the provinces to levy on the lands for survival. But, what is the value of the land in depopulated and unproductive areas? . . . It is my deep conviction, Mr. Governor, that the provinces must fight for the domestic taxes to be returned."⁷⁶

The quest for the "return" of the domestic taxes was central to the interior demands. In fact, public works expenses were seen as part of this return: "What gifts, Mr. Deputy? . . . It is hardly the minimal refund for what the nation withdraws from the provinces."⁷⁷ The income tax was contemplated as another direct taxation; and the provinces felt it was their choice whether to implement it or not. From the point of view of the provinces, a national income tax was the culmination of the process of financial deprivation by the national government.

The lower chamber rejected the Senate's budget and opted for maintaining the provisional system of using the last budget, passing expenditures and resources every month. The deputies' decision was again discussed in the Senate in July of 1926. The majority of senators opposed the decision of Congress and defended their former project. Sixteen out of 19 senators approved the budget and 17 out of 20 approved, in particular, the public works annex.⁷⁸ This overwhelming majority is important for two reasons. First of all, in order to reject the proposal of the Chamber of Deputies a second time, the Senate needed a majority of two-thirds of the votes. Secondly, it shows the commitment of the

75. *DS*, 10 Oct. 1926, vol. 3 (1926): 750.

76. Villafañe, "Los problemas de los impuestos internos," 373.

77. *DS*, 10 Oct. 1926, vol. 3 (1926): 750.

78. *DS*, *Senado*, 12 Aug. 1926, vol. 1 (1926): 461–62.

provincial senators to budgetary organization, regardless of their political affiliation. The only three votes against the Senate's budget were by the two Socialist representatives of the Federal Capital, Juan B. Justo and Mario Bravo, and the Radical Delfor Del Valle, representing the province of Buenos Aires. Conservatives and Radicals from both factions from the interior agreed on the proposal.

This Senate initiative was supported by the executive power, which, facing the division of its own party, found enormous obstacles to regularly passing a budget.⁷⁹ However, this was more the result of the political circumstances rather than a reflection of the commitment of Alvear's government to the fiscal paralysis promoted by the interior oligarchies.⁸⁰

The Senate's proposal was returned to this chamber again for a new revision, and in August 1926 a slightly modified version was submitted to the deputies. The proposal had a large probability of being passed because, according to article 71 of Argentina's constitution, a bill revised a second time and approved by the upper chamber could only be rejected by the lower chamber with the support of two-thirds of the representatives.⁸¹

The Senate-reformed budget for 1926 was passed. Out of 95 deputies, 53 voted against the Senate's project, but 65 were needed to reject it.⁸² This victory encouraged provincial political activity. In 1927 a second Conference of Governors was held in La Rioja. The conference was an occasion for self-congratulation and encouragement of further actions. In the conclusions, the governors highlighted the recent success and thanked the senators for their contribution: "The approval of the current budget has responded, due to the public works it authorizes, to one of the main longings formulated in the first confer-

79. On the position of the executive power see *DS, Senado*, 22 July 1926, vol. 1 (1926): 227.

80. On Alvear's support for Molina's proposal see the president's speech in *DS, Senado*, 1 July 1926, vol. 1 (1926): 10–25.

81. *Constitución de la Nación Argentina*, 28. A Socialist deputy of the Federal Capital, facing a certain defeat, complained about the overrepresentation of the interior provinces in the Argentine Congress and its main consequence, the impossibility of modernizing the Argentine tax structure: "In the Senate the representatives of eight provinces represent all together as much population as the Federal Capital and only half the province of Buenos Aires. It seems obvious that the Senate is a body easy to manipulate, and it fits the Executive manoeuvres that lacks majority here. . . . in the Senate its task is easy, because some provinces live on the national customs duties and on the resources annually voted in the Congress. . . . Even in this Chamber, which for years has voted considerable amounts of money for roads, railways, and public works, [some deputies] maintain the unconstitutionality of a national income tax or a tax which we consider better: the national progressive land tax." See *DS*, 13 Oct. 1926, vol. 4 (1926): 242–43.

82. *DS*, 13 Oct. 1926, vol. 4 (1926): 246–47.

ence. . . . The Governors' Conference recognizes the concern of the nation's provincial legislators and the essential contribution of their actions to accomplish the mentioned proposals."⁸³

The interior's opposition to the taxation reform in the 1920s was aided by the split within the Radical Party, which made the national government more vulnerable in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. Secondly, the economic situation itself helped the interests of those who opposed the income tax. Despite the above-mentioned difficulties, between 1924 and 1928 exports and imports recovered their former strengths and, what is more relevant as far as the fiscal system is concerned, the government weathered the debt storm. Alvear's administration converted the pressing floating debt into longer-term obligations and resorted to the buoyant international (mainly U.S.) credit market to finance the deficits.⁸⁴

The postponement of important fiscal decisions and the inflated 1926 budget took its toll on the Argentine treasury. In 1927, the fiscal deficit was the largest ever, more than 160 million gold pesos.⁸⁵ Alvear's government half-heartedly resubmitted Molina's proposal in 1928. However, the presidential elections to be held that same year occupied the entire attention of Congress. Alvear ended his presidency bequeathing a successful economy but also the frustration of an impossible tax reform. A report by a commercial attaché of the British embassy in Buenos Aires mentioned the government resignation and identified the provinces as the main impediment to the tax structure reform:

The most striking feature of Argentine fiscal practice is the absence of any income tax. . . . The proposals of the Government, first presented to Congress in 1924 . . . were re-submitted in 1928 without any real expectations of action being taken on them. It is recognised that the income tax must eventually take its place in a more scientific system . . . but it also recognised that it must be accompanied by a revision of the tariff system, land taxes, trading licences and internal revenue duties, all of which present formidable difficulties, especially the aspect of the division, by consent or legislation, between the central and provincial governments, of the proceeds of a solely federal system of internal revenue taxation.⁸⁶

83. "Segunda Conferencia de Gobernadores," *REA*, no. 108 (June 1927): 494–95.

84. Gerchunoff and Llach, *El ciclo de la ilusión y el desencanto*, 97–98.

85. *Ibid.*, 98.

86. Department of Overseas Trade, *Commercial, Economic and Financial Conditions in the Argentine Republic, October 1928*, Report by H. O. Chalkley, C.B.E., Commercial Counsellor, His Majesty's Embassy, Buenos Aires, 17.

Revisiting Argentine Fiscal Federalism

The interior elites had played a major role in the construction of the Argentine state. In 1880, the president Julio Roca had established a broad coalition of interior elites to win the national election and defeat some rebellious groups in the city of Buenos Aires who rejected a plan for federalization of the city and nationalization of Buenos Aires customs. The interior oligarchies obtained political and economic rewards for their support. However, in the long term the new federal government gained autonomy and the interior allies were progressively weakened. This trend had intensified since the arrival of the Radical Party to the national government in 1916, because the democratic reform made the governors' manipulations of the electoral process superfluous. This is a common and to some extent accurate narrative of Argentine political history between 1880 and 1930. Nonetheless, an important question arises from the failure of Molina's reform and the implementation of the 1926 budget. To what degree did the process of centralization advance during the Radical Party governments?

Advance of the process of centralization during the Radical governments is, at least, dubious. Yrigoyen's administration firmly gripped the national government, thanks to successive interventions in the provinces. However, the concentration of political power did not seem to transform the status quo as far as fiscal federalism was concerned. The evolution of the federal revenue compared to the provincial and local revenue can be seen in table 4. Since almost the beginning of the Argentine federation in 1861, the distribution of public monies between the provinces and national government remained stable: around 65 percent was collected by the national government and the rest by the local authorities. The Radicals did not alter these features between 1916 and 1930. Between 1913 and 1928, the federal revenue doubled and so did provincial and local incomes.⁸⁷

In absolute terms, it can be argued that Argentine federalism was characterized by the weakness of the provinces vis-à-vis the national government, and that the Radicals, whose main bases of power were in the Federal Capital and the province of Buenos Aires, were not disposed to modify that feature.⁸⁸

87. Mable Newcomer, *Reconciling Conflicting Taxes in Federal Governments: A Summary of the Tax Systems of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Germany, Mexico, Switzerland and the Union of South Africa* (Washington, DC: Treasury Department, 1942), 70.

88. For Rock, the Radical Party could freely operate in the interior without running into political risks. Rock, *Politics in Argentina*, 208. However, the Radical governments tried to maintain a delicate balance between their urban constituencies and the powerful elites of the interior, as Carl Solberg has shown for the conflicts on the sugar tariff. See Carl Solberg, "The Tariff and Politics in Argentina, 1916–1930," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 53, no. 2 (May 1973): 267.

Table 4. Federal, provincial, and local revenue, 1868–1928 (percentage).

	1868	1900	1913	1928(a)	1928(b)
Federal revenue	68.7	65.1	60.4	64.4	59.2
Provincial and local revenue	31.2	34.8	39.5	35.5	40.7

Source: Mabel Newcomer, *Reconciling Conflicting Taxes in Federal Governments: A Summary of the Tax Systems of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Germany, Mexico, Switzerland and the Union of South Africa* (Washington, DC: Treasury Department, 1942), 70.

Note: For 1928, (a) and (b) are two different estimations of the Argentine fiscal revenue. (Debts are not included.)

Nonetheless, this seems to be more a structural condition than a malady of Argentine federalism. When Argentina was born as a unified federal country, the national government expropriated the Buenos Aires customs from the government of the province of Buenos Aires. The success of the Argentine export economy converted the customs into the most important source of revenue for the nation. Nationalization of the customs was an old demand of the provinces wary of Buenos Aires' wealth and power, but this did not help to close the gap between the littoral and the interior. The disparity between the nation's and the provinces' resources resulted from the interior provinces' difficulties in emulating the export development of the littoral. To some extent, through control of the customs, subsidies, and grants, and by developing public works projects in the interior of the country, the national conservative governments of the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth distributed the federal revenue with a federalist eye.⁸⁹ Moreover, by international standards, Argentine interior provinces performed successfully. Brazil, a conspicuous example of the triumph of the states over the federation during the Old Republic (1889–1930), is a relevant case.⁹⁰ There, in 1913, the states collected only 21 percent of the total tax revenue.⁹¹

89. Carlos Marichal, "Políticas de desarrollo económico y deuda externa en Argentina (1868–1880)," *Siglo XIX, Revista de Historia*, no. 5 (1988): 89–124.

90. See Joseph L. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1980), chap. 8.

91. Newcomer, *Reconciling Conflicting Taxes in Federal Governments: A Summary of the Tax Systems of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Germany, Mexico, Switzerland and the Union of South Africa*, 77. Between 1911 and 1920, Brazilian states collected revenue to an amount of 47% of the federal revenue, that is, their participation in the total income was around 33% (Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation*, 265). However, Brazilian states had greater autonomy than Argentine provinces to borrow money abroad, and the most important states, mainly São Paulo, obtained abundant resources in that way.

Therefore, the interior's reaction to the attempted introduction of the income tax was not only the response of a beleaguered group. It was also a demonstration of power based upon a long federal history. The Radical governments were wary of this. Alvear, worried about the national senators elected by the provincial legislatures, attempted to reform the constitution in order to diminish the provincial representatives' powers. This project was never considered in Congress.⁹²

Income tax is always momentous in the definition of any fiscal federal regime. The income tax often affects a previous constitutional stipulation or implicit agreement about the distribution of types of taxes among the states and the federation, leading easily to conflict over sources of revenue. In Australia, the income tax was unified into a single national levy in 1942, only when the Commonwealth (federal) government demonstrated a greater bargaining power than the states.⁹³ In the United States, a national income tax was rejected as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1895 on the grounds that this type of direct tax belonged to the states. When an income tax was finally imposed in 1913, the nation and the states alike wielded the right to levy it.⁹⁴ In Brazil, as Evan S. Lieberman stated, "The political salience of regions, stemming from Brazilian federalism, exacerbated the problem of taxation."⁹⁵ In fact, the threat of an extension of the states' income taxes could have led to rapid approval of the national law in the 1920s.

The case of Germany is relevant to the Argentine process. In 1913, the Reich set up the first national income tax. Many German states had implemented the income tax since the nineteenth century, and the national government aspired to a monopoly in this field, not only to acquire control over important resources but also in order to avoid the overlapping of taxes. However, the new tax did not work as the national government expected because of the resilience of the federal states, among other reasons.⁹⁶ In 1919 Germany introduced a system of shared revenue. The states' resistance had led to an agreement on the sharing of

92. Alejandro Cattaruzza, *Marcelo T. de Alvear: El compromiso y la distancia* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997), 45–46.

93. Levi, *Of Rule and Revenue*, 147.

94. See Bennett D. Baack and Edward John Ray, "Special Interests and the Adoption of the Income Tax in the United States," *Journal of Economic History* 45, no. 3 (Sept. 1985): 607–25.

95. Evan S. Lieberman, *Race and Regionalism in the Politics of Taxation in Brazil and South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), 4.

96. Since Bismarck, the Reich's attempts at introducing direct taxation had been blocked by the states. See Niall Ferguson, "Public Finance and National Security: The Domestic Origins of the First World War Revisited," *Past and Present*, no. 142 (1994): 156.

the revenue produced by the national income tax in exchange for withdrawal of the states' income taxes.⁹⁷

As in Germany, in Argentina approval of the income tax in 1932 was followed by a bitter negotiation that ended up in a revenue-sharing system that is still today the main feature of Argentine fiscal federalism.⁹⁸ In Argentina, however, unlike in Germany or even Brazil, the states never designed their own income tax nor were they willing to impose it. As shown above, Argentine interior provinces showed a remarkable reluctance to tax wealth or land. Many provinces lacked any genuine source of revenue, and this was a major hindrance to the development of a full-fledged fiscal federalism in the country. Unlike in the littoral or at the level of national government, political power in the interior was held by the local economic elite, and the inequalities were very apparent. This made it harder to attempt public finance reform. Thus, the revenue-sharing system was not the result of losses caused by withdrawal of the income tax but by unification of internal excises. In the 1920s, the interior elites successfully linked the threat of the income tax to an older grievance: the return of internal duties. By showing themselves the victims of an unstoppable process of centralization that began after the crisis in 1890, the interior elites reinforced their bargaining position within the federal system.

Conclusion

The main reason for the failure of the income tax in the 1920s was the opposition of the entrenched interior elites. They perceived the new tax as a usurpation of their constitutional rights to levy direct duties and feared that the new device would replace other taxes, like the so-called internal duties, one of the main sources of revenue of the interior provinces. Moreover, these elites distrusted the Radical Party and were suspicious of its fiscal administration. The powerful representation of the interior elite in the Senate and their experience in political brokerage allowed them to block the reform and to advocate a new regional distribution of public income and expenditure. The ambitious 1926 budget, which devoted a large amount of money to public works in the interior provinces, was the main result of that strategy.

97. Newcomer, *Reconciling Conflicting Taxes in Federal Governments*, 7 and 13.

98. For a suggestive interpretation of the revenue-sharing system in Argentina since 1934, see Kent Eaton, "Decentralization, Democratisation, and Liberalisation: The History of Revenue Sharing in Argentina, 1934–1999," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33, no. 1 (Feb. 2001): 1–28.

Most of the historiography has depicted the interior as a beleaguered force in national politics during these years. This is probably due to historians' special concern for the executive, neglect of the legislature, and the absence of an analysis of the tax issues.⁹⁹ In almost every branch of government, Congress could constitute an obstacle for the executive. In fact, Yrigoyen avoided parliamentary discussion around thorny issues such as the intervention in the provinces.¹⁰⁰ However, avoiding Congress's control was not a possibility as far as the fiscal reform was concerned. As one of the senators stated regarding the 1926 budget discussion: "When the budget is discussed and approved, we, the representatives of the interior provinces, have the best opportunity to do something in their favor."¹⁰¹

The unresolved conflict over tax reform in the 1920s bequeathed permanent legacies to the following decade. Between 1932 and 1942, with favorable governments, the economic elite and their associations became the main pillar of the income tax and the tax reform, showing their willingness to support the new tax, given certain conditions. Although the interior elites reluctantly admitted the income tax as a temporary solution to the economic slump, they also strove to reshape the fiscal federal system. The conflicts in the 1920s and the harsh negotiations of the 1930s were the origin of the system of revenue sharing between the nation and the provinces (*coparticipación*), which is still today one of the most salient features of the Argentine fiscal system.

99. One important exception is the aforementioned Smith, *Argentina and the Failure of Democracy: Conflict among Political Elites, 1904–1955*.

100. Fifteen out of 19 interventions were approved by presidential decree during the chamber's recess. See Walter, *The Province of Buenos Aires and Argentine Politics*, 44.

101. DS, *Senado*, 22 July 1926, vol. 1 (1926): 227.

Political Conflict and Power Sharing in the Origins of Modern Colombia

Sebastián Mazzuca and James A. Robinson

Colombia has not always been a violent country. In fact, for the first half of the twentieth century, Colombia was one of the most peaceful countries in Latin America, standing out in the region as a highly stable and competitive bipartisan democracy. When faced with the critical test for political stability in that epoch, the Great Depression of 1930, Colombia was the only big country in South America in which military interventions were not even considered. While an armed coup interrupted Argentina's until then steady path to democracy, and Getulio Vargas installed the first modern dictatorship in Brazil, Colombia celebrated elections as scheduled. Moreover, the ruling party lost the contest, did not make any move to cling to power, and calmly transferred power to the opposition.

However, Colombia was not born peaceful. That half-century of peaceful political existence was a major novelty in Colombian history. Colombia's nineteenth century was politically chaotic even by Hispanic American standards: the record includes nine national civil wars, dozens of local revolts and mutinies, material destruction equivalent to the loss of several years of economic output, and at least 250,000 deaths due to political violence.

How did Colombia make the transition from political chaos to political order? What were the causes of conflict before the turn of the century, and what were the bases of internal peace after it? The emergence of order in Colombia was temporally correlated with a major transformation of political institutions: the introduction of special mechanisms for power sharing between Liberals and Conservatives, Colombia's two dominant political forces. The central thesis of this paper is that the correlation between the emergence of order and the

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introduction of power-sharing institutions is not coincidental but causal. Before 1905, institutions favoring power monopolization by a single party forced the opposition into revolutionary tactics and the government into violent repression, whereas starting in 1905 the emergence of institutions ensuring both parties a share of political power roughly proportional to their electoral force allowed for a peaceful interaction between government and opposition. From the standpoint of power-sharing mechanisms, the key institutional change was the replacement in 1905 of majoritarian rule by the incomplete vote, a special kind of electoral system. Colombia in turn switched from the incomplete vote to proportional representation in 1929.

From Chaos to Order: Changing and Enduring Political Patterns

Standard periodization divides Colombian political history between 1860 and 1930 into two blocks of time, known as Olimpo Radical (Radical Olympus) and Hegemonía Conservadora (Conservative Hegemony), each of which is characterized by the dominance of one of the two parties and a different set of policies. During the Olimpo Radical, from 1860 to the early 1880s, Liberals were in power. It was a period of frantic institutional reform designed by the “Radical” faction of the party to eradicate Colombia’s heavy colonial heritage. Prominent among these reforms were the most extreme version of federalism ever known in the Americas (allowing provincial armies and banning central intervention in interstate conflicts), a frontal attack on the institutional and cultural power of the Catholic Church (expropriations of wealth, removal from education, and expulsion of the Jesuit order), and a number of free-market policies. The intended and unintended consequences of Radical Liberal reforms—especially the hostility of ample sectors of a deeply Catholic population and the increasing inability of the central government to stop threats of territorial fragmentation—provoked the Conservative reaction. After a failed revolt in 1876–77, Conservatives formed a coalition with dissident Liberals, headed by “Independent” Rafael Núñez, which managed to displace Radical Liberals from power in the early 1880s. The Hegemonía Conservadora was inaugurated in 1885, after Núñez’s government crushed a revolution by Radical Liberals attempting to regain power, and lasted until 1930. During the subperiod known as La Regeneración (1885–1900), almost every component of the Radical experiment was reversed: power was recentralized; states lost their political autonomy; the authority of the president was reinforced and granted extraordinary powers; and the political, economic, and cultural position of the church was restored. Less spectacular were reversals in economic policy, which nevertheless included a

significant increase in tariffs and new powers for the government to intervene in the economy, especially the supply of money.

From another perspective, based not on party or policy distinctions but on levels and kinds of political conflict, the period between 1850 and 1950 can be divided into two blocks of time, the first, before 1905, marked by interparty warfare and the second defined by peaceful power sharing. This of course implies a subdivision of the Conservative Hegemony, conventionally viewed as a single period.

Parties were the main architects of the emergence of political order after 1905. But they had also been the main forces responsible for political chaos and material destruction before that date. Up until the beginning of the twentieth century, both Liberal and Conservative parties were partly electoral and partly military organizations, with proportions fluctuating over time. Military superiority was the key condition to access and keep control of government. Although from 1860 to 1900 the vast majority of government changes followed constitutional prescriptions, the only two transfers of power from one party to the other occurred via military force (Mosquera's takeover in 1861, and Núñez's repression of Radicals in 1885). Before 1905, then, party alternation in power was a rare and violent event.

The pattern of interparty warfare was a broader phenomenon than the two episodes of violent takeover by the opposition. It also included several failed revolutions, for instance, the 1876–77 war under the Radical Liberal government, and the 1895 war and the Thousand Days' War (1899–1902) under La Regeneración. Furthermore, as revealed during the discrete periods of open war, party warfare also involved substantial periods of preparation for repression by the government and organization of revolution by the opposition. When Radical Liberals were in power, for instance, private armies became a frequent phenomenon, whereas under La Regeneración a series of "diplomatic missions" to neighboring countries were dispatched by the Liberal Party in order to collect weapons for the revolutionary arsenal.

The disappearance of warfare as a pattern of interparty relations defines the passage from chaos to order. At the same time, a pattern that persisted from one period to the other was the recurrence of internal divisions within the parties, along with the strategic utilization of splits by the rival party. Faced with the division of the governing party into an official and a dissident faction, the opposition would attempt a coalition with the dissident faction in order to displace the official faction from government. Instances of this pattern include the already mentioned alliance of the Independent or Nuñista faction of the Liberal Party with the Conservatives in the early 1880s; flirtations throughout

the 1890s between Liberalism and a moderate Conservative faction opposed to La Regeneración's policies; the "Republican Union," which won the presidential election of 1910 and was formed by factions from both parties that had opposed president Rafael Reyes (1905–9); and the election of Conservative José Vicente Concha for president in 1914, which counted on the support of the Liberal faction that had been left out of the Republican Union. While bipartisan alliances were a long-standing feature of Colombian politics, they changed from common military fronts to peaceful electoral coalitions along with the transition from chaos to order around 1905. Here we argue that the transition from chaos to order in Colombia, which involved the replacement of military fronts by electoral coalitions as the typical pattern of interparty relations, was caused by a change of electoral system.

What Are Electoral Systems?

Electoral systems are rules that convert popular votes into seats in legislatures; they translate electoral support for a party into institutional power. Electoral rules are usually classified by means of two polar types: proportional versus majoritarian representation. A perfectly proportional rule (PR) would assign a party a portion of the total seats in congress that is exactly the same as its share of electoral support. Under perfect proportionality, for instance, a party that is voted for by 32 percent of the electorate would get 32 percent of the seats in congress. In contrast, the majoritarian extreme assigns all seats in congress to the party that has earned the largest number of votes, no matter whether it received 75 percent, 51 percent, or 32 percent of the votes. Majoritarian systems thus introduce a distortion between level of popular support and institutional power: for the winner of the electoral contest, they amplify in congress its popular power, and they weaken (or even nullify) that of the rest of the parties.

In practice, pure forms of proportional or majoritarian representation do not exist. Proportional rule, for instance, is usually combined with the use of "thresholds," that is, the requirement that parties must receive a minimum portion of votes (e.g., 5 percent) in order to be represented. As parties below the threshold do not get any seats, parties above it are overrepresented. Similarly, majoritarian representation is usually combined with the subdivision of the national political arena into a number of subnational districts, each of which holds elections to choose a fraction of the total number of seats in the legislatures. Even if each district uses a majoritarian rule and hence sends to congress only representatives from the winning party, the subdivision of a country into

districts in practice prevents the existence of single-colored congresses, for different parties usually prevail in different districts.

The incomplete vote is a special kind of electoral rule. Like PR, it allocates seats in a single district to more than one party, generally the two largest ones. Like majoritarian rule, it assigns a fixed portion of seats to the parties, which is defined beforehand (e.g., three-quarters to the winner and one-quarter to the runner-up, or two-thirds and one-third), irrespective of the number of votes received by each force. That is, under the incomplete vote, what is at stake in the electoral contest is who the winner is and who the runner-up is, but the relative institutional power that they will have is established before the election.

Electoral rules have obvious proximate effects on the distribution of institutional power among political parties, and that is why party leaders invest so much time in congress looking for support for their preferred rule. In general, parties that are small or expect to become small advocate proportional representation, whereas majoritarian rules favor the interests of parties with 50 percent or more of the electoral support. Electoral rules are also considered to have important deep effects on the capacity of elected authorities to govern and on political stability. In fact, positive proximate effects are in general associated with negative deep effects, and vice versa—the so-called trade-off between representativeness and governability. Majoritarian rules score low on representativeness because they tend to leave small parties with no seats in the legislatures, but they foster stability by inducing clear institutional majorities. Proportional rules favor the representation of different parties but the frequent lack of clear majorities and the larger number of parties in congress make coalition formation and decision making more difficult, potentially resulting in power vacuums. In the Colombian case, however, no trade-off between representativeness and governability existed during the period 1850–1950. In fact, as we will see, Colombia's stability after 1905 was achieved by making the political system more representative.

The Colombian Transition to Proportional Representation

The transition from majoritarian to proportional electoral institutions in Colombia involved two key reforms, separated from each other by almost a quarter century. In 1905 majoritarian rule was replaced by the incomplete vote, which established that the party that won the elections would get two-thirds of the seats and the remaining one-third would be allocated to the runner-up, irrespective of the specific percentages of votes. The incomplete vote was in

turn replaced by the quotient rule, a standard version of PR, in 1929; since then, Colombian elections have relied on proportional representation.

Both the incomplete vote and the quotient rule were the visible results of an extended, albeit intermittent, negotiation process between the Conservative and Liberal parties. Both reforms were introduced while the Conservative Party was in power, during the second half of the Conservative Hegemony. Neither the introduction of the incomplete vote in 1905 nor its replacement by PR in 1929, however, fit the prevailing explanations of electoral reform, most of which are variations of Stein Rokkan's pioneering account of Scandinavian cases.¹ According to Rokkan, reforms to majoritarian rule occur when a Conservative Party in power anticipates that, with social modernization and the rise of Left parties, Conservatives would become a minority force and hence that their future position in the political arena would be better served by proportional representation than by majority rule.

In contrast to Rokkan's scenario of a retreating Conservative Party, both reforms in the Colombian transition to PR were introduced at a time when the Conservatives were expecting, correctly or mistakenly, that their dominant position would remain unchallenged well into the future. Furthermore, for both Colombian parties it was apparent that the Conservatives' share of legislative seats would be larger under majoritarian rule than under any alternative electoral institution, including the incomplete vote and the quotient rule. Hence, the electoral reform was meant to reduce, rather than enhance, the future institutional power of the party in government. As an additional contrast with Rokkan's depiction of the Scandinavian process, where electoral reform was a spontaneous and unilateral decision of the party in power, the incomplete vote and quotient rule in Colombia were a concession made by the Conservative government to the Liberal opposition, which had advocated electoral reform for several years and benefited directly in terms of the subsequent reallocation of legislative seats.

If electoral reform in Colombia was not imposed by the Conservative government but resulted instead from negotiations between the Conservative government and the Liberal opposition, and if reform caused a reduction of the Conservative Party's power in Congress, the key issue is this: what did Conservatives obtain in exchange for such concessions? What motivated the Conservatives' acceptance of an electoral reform that would redistribute institutional positions in favor of their political rival?

1. Stein Rokkan, *Citizens, Elections, Parties: Approaches to the Comparative Study of the Process of Development* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1970), 150–57.

It is in the specific terms of the Conservative-Liberal exchange that the 1905 reform and the 1929 reform differ. In 1905 the Conservative Party viewed electoral reform as a means to achieve political pacification: the incomplete vote would prevent military insurrections by the Liberals. Prior to 1905, the political exclusion of the opposition, as well as the disproportion between Liberal vote share and seat share caused by majoritarian institutions, had encouraged Liberals to pose an almost permanent threat of civil war. With the incomplete vote, Conservatives agreed to increase the Liberal Party's share of legislative power from a fluctuating 0–5 percent to a fixed 33 percent of the seats, which in the Colombian bipartisan context necessarily occurred at the expense of the Conservatives' own portion of power. Conservatives traded size for stability: they opted for a smaller but safer share of legislative seats. Increased minority representation in Congress would dissuade the Liberal opposition from insurrection.

In 1929, on the other hand, political stability was not at stake. Rather, a deep division within the Conservative Party around the party's candidates for the following presidential elections pushed the two internal factions to vie for the support of the Liberal opposition. Liberals made a transitory deal with a Conservative faction that, in exchange for electoral collaboration against the other faction, gave decisive legislative support to the introduction of the quotient rule. Hence, whereas in 1905 the vast majority of the Conservative leaders agreed to a reform of electoral rules out of fear of a continuation of political chaos, in 1929 only a faction of the Conservative Party supported electoral reform, and it did so in exchange for a short-term electoral benefit.

Although the incomplete vote was a hybrid electoral formula that became obsolete in the course of a couple of decades, its role in Colombia's political history has been substantially more important than proportional representation. The introduction of the incomplete vote was a true inflection point, one that closed the chapter of recurrent civil wars that had dominated the country since independence and inaugurated a four-decade period of uninterrupted political stability. Under the incomplete vote, Liberals gave up rebellion and Conservatives stopped repression. In this sense, the incomplete vote was the pillar of the institutional environment that encouraged the development of the coffee industry and the modernization of the Colombian economy in the first half of the twentieth century.

The introduction of proportional representation, on the other hand, involved significantly smaller proximate effects on the redistribution of political power, as well as smaller deep effects on political stability. In terms of the proximate effects, whereas the incomplete vote was meant to increase ten times the

Liberals' representation in Congress, proportional representation was expected to carry a small positive adjustment in the Liberal share, from a fixed one-third of the seats under the incomplete vote to an average of 35 or 40 percent under the quotient. In terms of the deep effects, the stakes of the two reforms were dramatically different. The risks of political instability if the 1905 reform had failed would have been much higher, at least in the long run, than if the 1929 reform had failed. In 1905, leaders of both parties were remarkably aware that the continuation of majoritarian rule would have forced the Liberal Party into "anti-system" tactics, whereas in 1929, Liberals were deriving enough power from prevailing institutions to completely discard the option of insurrection. Liberals were too satisfied with the incomplete vote for the Conservative Party to believe that they would engage in civil war if it was not replaced by proportional representation. The following two sections provide, in turn, an in-depth analysis of the antecedents, causes, and effects of the 1905 and 1929 reforms.

The 1905 Reform

The 1905 reform had a crucial antecedent in a failed legislative proposal to establish minority representation in 1898. For a considerable number of politicians and observers of the time, the failure of the 1898 reform proposal had catastrophic consequences. In their view, reform would have prevented the Thousand Days' War. The legislative proposal was drafted by dissident Conservative representatives who feared that Liberals would rebel against *La Regeneración* unless they were secured a portion of institutional power that reflected at least part of their electoral force. The reform proposal seemed to have majority support in Congress, but both the president and the Senate vetoed it. The political process leading to the reform proposal, its blockage, and the subsequent political repercussions illustrate the intimate connection between disproportionate distribution of power and civil war.

In post-independence Colombia, governments of both political signs resorted to legal and illegal means to minimize the opposition's share of institutional power. Nevertheless, exclusion of the opposition reached a historical peak under *La Regeneración*. In effect, the 1880s witnessed two innovations—in the composition of subnational executives and of national legislatures—that resulted in virtual monopolization of power by the Conservative Party. The 1886 Constitution, the legal basis of *La Regeneración*, put a drastic end to more than two decades of hyperfederalism by introducing a unitary system of government that empowered the president to appoint governors in all states. In practice, this legal innovation resulted in Conservative control of every subnational gov-

ernment, even in regions that were traditional bastions of Liberal support, like Santander. During *La Regeneración*, the opposition's participation in Congress also became negligible: Liberals occupied only two legislative seats between 1886 and the outbreak of war in 1899. The drastic decrease of the Liberal presence in the legislature was in part an effect of reduced electoral support and the adoption of abstention as a delegitimizing tactic. But it also reflected fraud, obstruction, and repression by the Conservative government, as well as the tighter official control over local politics and electoral boards made possible by recentralization. To weaken and obstruct the Liberal Party's organization and activities, *La Regeneración* relied on a key legal weapon, Law 61 of May 1888, known as the *Ley de los Caballos* (its pretext was the decapitation of a small drove of horses in Palmira, department of Cauca, which the government decided was evidence of Liberal conspiracy). Coupled with a decree restricting free press issued a few months earlier, Law 61 granted the president extraordinary faculties beyond the control of the Congress and the courts: it allowed the executive to unilaterally ban or repress political activities that the president himself considered "offensive of public order," a definition that conveniently provided ample leeway to neutralize the opposition. Deemed "subversive" by the government, a range of Liberal meetings and conventions were forbidden, several party leaders were sent to jail or exile, and there was almost no Liberal periodical that was not suspended or shut down. Hence, anemic legislative representation, coupled with exclusion from regional government and official persecution, narrowed Liberals' institutional power to minimal levels in Colombian history.

The politics of *La Regeneración* sparked opposition even within the rank and file of the Conservative Party. The Conservative schism can be traced back to a congressional debate in 1888 over a proposal to strengthen territorial centralization, but it intensified over the course of the following years, fueled by periodic disputes over nominations to the presidency and other political positions. Division became irreversible in 1896 when President Antonio Caro (1892–98) revealed his intention to seek reelection. The Conservative Party divided itself into a National block, which supported the government, and a dissident faction, the *Históricos*. As revealed in the writings of Carlos Martínez Silva, founder and top intellectual of the dissident movement, the *Históricos* rejected official politics on both ideological and strategic grounds. For Martínez Silva, the suppression of the opposition's political rights was not only incompatible with the Conservative Party's foundational principles but also risked the breakdown of political order by forcing Liberals into revolutionary tactics.

Revolution was, in fact, the main option for many Liberals. But the Liberal Party was also divided. Starting in 1896, the faction of the *Pacifistas*, mostly old

leaders from the Radical period, gradually lost ground to the belligerent group, a younger generation of Liberal activists headed by Rafael Uribe Uribe. Both sectors shared the goal of dismantling the exclusionary structure of La Regeneración. However, the Pacifistas considered that a rebellion would be counterproductive, given the military superiority of the government's forces, and favored the strategy of forming an alliance with the Histórico block, while Uribe and his followers viewed war and the threat of war as the only path to change.

1898: Failed Reform and War

It is against the backdrop of Liberal exclusion, Conservative dissension, and danger of war that dissident Conservatives in Congress and the Senate took steps to reform the electoral law in 1898. In early August, Senator Carlos Calderón Reyes and Representatives Eliseo Arbeláez and José Vicente Concha presented separate proposals to introduce "minority representation" by means of the incomplete vote. Before joining the Histórico faction, Calderón Reyes had served in the cabinet of Caro's government and had authored the 1888 Electoral Code, which established majoritarian representation for all national and subnational Colombian elections. Ten years later, Calderón considered that his code was "full of mistakes" and that not reforming it would be equivalent "to declaring that only the party in power has the right to vote[,] consolidating a tyranny by scientific means."² Defenders of the reform in Congress drew a strong connection between power sharing and peace. Arbeláez claimed that his project of electoral reform "responded to the burning need of pacifying the spirits."³

The spirits that needed to be pacified belonged, of course, to Liberal politicians. Starting in 1891, every Liberal convention, program, and manifesto demanded electoral reform, together with the abolition of the Ley de los Caballos. Liberals wanted electoral reform in order to obtain a greater share of institutional power. They systematically denounced fraud and political exclusion, but only rarely were they clear as to the specific remedies to those problems. When the Historical Conservatives proposed the formula of the incomplete vote in 1898, Uribe led its defense as if the project had been designed by the Liberal Party itself. In the process, he advanced one of the most brilliant statements for power sharing in Colombia—and launched the strongest warning against La Regeneración. In his intervention of September 19, he stated that

2. *Anales del Senado* (hereafter cited as *AS*) 1898, pp. 105–6.

3. *Anales de la Cámara de Representantes* (hereafter cited as *ACR*) 1898, p. 313.

“Colombia’s biggest problem is that of peace. This problem can only be solved in one way: by giving justice to the Liberal Party. And that justice can only be achieved by approving the proposed reforms.”⁴

Even though framed in terms of “political equality,” Uribe’s discourse made clear that, for Liberals, the main grievance under *La Regeneración* was exclusion from power. After asserting that “there is no equality before the law,” he proceeded to list pieces of evidence of such inequality: “In 13 years only two Liberal representatives went to Congress, in different terms; we have never had a seat in the Senate; by chance we have had 2 delegates in the legislatures of Antioquia and Panama; when we have chosen officials for municipal councils, their terms were revoked by the president or the governor of the department; we have had nobody in the ministries, in the governorships, in the judicial branch or the electoral boards to protect and defend us.”⁵ In Uribe’s analysis, Liberal exclusion from power involved the breakdown of the underlying “political contract.” Given that “the proportional influence in public affairs that should correspond to our party has been persistently denied,” the public should notice that “the constitutional promise has not been fulfilled: the payment in rights in exchange for our obedience has not been delivered.”⁶

Political analysis was followed by military ultimatum:

I am not threatening or provoking. I am not coming here as the Roman consul before the Senate of Carthage, bringing in his uniform the options “war or peace” for you to choose. I am just predicting the unavoidable. I am just warning that this, which today is a peaceful petition in favor of our rights, if you deny it, tomorrow will become a demand backed by the arms, and then, after costly sacrifices, one of two things will occur: if we win, we will give to ourselves not only what we are demanding today, or the full rights that belong to us, but even more than that, at your expense, because of the irresistible impetus given by victory; or, if we lose, not for that will our right die, and you will spend more resources in continuing oppressing us than those required to live with us in peace and equality. . . . Give us the freedom to make public and defend our rights with the vote, the quill, and the lips; otherwise, nobody in the world will have enough power to silence the barrels of our rifles.⁷

4. *Ibid.*, 386.

5. *Ibid.*, 389.

6. *Ibid.*, 390.

7. *Ibid.*

Faced with the option of concession or war, National Conservatives would eventually risk war. President Manuel Sanclemente shut the door to reform, instructing the Senate, where Nationals were a majority, to block the proposal. Before considering a new electoral law, Sanclemente remarked, "It would be better to wait for more peaceful times, so that an undisturbed study of experience and institutional options can suggest what is best for the public good."⁸ With remarkable political perception, Uribe had predicted that Nationals would allege inopportune times, in anticipation of which he claimed that "reforms are the cause of appeasement, so appeasement should not be taken as a precondition for reform." To demand "serenity" before solving the grievance is like "asking a doctor to wait until the disease is gone before providing the cure."⁹ With Sanclemente's veto, the last hopes of reform vanished, and so did the chances of peace.

If Sanclemente's hostility to reform showed that bellicose Liberals were right in that *La Regeneración* would not transform itself from inside, war confirmed that Pacifista Liberals were right in that the Conservative government was too powerful to be defeated militarily. The Thousand Days' War (October 1898–November 1902), the most destructive civil war in nineteenth-century Latin America, became a lost cause for the Liberals after their decisive defeat in the Battle of Palonegro in May 1900. A coup by Historical Conservatives a few months later succeeded in displacing Sanclemente from power and placing Vice President José Manuel Marroquín in the presidency. However, Marroquín betrayed the *Históricos*'s expectations of reform and pacification. To gain independence from the group that had sponsored his return to power, Marroquín relied on new political forces created in the course of the war aligned behind Arístides Fernández, a former doorman whose ferocious methods for capturing and repressing Liberals earned him rapid promotion through Conservative ranks. Marroquín had obviously decided to inflict an irreversible defeat on the Liberals.

Negotiating Peace (and Power Sharing)

Between Marroquín's coup in 1900 and the end of war, peace negotiations gave rise to a second (and last) antecedent of the 1905 reform. Almost immediately after the defeat at Palonegro, when Liberals realized that victory was impossi-

8. Manuel Monsalve Martínez, *Colombia, posesiones presidenciales, 1810–1954* (Bogotá: Editorial Iqueima, 1954), 310.

9. *ACR* 1898, p. 387.

ble, Uribe raised again the banner of minority representation, leading his party to signal that electoral reform was the price for capitulation. Moreover, initial events surrounding Marroquín's coup encouraged the hopes of electoral reform. For the ideologues of the coup, among whom Martínez Silva was prominent again, its *raison d'être* was to end the war and to lay the basis of future peace by reinitiating the debate on electoral reform and Liberal participation in power. Marroquín's unexpected change of plans obviously cut off the latent agreement between Historical Conservatives and Liberals, who nevertheless made several attempts to end the war under mutually satisfactory terms.

At the beginning of 1901, Uribe and Martínez Silva, leading figures of the new pacification efforts, initiated a series of contacts. In March Uribe traveled to New York, where Martínez Silva had been sent by the government on a diplomatic mission (which most observers interpreted as an elegant form of exile). In a revealing communication, Uribe told Martínez Silva that "the war could have ended the minute after Marroquín took power, especially if one takes into account the common goals of the Liberal and the [Historical] Conservative parties, and the similar methods employed by one and the other [i.e., revolution and coup] in order to overthrow the National regime." Nonetheless, Uribe regretted that the government did not offer "an acceptable basis for an agreement with the Liberal chiefs." Marroquín only promised safe-conducts and demanded "unconditional surrender, ignoring that Liberals form a political party with the right to be acknowledged as a social force and to receive proper representation."¹⁰

Another year of attrition, which reduced the insurrection to intermittent guerrilla warfare out of the control of Liberal generals, made clear to all actors involved that the Liberal regular army had no option but to capitulate. Still, Uribe and the other Liberal general, Benjamín Herrera—who had achieved impressive victories in Panama but could not move his forces into the continent—continued their efforts to extract political concessions from the government before signing a peace treaty. Liberals' proposals prior to the signature of the *Tratado de Neerlandia* were shaped by the correspondence between Uribe and Colonel Carlos Adolfo Urueta, the Liberal army's emissary to the government. Uribe instructed Urueta to request, as the condition for peace, the creation of an extraordinary Congress to treat constitutional reforms. Uribe also demanded a special mechanism for choosing the members of the Congress to ensure Liberals that it was not going to be a "charade." Quoting a proposal he had made to Martínez Silva in New York, Uribe urged the government, via

10. Otto Morales Benítez, *Sanclemente, Marroquín: El liberalismo y Panamá* (Bogotá: Stamato Editores, 1998), 366–67.

Urueta, "to accept that, out of the 64 seats in the Congress, 25 will be allocated to the Liberal Party, which is a very modest demand."¹¹

In addition to providing further evidence that the Liberals' main concern was participation in power, the communication to Urueta reveals that Uribe was perfectly aware of the weakness of his bargaining position and the associated lack of credibility of any promise that the government could extend. For him, Liberals should turn in their weapons *after* the Congress met in order to guarantee the inclusion of Liberal representatives. But, he recognized, "it seems quite impossible to me that the government will agree to this condition [i.e., a postponement of disarmament]."¹² If Conservatives required military demobilization before making the promise of a special Congress with Liberal participation, then Liberals would be left with no tangible resources to sanction the Conservatives if they decided to renege on their promise. After meeting government delegates, Urueta informed Uribe that disarmament was in fact a precondition for signing any peace treaty. Moreover, after reviewing the situation of the Liberal army across the country, Urueta advised Uribe to give up hopes of concessions other than safe-conducts and reform promises. The Tratado de Neerlandia was finally drafted on October 24, 1902, and signed four days later. It had sixteen clauses: clauses 1 and 3 defined the steps that the demobilization of the Liberal army should follow, and only clause 14 stated that "the Liberal emissary is confident that the president will follow through on his promise that the Liberal Party will have fair representation in municipal councils, departmental assemblies, and the National Congress."¹³ A few weeks later Benjamín Herrera signed the Tratado de Wisconsin, which formally ended the war. The only political clause in the treaty included a nominal commitment by the Conservative government to encourage discussion of the proposals of electoral reform that had been submitted to the Congress in 1898 (clause 7-B).

The Incomplete Vote in 1905: Innovation

No politician in 1899 foresaw the devastating magnitude that the war would have. The "little skirmish of three months" that some in the government had predicted ended up lasting more than three years, causing more than 90,000 deaths and encouraging the separation of Panama as an independent mini-republic. Liberal leaders, in turn, powerlessly witnessed how their revolution

11. *Antecedentes del Tratado de Neerlandia* 1902, p. 12.

12. *Ibid.*, 13.

13. *Ibid.*, 24.

degenerated into anarchic guerrilla actions and other politically futile impulses. Probably both Conservative and Liberal politicians would have changed their decisions on the eve of war if they had known that, by the end of 1903, 4 percent of the male population would die, 7 percent of the territory would be lost, and the Colombian economy would suffer four years of paralysis in some regions and massive destruction in others.

Especially after the loss of Panama, preventing future wars became a top priority for political leaders of almost every affiliation. For the first time since the creation of parties, a broadly bipartisan consensus emerged by 1904. The consensus was built around the diagnosis of past ills and their remedies for the future. Intransigent elements from both parties finally seemed to converge on the vision of moderates, who insisted that the blame for past and recent chaos belonged to the *vieja iniquidad* (old iniquity), Martínez Silva's celebrated formula to describe the persistent political exclusion of the opposition.¹⁴ In the 1904 elections, with the support of moderate Conservatives and Liberals, General Rafael Reyes was chosen as president under the slogan "Peace and Concord." Soon after he took office, a stalemate with the Congress, chosen under Marroquín's presidential term, led Reyes to close it on December 14, eliminating from the political arena the remaining intransigent Conservative elements. Instead of calling another Congress, the new president decided to reform the constitution and call a constitutional assembly, which would be inaugurated on March 15, 1905.

Anticipating future legislation on the matter, Reyes made sure that all political forces were represented in the assembly. Each of the nine departments was to send three members, one from each Conservative faction and a third one from the Liberal Party. Most prominent Colombian politicians became members of the assembly, including Victor Manuel Salazar, a Conservative general who had excelled at the war, future presidential candidate Alfredo Vásquez Cobo, the ubiquitous Uribe, and Herrera.

The assembly promptly applied the remedy prescribed in the postwar shared diagnosis: on April 13 a constitutional amendment introducing "minority representation" was passed. The legislative process was as fast as formal procedures allowed (four days), and the project received unanimous support. Bonifacio Vélez, minister of government and direct delegate of President Reyes before the assembly, submitted the proposal of electoral reform on April 10, 1905. Article 4, the core of the project, stated that "in all popular elections that have the goal of forming public corporations [e.g., legislatures], the right

14. "La Vieja Iniquidad," *Repertorio colombiano* (Bogotá), 1 Sept. 1896, pp. 161–69.

of minorities to be represented is acknowledged, and the law will define the form and terms under which such representation will be carried out.”¹⁵ That same day the project was approved unanimously in “first debate,” which according to Colombian legislative rules meant that representatives agreed to submit the proposal to a special commission in charge of studying it. (According to the rules, the second debate is when modifications to the project, as suggested by the commission and the floor, are introduced, and the third and last round approves or rejects the final draft.)

On April 11, the commission, formed by Herrera (from Santander); Felipe Angulo (Bolívar), a former protégée of Núñez; and the Reyista Gerardo Pulecio (Cundinamarca), issued the report. Its first paragraph claimed that “this reform is the peace for the future; it is the first time national unity is formally proclaimed . . . for no Constitution since 1811 had had the courage to acknowledge the right of minorities to be represented; that was the cause of the countless civil wars that have scorched the country.”¹⁶ The constitutional amendment introduced minority representation as a principle but did not define the specific electoral rule that would make the principle operative in practice. Two weeks after the amendment, by Law 42, the legislative assembly chose the incomplete vote. Article 33 of the law stated that two-thirds of the seats in Congress and the Senate, as well as in regional legislatures and electoral boards, would correspond to the electoral majority and the remaining one-third to the minority.¹⁷ The reform assigned every district at least three representatives. For the computation of shares in districts where the number of seats at stake was not divisible by three, the law required that such number be elevated to the next one that was divisible by three, and that the majority get two-thirds of the new number minus one (e.g., in districts with seven representatives, the two-thirds were computed in relation to nine, which, after the subtraction of one seat to the majority, left the opposition with two seats).

The Incomplete Vote in 1910 and 1916: Ratification

Reyes's government was overthrown five years after its inauguration, but minority representation as an institution survived and in fact became a permanent feature of Colombia's political system. Two critical indications of the level of consensus achieved by the incomplete vote as a power-sharing formula were

15. *Anales de la Asamblea Nacional* 1905, p. 73.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, 151.

produced in 1910 and 1916. In 1910 a constitutional assembly was convened to reform the constitution. Bipartisan in composition, the assembly made the 1886 constitution more liberal. Crucially, it eliminated all the most important constitutional innovations of the Reyes period except for minority representation. In 1916 a new electoral code was approved in order to systematize dispersed pieces of electoral legislation into a single body of rules. It covered several fields, including the definition of citizenship, the organization of electoral justice, and the schedule for elections; regarding Colombia's electoral system, it ratified the incomplete vote. Therefore, in the context of broader institutional reforms, legislative bodies twice had the opportunity to change the electoral system in the decade after 1910, but on both occasions Liberals and Conservatives agreed to preserve minority representation.

Reyes's fall and the constitutional reform of 1910 are closely connected events, for they were both the result of the rise of a new bipartisan coalition, the Republican Union. Republicanism grew mainly as a reaction against Reyes's dictatorial methods of rule, which included the closure of Congress and the adoption of extraordinary executive powers. The Conservative leg of the new coalition was largely coterminous with the old Historical faction. The Liberal leg, in turn, was represented by politicians who had progressively removed their support for the government in response not only to authoritarian measures but also to the weakening of the Nationals, the reactionary faction within the Conservative camp. Once the threat from the Nationals vanished, Liberals who had initially supported Reyes out of fear of a restoration of the *Regeneración* regime decided to join the Republican opposition. Exceptions to the realignment of the Liberal elite included top collaborators of Reyes, most prominently Uribe and his followers. The main component of the Republicans' social base was the progressive business community of Antioquia, mainly landowners and bankers who resented Reyes's intervention in the economy and the cases of corruption derived from official contracts to build public infrastructure.

After forcing Reyes's resignation in June 1909 and winning the 1910 presidential election behind the candidacy of Carlos E. Restrepo, the Republican Union encouraged constitutional reform. Many of the authoritarian methods repudiated by the Republicans had acquired constitutional status during 1905–9 due to Reyes's practice of issuing executive decrees and submitting them to ratification by ad hoc constitutional assemblies. Republicans were determined to revise the changes by Reyes, but more generally the 1910 reform was meant to translate into constitutional norms the strong bipartisan consensus that had evolved since the end of the war on the need to strengthen the rule of law and the rights of the opposition. The reform reduced the power of the

executive and enhanced that of the Congress. Thus, presidential terms were shortened from six to four years, the executive became accountable for all violations to the Constitution—not just the few specific cases foreseen by the 1886 text—and immediate reelection of the president was forbidden, whereas the Congress was assigned a chief role in the direction of foreign relations and the selection of members of the Supreme Court, and annual meetings of the legislatures were protected from presidential interference. Although these reforms involved important breaks in relation to the Reyes's regime, the key continuity was recorded at the level of the electoral rules.

During the second half of May 1910, at least four separate projects concerning electoral rules were submitted to the constitutional assembly, including one (May 15) by Nicolás Esguerra, the last survivor of the Radical Liberal period, founding figure of the Republican Union, and main architect of the constitutional reform. All four projects embraced minority representation as a general principle, and three of them specified the incomplete vote as the formula to make it operational in practice. The project enforcing only the general principle, presented by Conservative Hernando Holguin y Caro on May 20, was discussed on May 26 and became law the following day. From the extraordinary pace of the legislative process it can be inferred that no significant opposition to the project was raised. As in 1905, the final version of the constitutional amendment left to ordinary law the determination of the specific electoral rule, but, in contrast to its predecessor, it mentioned possible operational formulas: "All elections in which more than two individuals are to be chosen will be ruled by the incomplete vote, the quotient rule, the cumulative vote, or any other mechanism that insures the proportional representation of the parties. The law will define the method to make this right effective."¹⁸

The Republican Union proved to be a short-lived political force, but it left an enduring legacy in Colombian politics. Once the aspiration of constitutional reform was fulfilled, no shared goal was left to unite Conservatives and Liberals within a permanent coalition. Starting in 1914, with the election of José Vicente Concha as president, Colombia returned to the pattern of unambiguously Conservative governments. Nevertheless, the constitutional amendments of 1910 would last eight decades. Comparing the 1910 reform to the constitutions of 1863 and 1886, observers have noted that the key difference of the 1910 amendments, and the cause of their durability, is that they were consensually drafted by a bipartisan assembly, expressing the institutional visions shared by all members of the political elite, whereas the two prior constitutions were actually the

18. Hernán Montoya, *La cédula y el sufragio* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1938), 26.

program of one party unilaterally imposed on the other after military victory.¹⁹ During the Republican period, however, the Congress failed to supply an electoral law specifying a method to put minority representation into effect. As a result, until 1916, the legislative vacuum was covered by the law that established the incomplete vote in 1905 (Law 42/1905, art. 33).

In 1916 a comprehensive electoral code was adopted for the first time. Although the code, Law 85, was an extremely long text, with 307 articles in 17 chapters, it was essentially meant to achieve two broad goals: first, to establish a specific electoral rule, as required by the 1910 amendment; second, to strengthen controls over the electoral processes in order to reduce fraud and manipulation by local politicians. The project that was finally approved was originally authored by Bonifacio Vélez, Reyes's former minister and author of the 1905 constitutional amendment on minority representation. As a member of the National State Council in Concha's government, Vélez submitted his project to the Senate in August 1915. It privileged the incomplete vote over the quotient rule because, Vélez alleged, it was a better mechanism for the representation of the minority. A colorful table, attached at the end of his project, backed his point. In the table, Vélez had computed how results for the 1915 legislative elections would have yielded different proportions of Liberal and Conservative seats under different electoral systems. The table showed that the incomplete vote granted Liberals five more seats than the quotient rule.²⁰ Regarding the problem of fraud, the project included various dispositions, including one (art. 168/4) that declared invalid all elections "in which the number of votes issued is larger than the number of registered voters," not at all an uncommon situation in Colombian electoral contests.

To recapitulate, both the 1910 amendment and the 1916 electoral code ratified the incomplete vote, indicating solid bipartisan consensus for the need for minority representation. The justification given by Vélez in 1916 for the ratification of the incomplete vote could have very well been signed by any Liberal representative: "It is an undeniable fact, one that is acknowledged by our political history, that most of our civil wars, which flooded our soil with blood, paralyzed progress, and broke the bonds of peace, have originated in

19. See Jorge Orlando Melo, "De Carlos E. Restrepo a Marco Fidel Suárez: Republicanismo y gobiernos conservadores," in *Nueva historia de Colombia*, ed. Álvaro Tirado Mejía (Bogotá: Planeta, 1989), 1:220–25; and Fernando Correa Uribe, *Republicanismo y reforma constitucional, 1891–1910* (Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia, 1996), 7–10.

20. Bonifacio Vélez, *Proyecto de ley sobre reforma electoral* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1905), 69–70.

the lack of properly representative governments, in the systematic and hateful exclusion that was installed in the republic. Minority representation prevents revolutionary attempts.”²¹ The fall of Reyes, the rise and disappearance of the Republican Union, and increasing political tension over fraud—four rather disruptive phenomena that nevertheless did not threaten the incomplete vote at any moment—provided critical tests of the practically unanimous level of consensus achieved in favor of minority representation in Colombian politics.

Causes of War and Consequences of Reform

Is it possible to assess whether it was power monopolization, rather than other factors, that caused recurrent war in the second half of the nineteenth century, and whether power sharing was the cause of peace during the first half of the twentieth century? Historians and other social scientists have advanced both economic and political explanations for the periods of war before 1905 and the peace that followed.²² Explanations, however, are usually meant to account for a single, discrete event, like the Thousand Days’ War, rather than the recurrent pattern of war, rebellion, and repression in the nineteenth century or the subsequent period of peaceful power sharing—let alone the macroscopic transformation of the Colombian political arena from chaos to order. Our explanation not only attempts to cover a long stretch of time, from 1850 to 1950, but it also focuses on political causes at the expense of economic ones. However, in contrast to other political explanations, our argument is deliberately specific, for among the array of political factors that could be mentioned, it emphasizes power sharing via electoral rules and a particular legislative reform, the introduction of the incomplete vote in 1905. If pressed to argue by counterfactual reasoning, we would advance twin claims: Wars in general, and the Thousand Days’ War in particular, could have been prevented if the incomplete vote had been introduced in time. Second, if the incomplete vote had not been introduced in 1905, the pattern of interparty warfare would have revived a few years later.

21. Ibid., 62–63.

22. For economic explanations, see Charles W. Bergquist, *Coffee and Conflict in Colombia, 1886–1910* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1978); and for a political explanation see Helen Delpar, *Red against Blue: The Liberal Party in Colombian Politics, 1863–1899* (Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1981). A brilliant account of the 1885 civil war, with general implications for conflict in nineteenth century Latin America, is Malcolm Deas, “Pobreza, guerra civil y política,” in *Del poder y la gramática: Y otros ensayos sobre historia, política y literatura colombianas* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, 1993), 121–73.

Three pieces of evidence provide support to the counterfactuals. First, at different points in time before 1905, Conservatives tried different packages of concessions to the opposition, but they never included the incomplete vote. In fact, except for electoral reform, by 1899 Sanclemente's government had resolved all other political grievances Liberals had voiced, including the abolition of the *Ley de los Caballos*. Electoral reform was the only persistent Liberal demand that was not met. As a posterior confirmation of the motivations driving Liberal rebellion, the year 1906 provides an instructive negative image of the year 1899: in 1899 Sanclemente put an end to extraordinary presidential powers but blocked electoral reform, whereas in 1906 Reyes granted reform but assumed dictatorial powers. Sanclemente could not avoid civil war, whereas Reyes earned generalized Liberal applause. Evidence on the terms of the exchange between Reyes and the Liberal Party abounds. Even Herrera, who would eventually withdraw his support from Reyes's administration, stated that "after almost 25 years of Conservative monopoly, Reyes allowed us to breathe, to get back into public life, to become citizens again."²³ A decade later, with the perspective provided by the passage of time, Liberal senator Fabio Lozano and the Conservative *costeño* Manuel Dávila Florez, in the context of a debate around a legislative proposal on "crimes against the Nation," admitted with unusual political accuracy and candor the *do ut des* between Reyes and the Liberals. After Lozano attacked the project on the grounds that it would favor tyranny, Dávila Florez noted: "But Colombian Liberalism, your Honor, wholeheartedly supported General Reyes's dictatorship." Lozano quickly replied, "I am able to prove that Liberalism did not commit any crime by supporting that government. In order to neutralize any charges, it would be enough to consider that the attitude [of support] was a response to the very special circumstance that Reyes began his administration by offering Liberals a piece of sun, political equality." Dávila Florez would not miss the opportunity provided by his opponent's confession: "But that theory is shameful because it means that Liberalism accepts dictatorial governments in exchange for participation in power."²⁴

Second, whereas suspicion of fraud in presidential elections before 1905 was a quasi-automatic prelude to rebellion and armed conflict, after the introduction of the incomplete vote, Liberals' satisfaction with their portion of power outweighed their discontent with electoral manipulation by the Conservatives. In the 1922 presidential elections, fraud was blatant. But, in contrast to the pre-1905 antecedents, rebellion did not follow. According to our explanation, this

23. Jorge Orlando Melo, "De Carlos E. Restrepo a Marco Fidel Suárez," 217.

24. *AS* 1916, p. 558.

was because Liberals had one-third of the institutional power; after 1905, war became an option in which they had much more to lose and much less to win.

The third line of empirical support to the counterfactuals is contained in the testimony of the finest political analysts of the time, including Julio H. Palacio, Pedro Navarro, Luis Eduardo Nieto Caballero, and Hernán Montoya. All these personalities are widely recognized both for their political intelligence and their relative impartiality. According to Palacio, for instance, the blockage of the 1898 proposal by the Senate and Sanclemente “was the *causa principalísima* [most principal cause] of the devastating war.”²⁵ And vice versa, “for me, the true father of peace in Colombia; a fact that the nation still needs to acknowledge and thank, is General Reyes, who facilitated minority representation. Without the dictatorship of Reyes, the peace treaties of Neerlandia and Wisconsin would have been dead letters for a long time, and another war would have liquidated the country.”²⁶ Navarro, in turn, confidently asserted that the incomplete vote was “the best law of Reyes’s dictatorship: Colombia owes to it the internal peace that it has enjoyed for the last 33 years [*sic*, writing in 1935], the basis of its progress and material well-being.” Navarro added that peace had a second cause. “Even if it seems a paradox,” peace was also caused by “the civil war of 1899–1902, in which Liberalism proved that it was willing to make any sacrifice in order to stop the violation of public liberties and citizenship rights.”²⁷ Of course, Navarro’s two causes were sequentially connected: peace was caused by the law, which in turn was caused by Liberalism’s threat of new “sacrifices.”

Regarding the role of economic factors, our vision, if stylized, is the opposite of Charles Bergquist’s.²⁸ For this author, as for Marxists in general, economic forces provide the deep structure of the political process. Political decisions either reflect underlying economic interests or are the effect of idiosyncratic and accidental factors. According to this perspective, political decisions are not consequential: they can at most “trigger” an outcome like a war, but those outcomes had nevertheless been determined beforehand by underlying economic processes. In apparent support of Bergquist’s interpretation, the Thousand Days’ War coincided with a fiscal crisis and a sharp decline in the price

25. Julio H. Palacio, *Historia de mi vida* (Bogotá: Camacho Roldan, 1942), 249.

26. *Ibid.*, 290.

27. Pedro Navarro, *El parlamento en pijama* (Bogotá: Talleres Mundo al Día, 1935), 15.

16. For a similar appraisal by Luis Eduardo Nieto Caballero, see *Escritos escogidos* (Bogotá: Fondo de Promoción de la Cultura del Banco Popular, 1984), 2:266–67; and for Hernán Montoya’s version, see *La cédula y el sufragio*, 17.

28. Bergquist, *Coffee and Conflict in Colombia*.

of coffee, Colombia's main export. And Liberals did complain about economic policy. From our perspective, however, it is economic factors than can actually be seen as only the "triggering event" that unleashed a deeper political conflict around the historical exclusion of the opposition. As observers and participants of the events made clear, the fiscal crisis was only a symptom of the political conflict over power sharing. Martínez Silva, Miguel Samper, and other participants aware of the "political economy" of La Regeneración pointed out that most government spending was allocated to military contention and repression of the Liberals.²⁹ Economic turmoil was an indication of the impact of political conflict on the growing fiscal crisis and the associated monetary expansion of the 1890s. Finally, Liberals' complaints against La Regeneración's monetary and fiscal policies can be seen as an opportunistic move to earn support from social sectors hurt by inflation, not the reflection of opposing economic interests (which Helen Delpar proved were not so different across political parties). Ultimately, the target of Liberalism was a share of institutional power.

Toward Proportional Representation: Conservative Dissension and Threat from Below in the 1920s

The quotient rule, a standard form of proportional representation, was introduced in Colombia in November 1929. The reform was the outcome of a long and uninterrupted crusade by the Liberal Party. Liberal support for proportional representation began in the 1910s but was restricted to a few isolated voices. However, it grew stronger over the first half of the 1920s, achieving perfect unanimity by 1925. Senator Luis de Greiff, a pioneering advocate of proportional representation, was responsible for aligning fellow Liberals into a compact block behind the advocacy of the quotient rule. From 1920 to 1929, Liberals submitted to the Senate and the Congress a dozen proposals to introduce proportional representation. Cosmetic variations of the same institutional innovation, the proposals reflected Liberals' various attempts at convincing a critical mass of Conservatives about the benefits of the quotient rule. In the Conservative camp, its representatives were uniformly opposed to innovation during the first half of the 1920s. In 1926–27, perhaps persuaded by the Liberal campaign, a number of them, still insufficient to force the reform, changed their minds and announced that they would accept the elimination of the incomplete vote in favor of a more proportional electoral system. In 1928–29, the Conser-

29. Carlos Martínez Silva, *Revistas políticas publicadas en el repertorio* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1934), 2:467–68, 500–501. See also *ACR* 1898, p. 387.

vative Party divided itself into two groups, each of which promoted a different presidential candidate for the 1930 elections. In return for Liberal support of their candidate, Alfredo Vásquez Cobo, the Vasquista group provided the necessary votes to pass the proposal of proportional representation; a transitory Conservative division allowed the decade-long Liberal campaign to eventually reach its goal.

Why did Liberals want to replace the incomplete vote with the quotient rule? And why did Conservatives resist reform? Liberals mounted a double attack against the incomplete vote, criticizing it both as a barrier against the entry of third parties (it rewarded with seats only the winner and the runner-up) and as a distortion of the relative electoral power of Liberals and Conservatives (the size of the rewards was fixed irrespective of the number of votes obtained by each party). "The main defect of the incomplete vote," de Greiff argued in support of his 1922 project, "is that it only recognizes two parties, one of which receives 66 percent of the seats and the other 33 percent, even if that proportion does not correspond to their electoral force."³⁰ In defending the participation of third parties, for the first time in the history of electoral reform Liberals favored an innovation that apparently had no benefits for them in terms of a bigger share of institutional power. According to Liberals, the third party that might benefit the most from the introduction of proportional representation would be the Socialists or another left-wing force, which would subtract votes from Liberalism, not from Conservatism. Why, then, would Liberals advocate so resolutely, and Conservative resist so obstinately, the introduction of proportional representation? Three possibilities exist. First, Liberals exaggerated the vitality of third parties, believing more in the distortion argument against the incomplete vote than in the barrier argument. In this case, Liberals might have actually favored proportional representation because they expected that the number of seats they would gain by removing the one-third ceiling imposed by the incomplete vote would be larger than the number of seats lost due to the division of the opposition between Liberal and Socialist parties. Or Liberals might have genuinely believed that a Socialist Party would emerge as a significant political force. In that case, they might have favored the quotient rule either because they viewed it as a mechanism to secure a public good shared by both traditional parties, like the prevention of a Socialist revolution, or because they thought they could extract an exclusive benefit from a three-party system, for instance, the creation of a progressive Liberal-Socialist coalition that could force the government to make public policies more compatible with Liberal preferences.

30. *AS* 1922, p. 203.

Demanding More than One-Third

If the quotient rule would enlarge the Liberal share of institutional power, this would explain why Liberals supported proportional representation and Conservatives opposed it. Liberals never admitted in public they were looking for a larger number of seats. Conservatives, in turn, insisted that, if they opposed proportional representation, it was not out of fear of a reduction of their weight in the legislatures; on the contrary, they argued that it was to prevent more power falling into their own hands. In his opposition to the proposal of proportional representation that Liberals had submitted to the Congress in 1928, Conservative Alberto Vélez Calvo argued:

If the project becomes law, Liberals are going to complain after elections; scandals will be a thousand times bigger than they are today. It is obvious that in Nariño, in Antioquia, in Boyacá, and probably in Cundinamarca, in the Santanders, and in Huila, Liberalism will be reduced to its minimal expression. Probably Conservative exuberance in those departments will not allow the opposition party to get any representatives, and we, Conservatives, do not have any interest to come to this house and fill it with three-quarters or four-fifths of the seats, instead of the two-thirds we have had.

Moreover, for Vélez Calvo, the quotient rule was a threat to public order precisely because it would eliminate the benefits that Liberals derived from the incomplete vote: "We are sure that, faced with total defeat under the new system, Liberals will for months talk about persecution, fraud, and oppression by the Conservatives. That will unsettle the country, with no benefits for anyone."³¹

Proportional Representation as a Public Good

In the early 1920s, politicians of all persuasions recognized that the incomplete vote had been the basis of social peace for the prior 15 years. However, social change over that same period made the incomplete vote obsolete as a mechanism of power sharing—or so Liberals argued. Sustained economic growth during the two decades after the 'Thousand Days' War had in effect fostered urbanization, industrialization, and the rise of a working class that, if still small, acquired political salience by organizing strikes, unions, confederations, and

31. *ACR* 1928, p. 384.

proto-parties like the Socialist Party (its first platform was issued in 1919). To persuade the government of the need of a new electoral reform, Liberals argued that sooner or later the incomplete vote, by marginalizing third parties, would push Labor-based parties like the Socialists into revolutionary tactics, in the same way that the majoritarian system had forced Liberals into civil war the previous century. This argument recurred most often in Liberal vindications of the quotient rule.

In the 1922 legislative debate around de Greiff's proposal, Liberal senator Eugenio Gómez argued that "social peace is not only affected by armed movements but mainly by an unfair law [i.e., the incomplete vote] that does not allow the representation of important currents of opinion. . . . Given that the current law assumes that a party different from the historical ones does not exist, and given that such parties do exist, there are good reasons for many of our citizens to feel deprived of their political rights and be dissatisfied with the existing order."³² Two years later, in the introduction of his own proposal of electoral reform, prominent Liberal senator Alejandro Galvis Galvis warned: "We have the obligation to prevent agitation, turmoil, and sacrifices. New trends are emerging that will cause serious frustration if not channeled properly by explicitly acknowledging their force and influence."³³ In providing arithmetical examples of how the quotient rule would work, Galvis's tables included the Socialist Party as if it had become a permanent element of Colombia's party system.³⁴ The argument recurred in the sessions of the following year, when for the first time the entire block of Liberal senators signed a collective proposal on proportional representation as a signal of how intensely committed they were to electoral reform. "It is imperative to modify the straitjacket imposed by the incomplete vote," declared the document. Proportional representation would "allow political, economic, and social parties to express themselves in their full force and induce them to work within the framework of the rule of law for the preservation of peace. Public order needs [reform]."³⁵ In 1927 Liberal senators again followed the tactics of signing a collective proposal, which this time was reinforced by a symmetric movement by the block of Liberal representatives in Congress. According to its declaration of motives, proportional representation "provides room for action to legions of Colombians who do not fit any more within old programs and the traditional party organizations." The rise of new

32. *AS* 1922, p. 473.

33. *AS* 1924, p. 374.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *AS* 1925, p. 145.

parties “must be used in favor of the country. The current law [incomplete vote] is anachronistic and has already given to us all the good things it can provide.” The block of senators did not miss the opportunity to reiterate the catastrophic consequences that would follow if the legislatures failed to introduce the quotient rule. If the political “currents that live underground and press to emerge to the surface” do not receive participation in Congress, then “the republic will last as long as the discontented masses want it to.”³⁶ During the debate of the same proposal in Congress, Liberal Carlos Hernández traced the trajectory of Colombia’s electoral systems: “With the old system of absolute majorities, only one party had representation. With the current system of the incomplete vote, two parties have representation. With the quotient rule, in the future all trends with enough force will have the door open to representation.”³⁷ He added that if the Congress did not provide new electoral rules, third parties “will conquer the representation they have the right to either by the suffrage or by revolution. Tyranny or revolution. These two extremes, which will be the death of the republic, are the outcomes we, the two traditional and big parties, must avoid as a common cause.”³⁸ In 1928, Representative Gabriel Turbay, one of the most brilliant Liberal speakers and strategists, entered the debate only to provide new rhetoric for old concepts. He argued that, back in the decade of 1910, “the incomplete vote involved a big victory and progress, but it left the legacy of injustice, the abhorrent and arbitrary notion that only two parties can live. . . . The coexistence of the two big collectivities is what gave birth to the system of *repartimiento de prebendas* [rent sharing], the inevitable outcome of the iron circle of Colombian parliamentarism.”³⁹

Proportional Representation as a Partisan Good

Faced with the rise of Labor-based parties, Liberals might have actually envisioned proportional representation as a mechanism to advance or protect partisan interests rather than as a public solution to potential political disorder. De Greiff, for instance, thought that the representation of left-wing parties in the legislatures could create an institutional ally to join the Liberals in a movement for progressive reforms. In a dispute with an ardent defender of the incomplete vote, de Greiff asked: “What fundamental innovation, in the area of public

36. *AS* 1927, p. 294.

37. *ACR* 1927, p. 351.

38. *Ibid.*, 352, 353.

39. *ACR* 1928, p. 378.

instruction for instance, can be attempted with the famous 33 percent equilibrium? Minorities have to restrict their focus to secondary laws: to vote laws on honors and pensions, because all substantial reform crashes against the force of the resistance imposed by the incomplete vote."⁴⁰ If proportional representation became law, some of the new Socialist seats would probably be obtained at the expense of the Liberal Party, but Liberals might nevertheless prefer reform if the aggregate weight of a Liberal-Socialist coalition surpassed the one-third of seats that were allocated to them by the incomplete vote. That is, Liberals could have been willing to trade a reduction of the party's institutional power for increased chances of policy reforms.

Liberals might have also hoped that proportional representation would divide the Conservative Party. Conservative divisions would favor policy reforms by forcing Conservative subgroups to compete for Liberal support in their preferred policy areas and hence to make concessions in other areas. Conservatives, not Liberals, acknowledged this potential transformation of Colombia's traditional two-party system. As Julio Eduardo Ramírez, member of the Valencista group, noted only weeks before the proportional representation became law in 1929:

[The quotient rule] is lethal for traditional parties, especially for the Conservatives, which is an organized party, and its force stems from its discipline. The quotient formula opens the gate to all kinds of dissolvent forces and personal ambitions; it brings anarchy into elections; it weakens the cohesion that must exist within political groups, to the point that these—not too far in the future—may lose their own shape; finally, it fosters indiscipline and dissidence, atomizing opinion, leaving it without leaders and directors, essential factors in all parties.⁴¹

Naturally, not all reasons had the same weight in the minds of Liberal representatives or were equally prominent across legislative debates. For instance, whereas de Greiff in 1922 viewed proportional representation as a formula to improve his party's 33 percent quota, Turbay in 1928 thought that electoral reform would transform Colombia's party system to make it more compatible with the social cleavages of a mass society. Despite variations in terms of the underlying justification, the aggregate result was the same throughout the 1920s: unanimous Liberal support for proportional representation. Unfortu-

40. *AS* 1922, p. 574.

41. *ACR* 1929, p. 479.

nately for Liberalism, no matter how uniform and strong their commitment to the quotient rule was, there was nothing they could do without the approval of the Conservative majority, or a fraction of it.

The 1929 Juncture

The unified resistance of Conservatism against proportional representation broke down in 1929. A year before, the Conservative Party had divided itself around the two candidates for the presidential election of 1930, Guillermo Valencia and Alfredo Vásquez Cobo. Vasquistas joined Liberalism in favoring the elimination of the incomplete vote and the introduction of a new electoral rule. In contrast to Liberalism's multifaceted justification of the quotient rule, however, the Vasquistas' motivation was straightforward: they needed the votes of the Liberal Party to secure the electoral victory of their own candidate. In exchange, they offered collaboration with a package of Liberal initiatives in Congress, including centrally the quotient rule. Vociferous opponents of proportional representation before 1927, like Carlos Jaramillo Isaza or Rafael Trujillo Gómez, suddenly became ardent defenders of reform. Some, like Senator Benjamín Guerrero, who not too many sessions before had claimed that rural villages were too uneducated to understand proportional representation and too poor to receive education, went as far as to allege a vast pedigree in favor of reform: "I am an advocate of the quotient rule, and I have presented projects establishing such principles since 1912."⁴² The true motivation of the Vasquistas was publicly known, and Valencistas denounced it: "Our group will not risk, in return for short-term political gains, the integrity of the Conservative doctrine it advocates."⁴³ Valencismo's opposition, however, was powerless against the numerical superiority of the so-called "pliers" formed by the Liberal-Vasquista alliance. The original project was introduced by Liberal representative Guillermo Peñaranda Arenas, it was debated in the Congress between mid-September and early October and in the Senate in late October, and it became law on November 5, 1929 (Law 31).

In their campaign for proportional representation, Liberals and Vasquista Conservatives resorted to the same kind of "public good" argument that Liberals had advanced so many times in former sessions: economic change in previous decades had encouraged the emergence of new social groups, and new social groups, if not granted political representation, involve a threat of antidemocratic

42. *AS* 1929, p. 486.

43. *ACR* 1929, p. 479.

revolutionary movements. Naturally, Liberals did not mention their ambitions for a greater share of power, and Vasquistas omitted any reference to the electoral gains they expected to obtain from the alliance with the opposition. The novelty in the context of the 1929 sessions, however, was that Liberals and Vasquistas furnished the public-good argument with a decidedly gloomy tone. Their discourses took for granted that an institutional crisis was an imminent fact. In the introduction to his project, for instance, Peñaranda Arenas asserted that “the problem [of political representation] has never been as acute as it is today. It is urgent to stop the discredit of the legislatures and the final ruin of republican institutions.”⁴⁴ Trujillo Gómez, the Vasquista representative recently converted to the creed of proportional representation, similarly diagnosed that Colombian democracy suffered a “lethal illness” because “the voice of rural and industrial workers” and “the interests of professions and trades” have not been “heard in this Parliament.” The incomplete vote is a “system that ignores the living forces from the suburbs, ranches, workshops, and factories,” and for that reason it is to be blamed for the “twilight of democracy,” which, among other “disturbing problems,” includes “systematic abstention and popular fatigue with the electoral function.” For Trujillo Gómez, proportional representation meant “the opportunity to stop this disaster: tomorrow it will be too late.”⁴⁵ According to the opening statement in the report of the commission that studied the project in the Senate, “democracy suffers a regrettable bankruptcy due to the fact that the people have lost their faith in the electoral system.” Like Liberals and Vasquistas in Congress, the commission in the Senate predicted that proportional representation would “restore the lost trust and return the prestige to the legislatures, reviving civic enthusiasm around electoral contests.”⁴⁶

Like the incomplete vote in 1905, the introduction of proportional representation in 1929 was a concession by the Conservative government to the Liberal opposition. In contrast to the 1905 reform, in return for which Conservatives secured political peace in the long term, the 1929 reform was expected to provide a short-term political gain for a faction of the party in power. Although different Liberal lawmakers favored proportional representation for different reasons, Vasquista Conservatives had only one motivation for the approval of a new electoral reform, namely, to obtain Liberal support for the presidential candidacy of Vásquez Cobo. The electoral motivation, which the rival faction of the party did not hesitate to condemn, was naturally hidden behind the rhetorical invocation of higher goals, including the incorporation of the incipient work-

44. *ACR* 1929, p. 9.

45. *ACR* 1929, p. 214.

46. *AS*, 1929, p. 815.

ing class into the institutional arena as a third party (a goal that some Liberals apparently did embrace).

Electoral Traditions, Power Sharing, and the Incomplete Vote in Latin America

To conclude, we place our findings on the Colombian transition from majoritarian rule to proportional representation in relation to the recent literature on the electoral history of Colombia; we also assess the relation between institutions of power sharing in the first half of the twentieth century and the outbreak of new episodes of violence in the second half; finally, we draw general theoretical lessons about the origins of electoral rules and explore their application to other Latin American cases.

Power Sharing and the Colombian Electoral Tradition

Recent historiography has underscored the existence of what Eduardo Posada-Carbó has called an “electoral tradition” in Colombia, the roots of which can allegedly be traced to the independence period.⁴⁷ This tradition manifests itself in the energy that politicians of both parties have routinely invested in elections, including campaigns adapted to different audiences, the early appearance of political newspapers, and an ongoing interest in gaining the electoral favor of an increasing number of sectors in society. But elections were not the only arena in which politicians competed for political power; the allocation of political power in Colombia was also decided in negotiations about the rules that defined how votes would translate into seats. Between 1910 and 1930, leaders of both parties invested extraordinary amounts of effort in debates over the design of institutions governing elections. Throughout the period, no other issue received more attention in the legislatures. Specialists in electoral rules included top leaders like Uribe, who drafted a proposal for the first systematic electoral code; Miguel Abadía Méndez and Enrique Olaya Herrera, whose intervention was crucial for the approval of the law banning “pirate lists” in 1920⁴⁸; or José Vicente Concha, the author of a handbook on constitutional law that contained the most up-to-

47. Eduardo Posada-Carbó, “Limits of Power: Elections under the Conservative Hegemony in Colombia, 1886–1930,” *HAHR* 77, no. 2 (1997): 245–80; and “La tradición electoral,” in *Fortalezas de Colombia*, ed. Fernando Cepeda Ulloa (Bogotá: Ariel / Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2004).

48. In several elections, the Conservative Party presented two lists of candidates with the expectation of obtaining both the seats of the majority and the minority.

date taxonomy of electoral rules. In the legislatures, debates around electoral rules reached peaks of sophistication when, for example, the Liberal de Greiff displayed complicated arithmetical computations to illustrate how different combinations of electoral rules would work. The legislative debate naturally extended into the media, but it also reached academia. Before 1930, at least 19 doctoral theses were written on the topic of proportional versus majoritarian representation. Concha and Olaya Herrera were regular members of dissertation committees. In sum, both elections and debates around the rules governing elections were vibrant political arenas, and they both mattered for the distribution of political power between Conservatives and Liberals.

The Breakdown of Proportional Representation's Effects

Although politics in contemporary Colombia is obviously outside the scope of our research, a natural question emerges: if power sharing was so effective in reducing conflict through the late 1940s, why did political violence return to Colombia while proportional representation was still in place? Two lines of analysis—one sociological, the other political—demonstrate the consistency between our explanation of political order during the first half of the twentieth century and the occurrence of long periods of chaos in the second half. First, the explosion of La Violencia in the late 1940s suggests that institutions for sharing political power, such as the incomplete vote, are best suited for managing certain kinds of conflict in specific types of society. The incomplete vote is most effective as a pacification mechanism in an oligarchic society, where politics is dominated by a reduced number of political factions that are either recruited from the dominant economic groups or agree in promoting the basic parameters of a primary export economy. Economic modernization, with the corresponding emergence of a more complex society and new social groups, may have caused the positive effects of power sharing to expire. The incomplete vote made possible the incorporation of an oligarchic opposition into an oligarchic government. The political incorporation of the social groups brought about by economic modernization, advancing demands that are characteristic of mass society, naturally requires different institutional and policy transformations; proportional representation is not enough. The failure of Colombian political institutions to adapt themselves to a new kind of society can be thought of as equivalent in terms of its effects on political order to Sanclemente's failure to incorporate Liberal oligarchies before the Thousand Days' War.

A second, political reason for the expiration of the positive effects of electoral rules is the decline of the parties' interest in controlling the legislative

branch relative to their aspirations of gaining access to the presidency. Growth in the size of government, a secular trend shared by almost all countries in the region, increased the value of the presidency as a political reward to partisan activity. In Colombia the party system became increasingly competitive starting in the early 1920s. The 1922 presidential election revealed to both parties that Liberals had regained enough strength to be a formidable electoral rival. When they were a clear minority, Liberals had contented themselves with a piece of Congress, and Conservatives did not feel any threat to their control over the presidency. A problem arose when both parties were able to compete for the presidency because, by its very nature, executive power is substantially harder to share than legislative power. The power-sharing institutions designed in 1905 acted to foster coexistence of parties only in the legislatures. Significantly, the Frente Nacional, the coalition government that managed to put an end to La Violencia, is a form of power sharing at the level of the executive branch.

Rokkan's Theory: From Scandinavia to the Tropics and the Pampas

The Colombian case illustrates that the leading argument in political science about the origins of electoral institutions, due to Rokkan, is correct: parties choose forms of representation to maximize their share of seats in congress. However, our research also points to an important caveat: parties maximize institutional power subject to the constraint that political order is preserved, which is done by making sure that rival parties receive a share of political power sufficient to dissuade them from destabilizing tactics. In the Scandinavian cases analyzed by Rokkan, proportional forms of representation were introduced by Conservative elites in power, who anticipated that the increasing popularity of the Socialist Party would soon send them into the opposition. Proportional representation, according to the calculations of the Conservatives, would prevent full control of the parliament by the Left and ensure a quota of power for the Conservative Party once they became a minority. The obvious question that the same Scandinavian cases pose, and Rokkan left unanswered, is why Socialist parties did not switch back to majoritarian forms of rule after they gained control of government. Such a reversal would in fact have maximized their presence in the legislatures.

Extending the political logic of our analysis of the Colombian case, it is plausible that Scandinavian Socialists preserved proportional representation because they did not want to risk alienating the opposition and forcing it into antidemocratic methods. Conventional arguments in political science on the

origins of electoral reform can thus be generalized. Motivations for electoral reform include not only the ambition of parties to make their share of seats as large as possible but also the fear of destabilization by the opposition. In two-party systems, the largest political party favors the electoral rule that over-represents the electoral majority (that is, majoritarian rule), unless such over-representation induces a significant threat of rebellion by the minority, in which case the big party will accede to more proportional forms of representation. That is the main theoretical lesson that can be extracted from our analysis of the Colombian case.

Although the incomplete vote is an exotic species of electoral rule, it found fertile soil in other South American countries. The incomplete vote was introduced in Uruguay in 1898 and in Argentina in 1912, and in both cases it was the outcome of a political process that provides further evidence on the role of electoral reform as a device for peaceful power sharing between government and opposition. In Uruguay and Argentina, reform was introduced by a political elite that feared revolution by the opposition more than it feared electoral defeat. In fact, as in Colombia in 1905, in both countries the party in government at the time of the adoption of the incomplete vote was confident of remaining in power well into the foreseeable future (although in the Argentine case this confidence was misplaced). The government sponsored an electoral reform that would inexorably shrink its presence in the legislatures. The only strategic motivation for reform, then, was appeasement.

The trajectory of the Uruguayan party system prior to the introduction of the reform is remarkably similar to the Colombian one: two historical parties, Colorados and Blancos, dominated the scene; like the Colombian Conservatives, Colorados achieved political hegemony by the end of the century and, like Colombian Liberals, Blancos were willing to challenge it through armed rebellion. An important difference between the two systems is that, in Uruguay, the territorial cleavage between the parties ran deeper than in Colombia, whereas the ideological one was more diffuse. In fact, the Uruguayan parties only disagreed over the participation of the opposition in government. Due to the geographical concentration of partisan forces, the Blancos fought not only for minority representation in Congress but also for control of a subset of the departments in which the Uruguayan territory is politically divided. Colorado governments acceded to both demands, but only after major civil wars. Blanco control over a fraction of departments was the achievement of the *Revolución de las Lanzas* (1870–72) and had to be regained in 1904 through a new military uprising after the Colorados reneged on their original commitment. Similarly, the institutionalization of minority representation in the Uruguayan Congress

was a direct consequence of the military uprising led by caudillo Aparicio Saravia in 1897. The intimate connection between pacification and electoral reform is revealed by the fact that the introduction of the incomplete vote was the main clause in the Pacto de la Cruz (September 1897), the peace agreement that put a formal end to Saravia's rebellion. (The pact thus has an identical political meaning to the Treaties of Neerlandia and Wisconsin in the Colombian case.)

In 1905, sensing that Uruguay was entering a new era of peaceful coexistence between the two parties, José Espalter, a prominent Colorado legislator, drew natural counterfactual conclusions:

Those who live in the country know that we could have avoided the Blanco revolution of 1897, and perhaps all other rebellions as well, if we had introduced an electoral system that allowed Blancos to have a minority in Congress. Someone heard one of our great statesmen saying: "give Blancos 12 legislators, and we will prevent war." War was not prevented because the opposition was not granted even one representative. The basis of peace was the law of incomplete vote, which allowed the minority to get a third of the representation. The law of the third is in fact the peace!⁴⁹

In Argentina, the incomplete vote was one of the three innovations introduced by the famous Ley Sáenz Peña, which gained continental prominence for its two other components, the secret ballot and mandatory suffrage. These two components meant full democratization of the oligarchic order established in the late 1870s. For the political elite that crafted the reform, however, the incomplete vote was no less crucial than effective democratization: around 70 percent of the legislative debate, including the best presentations by individual legislators, focused on the type of electoral rule. The complexity of the reform reveals that those who designed it were pursuing multiple goals. The consolidation of political stability, however, was clearly a chief motivation.

Unlike in Colombia and Uruguay, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Argentina witnessed the consolidation of a single-party system, dominated by the conservative Partido Autonomista Nacional. The challenger of the regime in Argentina was a new actor, the Unión Cívica Radical. Like the older oppositions in the other two countries, the main demand of the Radical Party was participation in power, and it also espoused insurgent tactics. The Radical

49. José Espalter, *El problema nacional* (Montevideo: Imprenta Tribuna Popular, 1905), 59–60.

Party was born as a splinter of the failed revolutionary movement mounted in 1890 by oligarchic groups excluded from government. Radicals rebelled again in 1893 and 1905, with no immediate results, but the sequence of uprisings helped to create a reformist movement within the conservative elite. In 1910, when president Roque Sáenz Peña promised electoral reform, a revolutionary episode was not imminent, but reformist conservatives were persuaded that the long-term consolidation of political stability required power sharing. "If the majority was not so selfish, the minority would never pose a threat to the institutional order," claimed Sáenz Peña himself in the brief message with which he submitted the bill of electoral reform to the Congress in August 1911.⁵⁰ In one of the best allocutions of the legislative debate, reformist legislator Ramón Cárcano resorted to metaphor to describe what was at stake with the reform: "When escape valves are closed, the boiler explodes. Every 10 years, following the fatal movement of a cosmic law, rebellion has shocked and mutilated the Republic. . . . For the last 20 years, the government has either fought open rebellions or feared the threat of them. Our current electoral laws are a bad system and a bad policy: they alienate citizens, induce abstention, and arm the opposition. Blood, prisons, proscriptions, trials, paralysis of wealth, commerce and work."⁵¹ Four years after the reform was approved, and to the surprise of conservative forces, the Radical Party won the presidency. Like the Scandinavian socialists in relation to proportional representation, Radicals preserved the incomplete vote, although the reintroduction of majoritarian rule would have furnished them with full control of Congress.

The introduction of the incomplete vote under the threat of rebellion by the opposition in both Uruguay and Argentina provides further evidence of the connection between conflict management and power-sharing institutions. These cases, taken together with the Colombian one, invite the development of a new research agenda: the comparative study of intraoligarchic conflict in Latin America. Democratization involves at least two subprocesses: in addition to the achievement of universal participation, it includes the emergence of a mechanism for peaceful coexistence between government and opposition. Divisions within the oligarchy generally preceded the emergence of the middle class and labor movements. Correspondingly, the search for a formula for a civilized relation between government and opposition was usually a challenge that dominant national oligarchies in Latin America had to face before they confronted

50. Roque Sáenz Peña, *La reforma electoral y temas de política internacional americana* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1952), 89.

51. *Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Diputados* 1911, 2:159–60.

demands for universal suffrage. The study of intraoligarchic conflict, and the solutions adopted (or lack thereof), is then crucial for understanding a pillar of modern political systems. Differences in timing in resolving intraoligarchic conflict in relation to other political innovations and social processes are consequential. In Colombia and Uruguay, power sharing between oligarchic groups through the representation of rival parties in Congress preceded by several decades the extension of the franchise to the entire population. In Argentina, by contrast, universal participation and the right of the opposition to be represented in the legislatures were enacted at the same time. Arguably, due to delayed adoption and overlap with the advent of mass politics, mechanisms of peaceful coexistence between government and opposition in Argentina lacked enough time to take root. In Colombia, the strong institutionalization of power sharing between Conservatives and Liberals before the introduction of effective universal suffrage in part explains the adaptability of the traditional two-party system; it may also account for the ability of historical parties to collude and thwart the emergence of democratic reformist movements.

Book Reviews

General and Sources

Maya Calendar Origins: Monuments, Mythistory, and the Materialization of Time.
By PRUDENCE M. RICE. The William and Bettye Nowlin Series in Art, History, and Culture of the Western Hemisphere. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xix, 268 pp. Cloth, \$65.00. Paper, \$27.95.

In her new book, Prudence M. Rice deals with one of the most exciting and most difficult issues of Mesoamerican and, indeed, Maya studies—that of the origin of the intricate Maya calendar system and its relation to political evolution. Before the Spanish conquest, the peoples living in Mesoamerica invented and used for at least two and a half millennia an interlocking calendar system that is based on the number 20 and its multiplication into cycles of 260 and 365 days. In turn these cycles were combined into even larger periods such as the approximately 20-year *katun* or the widely used 52-year period cycle.

Rice poses several questions as to when and where the different systems originated and how they became connected over the centuries. Her approach uses archaeological, epigraphic, iconographic, and ethnohistoric data. Her research method is a modified version of the direct historical approach where sources mainly derived from the Early Colonial period inform various interpretative points, which are then projected backwards. Rice clearly acknowledges the problem with this mostly inductive method and calls it “informed speculation and induction” (p. xvii); however, this is (she argues) better than leaving these highly important questions untreated.

The book’s propositions are presented in a clear and accessible language. Rice argues persuasively that both the 260- and 365-day calendars developed from at least 2000 BC, a thousand years earlier than previously proposed. Her arguments rest on the origin of the calendar names, which reflect both nonagricultural and agricultural phenomena, and the plausible hypothesis that hunter-gatherers were certainly able to design complex systems based on naked-eye astronomy.

As the hunter-gatherers became sedentary, the former daykeepers and observers of celestial phenomena became influential shaman-chiefs, who in turn evolved into the later rulers of Mesoamerican civilizations. According to Rice, the invention of the calendar happened in a specific area, namely at the tropical lowlands of the Isthmian region, where speakers of the proto-Mayan, proto-Mixe-Zoquean and proto-Otomanguan languages all interacted and laid down the foundations of many of the markers of the Mesoamerican civilizations.

Rice maintains that one of the main (if not the main) characteristics of the Formative and Classic Period civilization was the “materialisation and politicization of time,” where city plans, buildings, single public and private objects all embodied culture-specific complex knowledge of time and the movements of celestial bodies, reflecting ever-evolving and perfected calendar cycles. Indeed, she proposes that “Classic lowland Maya geopolitical-ritual organization . . . was based on the cycling of political capitals corresponding to the cycling of calendrical intervals of the *k’atun* . . . and the *may*. . . such organizations were shared with the Isthmian area of Mesoamerica during the Middle and Late Formative periods” (p. 185).

Rice put forward a similar suggestion for the Classic Maya in her recent book *Maya Political Science: Time, Astronomy, and the Cosmos* (University of Texas Press, 2004), and here I disagree with this hypothesis and its application for the earlier periods and other cultures in Mesoamerica. The supposed *may* cycle (approximately 256 years) is a serious scholarly misinterpretation by Munro Edmonson (*Heaven Born Mérida and Its Destiny: The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, University of Texas Press, 1986)—the source of Rice—found in the Chilam Balam manuscripts. As previous scholars (for example, William Hanks, John Justeson) have indicated, there is no evidence for the existence of such a cycle or its use during the Postclassic Period, and there is nothing in the Classic Period inscriptions which can be so interpreted. Instead, *may* is a Quichean term referring to the 20-year period cycle of 360 days in the Guatemalan highlands.

The use of Postclassic Highland Maya concepts and their transposition into Postclassic Yukatek sources in a seriously altered manner is deeply flawed and speculative, and their projection into the Classic Period, where contemporary written evidence does not attest to their existence, is a methodological error. In turn, the application, with even less evidence, of this highly dubious interpretation to Formative non-Maya cultures is strongly objectionable. Rice suggests that the Popol Vuh reflected the evolution of the calendar systems and that it is based on ideas developed in the fifth and fourth millenniums. Her proposal unfortunately is not only contentious but also based on the same faulty and circular logic as her *may* hypothesis.

While *Maya Calendar Origins* is a tremendous effort and proposes several hypotheses that will generate debate among archaeologists, epigraphers, and art historians, its two most important propositions (the *may* cycle and the reflections of the calendar systems in the Popol Vuh) are highly questionable. Nevertheless, the book is a valuable addition to Mesoamerican studies as it directs attention to the long-neglected calendar systems and their possible roles in social evolution and ultimately in political organization. Further research in this area will certainly build on Rice’s contributions, but it cannot afford to rest on her assumptions.

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Rabinal Achi: A Fifteenth-Century Maya Dynastic Drama. Edited by ALAIN BRETON. Translated by TERESA LAVENDER FAGAN and ROBERT SCHNEIDER. Foreword by ROBERT M. CARMACK. Mesoamerican Worlds. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2007. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xviii, 396 pp. Cloth, \$75.00. Paper, \$34.95.

Rabinal Achi is an English translation of Alain Breton's 1994 French translation of and commentary on a Quiché-Achi Mayan drama still performed in the Guatemalan town of San Pablo Rabinal. The book consists of four main sections. The introduction explains the nineteenth- and twentieth-century histories of the two extant scripts of the drama, outlines what we know about the late pre-Hispanic historical period in which the drama is set, briefly summarizes the drama's events and characters, and presents Breton's approach to translation. Part 1 reproduces in facsimile "The Pérez Manuscript"—a manuscript of the play written in 1913 and still used to perform the drama today. Part 2 re-presents the drama's text in a facing-page transcription (on the left) and translation (on the right), with easily consulted footnotes below. Finally, Part 3 offers a commentary on the drama, providing maps of places mentioned in the text, proposing a series of symbolic interpretations based on close linguistic readings (such as on the relations between kings and warriors), and suggesting that the play's fifteenth-century events are retold within the framework of an "exemplary history," making reference to ancient origins in which wandering hunters in the pre-sunrise darkness of the primordial world become civilized. These four main sections are framed by a preface written by ethnohistorian Robert Carmack, an extensive glossary, a bibliography, and an index.

I was asked to write this review in part because I had previously reviewed Dennis Tedlock's 2003 *Rabinal Achi: A Mayan Drama of War and Sacrifice*. A comparison of these two editions will be useful here, not simply because both books offer differing translations of the same basic script, but also because both translations were begun at the same time and were undertaken in collaboration with the same Maya expert: José-León Coloch. Coloch, a resident of San Pablo Rabinal, is the current custodian of the Pérez manuscript and is responsible for its current performance. Breton met Coloch in May 1987 and began working with him on a French translation in 1988 (work that continued in 1989, 1990, and 1992). Tedlock began working with Coloch on an English translation in 1988 and 1989 and returned to Rabinal in 1998 to see several productions of the drama staged by Coloch. I imagine that a careful reading of Breton's and Tedlock's translations and notes side by side would allow for the partial emergence of a third translation: one favored by José-León Coloch himself. Both Breton and Tedlock make extensive reference to Coloch's input in their notes and also point out when they have chosen readings that Coloch disagreed with.

But despite the coeval origins of both translations, these two editions of the *Rabinal Achi* are distinct, complementary rather than redundant. The principal difference between the two editions is their interpretive focus. Breton emphasizes a philological and (as he himself admits) structuralist analysis. Tedlock emphasizes performance and his-

tory: how do the extant scripts of the Rabinal Achi (written down in 1855 and 1913) relate to theatrical traditions of the past (pre-Hispanic and colonial) and present? For example, each author highlights the poetics of the drama in different ways. Breton's poetic presentation is based solely on the formal structures preserved in the text itself (couplets and parallelisms, for example). In contrast, Tedlock modifies this internal poetic structure according to how such embedded poetry was amplified or modified when spoken by actors during actual performances in 1998. Where Tedlock discusses the linguistic details of his translation in endnotes and presents the entire text only in English translation, Breton presents both the Quiché-Achi text and its translation side by side. This format alone makes an important contribution to Mesoamerican studies and makes it possible for even nonspecialists (or beginning linguists) to appreciate the language and poetics of the Quiché-Achi script. Breton's footnoted presentation of parallel transcription and translation also makes less problematic this edition's status as a translation (into English) of a translation (into French) of a Quiché-Achi play. The original Quiché-Achi text is always present, Breton's glossary defines Quiché-Achi words by reproducing the (untranslated) Spanish definitions provided in colonial linguistic sources, and Breton's footnotes occasionally make reference to ways Quiché-Achi phrasings have French parallels (e.g., pp. 218, 240). In other words, the reader of this English translation is never far from the Quiché-Achi original, the Spanish vocabularies used by Breton to translate that original, and indeed the translation's 1994 French incarnation.

All this is not to say that Tedlock ignores the details of translation, or that Breton ignores history and context. Breton makes frequent reference to archaeological and ethnographic material, and Tedlock's linguistic endnotes (around 20,000 words) are slightly more extensive than Breton's linguistic footnotes (around 15,000 words). Rather, each author chooses to foreground different things.

My main reservation with Breton's edition is that it never fully grapples with colonial history. Breton's introduction barely references the colonial period (focusing instead on the pre-Hispanic past and on the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history of the play's scripts). He even argues that although it was "transcribed into Latin characters during the colonial period, [the *Rabinal Achi*] suffers from no European influence" (p. 4). But there are many reasons to believe that this drama is something more than a miraculously untouched pre-Hispanic artifact. As early as the 1920s, Georges Raynaud suggested that the script's repeated use of the number "12" represented a colonial "mutilation" (replacing the Mesoamerican "13" with a symbolically Christian numeration). More recently, Tedlock's *Rabinal Achi* considers the play as a colonial product on multiple levels. Indeed, the very act of writing down a fixed script for actors to memorize, and the failure to transcribe the music that once accompanied this dance-drama, should both be considered dramatic, if almost invisible, colonial interventions into a pre-Hispanic genre. In other words, the subtitle of Breton's translation—*A Fifteenth-Century Maya Dynastic Drama*—is significant, and diagnostic.

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Ethnic Identity in Nahua Mesoamerica: The View from Archaeology, Art History, Ethnohistory, and Contemporary Ethnography. By FRANCES F. BERDAN, JOHN K. CHANCE, ALAN SANDSTROM, BARBARA L. STARK, JAMES TAGGART, and EMILY UMBERGER. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 266 pp. Cloth, \$50.00.

This is one of the best books available on the topic of ethnicity. Not only is the concept analyzed in thorough fashion by all the authors of the anthology, but most importantly, ethnicity in the specific case of the Nahua peoples of Mexico is illustrated for pre-Hispanic, colonial, and modern historical periods. Furthermore, a serious attempt is made to shed light on the concept according to the distinct subdisciplines (or methodological approaches) of the subtitle.

Part of the volume's success derives from the authors' similar conceptualization of ethnicity as shared cultural features concerning origins and identities, generated in the context of competition for scarce resources. This defining approach to ethnicity, based largely on the writings of Fredrik Barth, is explored in detail in the opening chapter by Barbara Stark and John Chance, and all of the authors in the chapters that follow return to the topic and provide their own insights on ethnicity in general and Nahua ethnicity in particular.

As might be expected in a study that covers some seven hundred years of history, the treatment of Nahua ethnicity during the three general periods is somewhat uneven. More attention is given to the Nahua of the pre-Hispanic period, especially as it relates to the Aztec city-states (*altepetl*). The chapters on Aztec ethnicity—by Emily Umberger based on the study of Aztec sculptures, and by Frances Berdan based on Aztec documentary sources—provide some of the clearest and most telling features of the Nahua tradition available in the literature. I was captivated by the detailed nature of their accounts and the clarity with which they described ethnic relations during that late pre-Hispanic period.

John Chance's chapter on the colonial period provides a broad overview of changing Nahua identities with the coming of the Spaniards. A fuller general account of the period, with all its complexities, would have provided a better balance with the preceding essays. Nevertheless, his reference to the *títulos primordiales* to flesh out ethnic changes during the latter part of the colonial period is illuminating. His discussion of the *caciques* in the eighteenth century offers an opening into late colonial changes in Nahua ethnicity, albeit a somewhat limited one.

Perhaps the most convincing cases for seeing ethnicity as "a creative response on the part of members of one group to domination by or competition with members of another group" (p. 157) are made by Alan Sandstrom and James Taggart in their detailed accounts of ethnicity among contemporary Nahua and other Native Americans of Northern Veracruz (Sandstrom) and Puebla (Taggart). Both adopt a strong "instrumental" (versus "primordial") view in describing the contemporary formation of ethnicity by the Nahua in their struggles with Mestizos in the two areas. In the case of Veracruz, Sandstrom claims that the Nahua there are "unconcerned about the aboriginal authen-

ticity of the aspects of culture they choose to regard as indigenous" (p. 163). In a particularly clear instrumental statement, he posits that "anthropologists and historians will locate the root cause of ethnic-group formation in political domination . . . and the need for subjugated groups to protect themselves from annihilation" (p. 180). Nevertheless, he goes on to demonstrate that many contemporary Nahua religious and ritual features in the area are "rooted in the prehispanic past."

James Taggart's study of ethnic relations in Puebla, Mexico, is centered on a violent dispute between local Nahua and Mestizos that flared up in 1977 over disputed lands. The lands—in possession of the Mestizos—were invaded by a peasant organization dominated by Nahuas. Retaliation by the Mestizos resulted in the death of over two hundred Nahua men, women, and children. Taggart draws on his study of language and narration in order to understand the ethnic thinking behind the actions of the two groups. Among the cultural differences between the groups is the Mestizos' belief in racial superiority, inherited from the Spanish colonizers, an identity based on "being." Local Nahua culture includes an element of being, in the sense of sharing places of origin, but the strongest cultural element is one of "doing," such as planting and consuming maize. Like Sandstrom, Taggart finds ethnic cultural ideas to be grounded in struggles for resources, but these ideas contain deeply felt concepts that have guided them in diverse forms all the way back to pre-Hispanic times.

I have long thought that ethnicity is an overused concept, often employed when other sociocultural contexts (such as states, classes, economic organizations, religious groups, etc.) might better define the identity issue involved. This issue is fully discussed by the authors of this timely book, and they make a convincing argument for ethnicity's relevance in the world's societies, past and present.

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Alone in Mexico: The Astonishing Travels of Karl Heller, 1845–1848.

By KARL BARTOLOMEUS HELLER. Translated and edited by TERRY RUGELEY.

Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations.

Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xix, 274 pp. Cloth.

When the young Austrian botanist and collector Carl Bartholomaeus Heller first set foot on Mexican soil at Veracruz, he was not yet 21. Starting from Vienna, Heller spent much of the period 1845–48 moving around various regions of Mexico, one of the many Europeans stimulated to travel in the Americas by the work of Alexander von Humboldt earlier in the century. His travel account eventually emerged in 1853 from a series of newspaper sketches. The timing of Heller's observations is valuable in an effort to capture a sense of the republic during the Mexican-American War. Political difficulties in the core of the nation pushed Heller toward the peripheries. His comments on such regions as Tabasco and parts of Chiapas offer something distinctive in the historiography.

Written in the heroic mode of so much nineteenth-century travel literature, Heller offers the usual complex mix of perceptions and prejudices about people and landscapes, which scholars from many disciplines continue to mine. By translating his work into English, the Mexicanist historian Terry Rugeley has made a welcome effort to bring Heller back from obscurity. Heller is not, however, quite as obscure as Rugeley maintains in his introduction. The geographer Alfred Siemens drew carefully on Heller's work in his book dealing with ways of perceiving tropical landscapes, *Between the Summit and the Sea: Central Veracruz in the Nineteenth Century* (University of British Columbia Press, 1990).

Heller's experiences in Mexico were often very difficult, but he endeavored to provide an accounting of most of what he saw. His book is full of striking, detailed observations, including the state of the theaters, where even the women smoked during the performances, or the claim that it was best to travel on Sundays, when the bandits were in church. Like so many of his European contemporaries, Heller was far from open minded in his approach to indigenous matters, but his attention to their cultural expressions is sustained. He tried to convey the character of the economic geography, most notably the agriculture, from region to region. But his biggest challenge was to describe what he termed the "indescribably profound diversity" of tropical landscapes (p. 48). These became another type of theater in Heller's hands, one full of romantic elements. Thus we find him comparing the forms of wild fig trees with those of Gothic architecture and quoting Friedrich Schiller on the divinity to be found within the plant world. Heller was clearly excited by his encounters with the wealth of ecological diversity to be found in tropical regions. His taste ran more toward mountains than any lowland plains. On sighting the mountains of Chiapas for the first time, he allowed that flatlands had been disagreeable to him from childhood onward. Prose poems to tropical nature are a huge part of his descriptions.

In a book of this kind, it is sometimes unclear what was written in the field and what was embellished from the study. In any case, Heller was strikingly reflective and prescient in his concern that too little attention had been paid to the emotional lives of explorers, seeing "the storms of the soul and the senses" as more challenging than the often daunting physical circumstances of travel which he himself experienced (p. 223).

Terry Rugeley has made a sterling effort to render Heller's German work accessible to an Anglophone academy. The rationale for moving beyond the original title is not obvious, especially when it remains unclear just how much time Heller truly spent alone. Rugeley includes a valuable introduction that sets Heller into context. He made the choice to excise things like statistical appendixes from the translation, which changes the feel of the book, as does his inclusion of a carefully chosen set of plates meant to enhance the power of some of Heller's descriptions. They accomplish this, for the most part, although the motorized vehicles in the streets of Campeche distract from engagement with Heller's world. The notes at the end of the book are often of great value, especially those drawing on the editor's regional expertise. But sometimes they fall short. For example, the name of the important German traveler Eduard Friedrich Poeppig is

misspelled. And Poeppig's travels in South America (1827–32) are more significant than his natural history museum at Leipzig. Neither his travels, nor the massive travel account he wrote, are mentioned. There are also slips in the translations. For example, why use "Donau" where "Danube" would serve? "Schattland" left in the German comes from a misreading of the original; Heller's reference was to the Scotland district of Barbados (p. 23). The famous German publisher Brockhaus is wrongly Anglicized as "Brockhouse." Nevertheless, Rugeley's edition and translation will open Heller's many insights to a broader scholarly audience. The vast work involved deserves our thanks.

STEPHEN BELL, UCLA

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-089

Sociología Guatemalteca: El problema social del indio. By MIGUEL ÁNGEL ASTURIAS. Edited with an introduction by JULIO CÉSAR PINTO SORIA. Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, 2007. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. 116 pp. Paper.

This is a new edition of the 1923 doctoral dissertation of Miguel Ángel Asturias with an introduction by Dr. Julio César Pinto Soria. Originally published in 1971 in France and again in 1977 at Arizona State University, the text is a sociological examination of the problems facing Guatemala's indigenous population in the early twentieth century filtered through the lens of turn-of-the-century sociological theories. One of the reasons behind this new edition of Asturias's doctoral dissertation is made clear in Pinto Soria's frustration with what he terms a long history of disinterest and denial of the author's work in his native country. In addition to the editor's introduction, the book includes the original dissertation as written and edited by Asturias in 1923 and the "Advertencia" written by Asturias to accompany its 1971 publication. This is the first time that the text has been published in this form in Guatemala, but the widespread negative reception of its ideological conclusions is unlikely to be altered by the location of its publication.

Pinto Soria's introduction accurately portrays the sociological and historical environment within which Asturias studied and developed his dissertation. Through a careful examination of the influences of positivism, social Darwinism, social regeneration, and eugenics on Asturias's 1923 text, Pinto Soria attempts to show that *El problema social del indio* is more than a racist diatribe against the indigenous population of Guatemala. Indeed, the editor argues that Asturias, having gone to study in Europe shortly after completing his dissertation, quickly distanced himself from the racist sociological theories evident therein but maintained his desire to critique the continued exclusion and oppression of Guatemala's indigenous population. According to Pinto Soria, this transformation is clear in Asturias's early literary works, *Leyendas de Guatemala* (1930) and *Hombres de maíz* (1949), in which indigenous themes are central to his representations of Guatemalan culture.

Pinto Soria recognizes the lengthy criticism that has shrouded Asturias's first text and attempts to refute the accusations that the author was a racist who promoted the elimination of indigenous cultures. By highlighting the many critical social observations that the young graduate student made concerning the treatment of Guatemala's indigenous population, Pinto Soria highlights Asturias's critical observations of the treatment of indigenous people and attempts to reposition the text as the first step of a writer whose work would ultimately incorporate and celebrate myriad themes and images of Guatemala's indigenous cultures. Though the editor claims that Asturias needs no defense or justification, much of his introduction focuses on redirecting the critical polemic surrounding the 1923 text. This argument is not likely to garner much critical support either in Guatemala or abroad.

Asturias develops his thesis around the premise that the indigenous populations of Guatemala have suffered a long process of "devitalization" since the sixteenth-century Spanish conquest, which has left them with little or no chance of salvation as a race. Though he identifies the conditions of exploitation, exclusion, and misery imposed upon Guatemala's indigenous majority as a primary cause of this devitalization, Asturias's solutions center mainly on Eurocentric immigration and racial "revitalization" through a homogenizing infusion of "stronger" racial lines. Asturias's introduction to the 1971 edition of his text retracts this solution, calling it youthful enthusiasm, and proposes that indigenous populations be provided the means to develop their own cultures; but this brief statement does little or nothing to change the disparaging lens that dominates his portrayals of an entire race. This text is an interesting representation of the influence of nineteenth-century sociological theories on a young Guatemalan scholar, but the reader is left to wonder about the intellectual value a new edition of Asturias's 1923 text in an era when so many contemporary scholars, many of them indigenous themselves, are examining and working to improve the situation of Guatemala's indigenous population with no reliance on debunked racist sociological theories.

Pinto Soria's introduction to this 2007 edition of *El problema del indio* provides a well-researched perspective of the sociohistorical environment within which it was originally written. By examining the many European and Latin American influences within Asturias's doctoral dissertation, Pinto Soria considers the text as a valuable historical document and an integral part of Guatemalan intellectual history, without feeling any need to defend the elements of the discourse that have been so widely criticized. The goals of this latest edition appear to be a multifaceted effort to preserve a part of Guatemala's cultural heritage, despite its controversial nature, to attempt to shed light on the circumstances of its production, and to make it more easily accessible to Guatemalan readers interested in that heritage.

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Reframing Latin America: A Cultural Theory Reading of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. By ERIK CHING, CHRISTINA BUCKLEY, and ANGÉLICA LOZANO-ALONSO. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Notes. Index. xviii, 349 pp. Cloth, \$70.00. Paper, \$29.95.

Historian Erik Ching and literary critics Christina Buckley and Angélica Lozano-Alonso offer an introductory reader and essay collection on Latin American cultural studies primarily aimed toward undergraduate courses. The book's first section is a general introduction to basic concepts on cultural theory and postmodernism. The second section discusses the social construction of class, race, gender, and nation in Latin America. The final section excerpts canonic texts and short essays considered representative of Latin American cultural studies.

In the first section, the authors introduce the reader to the methodologies of Saussure, Edward Said, and Stuart Hall, among other representative cultural critics and theorists, and develop the idea of identity as a social construct. Importantly, the authors address the criticism advanced by influential Latin American scholars who are suspicious of postmodernism, a central influence on cultural studies, "as yet another form of intellectual imperialism by Europe and North America" (p. 11). The authors consider such misgiving unfounded, pointing out the contributions of thinkers such as Paulo Freire, Ernesto Laclau, and Néstor García Canclini to the emergence of cultural studies. For the authors, cultural criticism represents, in itself, an anticolonial project aiming at debunking the Western European and North American claim to civilizational superiority. Nevertheless, they note, in order to fulfill this goal, metropolitan cultural studies should allow for criticism originating from the periphery.

The introduction to the second section excerpts passages from Harry Foster's *Gringo in Mañana-Land*, a reminder of the long history of U.S. stereotypes regarding Latin America. Foster's sample, as well as one from Arthur de Gobineau, exemplifies how modernist discourses essentialized race, ethnicity, gender, and nation. In contrast, excerpts from Stuart Hall, Lawrence Blum, Candace West and Don Zimmerman, and Peter Wade demonstrate how those identity categories are constructed. David Parker's examination of Lima's 1919 *empleados* strike shows that Peruvian middle-class sectors were not merely defined by material conditions but, more significantly, by mechanisms of identity formation such as collective performances and political action. Finally, Louis Pérez provides evidence of how Cuban nationality emerged as a counter-hegemonic response to U.S. cultural domination.

The last chapter in this section confronts three literary critics' views on Latin America: Gerald Martin, Leslie Bary, and Walter Mignolo. The authors believed Martin represents an essentialist approach to Latin America. In contrast, Leslie Bary questions the authority of the canonic writers to speak in the name of Latin America. According to the authors, while Martin understands canonic writers as revealers of a supposedly hidden truth about Latin America, Bary places them in the socioeconomic context from which they wrote and includes voices from the margins (such as Rigoberta Menchu)

to build a more complex understanding of the region. Finally, Mignolo promotes what he calls “border thinking,” a confluence of theory from Western European and Anglo-American traditions and Latin America’s own sources.

The third section opens with excerpts representing contrasting nineteenth-century views on race relations (Sarmiento’s *Facundo*, Rómulo Gallegos’s *Doña Bárbara*, and Martí’s *Nuestra América*). The section interpolates scholarly analysis of the films *Soy Cuba*, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, and *Mi familia* (by the editors), *Los tres caballeros* (by Julianne Burton), *Como agua para chocolate* (by Barbara Tenenbaum and Harmony Wu), with samples of magical realism and testimonial literature (Elena Garro’s “It’s the Fault of the Tlaxcaltecas,” and *Celsa’s World* by Thomas Tirado) as well as Alma Guillermoprieto’s review of Che Guevara’s biographies.

Parts of this volume would be effective for instructors teaching courses on Latin American cultural history. One very positive aspect is the authors’ intention to avoid the “language shock” that they claim most people experience when exposed to cultural studies. They achieve this goal both by writing in eloquent style and by selecting texts clear enough for undergraduate readers. The authors’ introductory discussion on modernity and identity is particularly engaging. In addition, the selection of film analyses would nicely complement film viewing.

It is unclear, though, that the volume would completely accommodate the needs of history instructors. The authors favor topics that are primarily literary, giving less consideration to several key historical issues such as *caudillismo*, indigenous identity, women’s movements, mass media development, music and dance, religiosity, nationalism and populism. Many texts, especially in the second section, are not primarily concerned with Latin America, which has the effect of diluting the focus of the book. More problematic is the preference for contemporary European and U.S. scholars over Latin Americans. Only 6 out of 20 authors whose texts are included are Latin American born, and that includes Sarmiento, Gallegos, and Martí, as well as fiction writer Garro and journalist Guillermoprieto. Theorists and critics such as Laclau, Freire, García Canclini, Enrique Dussel, and Angel Rama (the later inexplicably introduced as a “Brazilian essayist” on p. 153) are cited often but never excerpted. This omission contradicts the authors’ quest to decolonize scholarly discourse and at the same time undercuts the opportunity for U.S. students to be in direct contact with Latin American production.

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Historical Dictionary of United States–Latin American Relations. By JOSEPH SMITH. Historical Dictionaries of U.S. Diplomacy, 3. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007. Map. Appendixes. Bibliography. xlvii, 277 pp. Cloth, \$80.00.

The *Historical Dictionary of United States–Latin American Relations* is one of several hundred such volumes published by Scarecrow Press. With topics as broad as “feminism” and as narrow as “The Salvation Army,” the Scarecrow series provides a compendium of useful factual information in an accessible, alphabetical format. Joseph Smith, reader in American diplomatic history at Exeter University in England, is equipped to tackle such an assignment. He has authored surveys of Brazilian history and of U.S.–Latin American diplomatic history, has coauthored the Scarecrow historical dictionary on the Cold War, and has edited *History*, the journal of the Historical Association of Great Britain. United States–Latin American relations are among the broader topics of the Scarecrow series, and the current volume has both the merits and the limitations that inevitably accompany such breadth.

Smith begins with a useful introductory overview that establishes the asymmetrical and conflict-ridden nature of the relationship. For the United States, relations with Latin America alternate in cycles of disinterest and intervention. Intervention is often presented as altruistic, an interpretation that is often convincing to U.S. citizens though not to Latin Americans. Latin American responses fluctuate from resentment to complaints of U.S. neglect, but with an underlying awareness that, “in a relationship of unequals, a ‘sleeping giant’ can be preferable to one that is wide awake” (p. xxx). The editor’s foreword states that relations have been “limited,” “inadequate,” and “awkward” (p. vii), an accurate appraisal, it would seem.

The dictionary comprises 216 pages of the 328-page volume. Entries are brief (averaging a page or less) but are almost unfailingly accurate. The jacket blurb hints that the volume focuses on the period between the Monroe Doctrine and the Reagan Doctrine and, while coverage extends back to U.S. independence and forward to the present, at either end of the core period it is less complete. The dictionary focuses almost entirely on formal diplomatic relations and, for the most part, ignores informal, cultural ones. It provides good coverage to the evolution of the inter-American system, useful short descriptions of key incidents in hemispheric diplomatic relations, and lots of entries for important foreign policy actors, particularly those from the United States. The coverage of Mexico seems weak (for example, there is no entry for Henry Lane Wilson or for any of Woodrow Wilson’s envoys to Mexico after the revolution) and on the Caribbean, coverage is spotty, in part because, as the editor notes, a separate volume on U.S.–Caribbean relations is forthcoming. Hopefully a more detailed volume on the important bilateral relations between the United States and Mexico will follow.

Of course, it is easy to find omissions in a brief volume that is not as easily updated as today’s electronic reference sources. A more substantive criticism is that there is a great deal of repetition in the entries. While few readers will read this volume from cover to cover, those using it as a reference may be disappointed to find that cross-listed entries

often repeat much the same information. A distraction is that the volume provides no topical index. Instead, entries on each country in the hemisphere and on such broad topics as “armed intervention,” “trade,” and “investment” are included in the dictionary itself. A topical index could direct the user to specific entries and allow the dictionary to increase coverage with the same number of pages. A final concern is that though the volume is not cheap, the binding on the examination copy gave out after only minor abuse.

Extra features include a chronology (too brief to juxtapose significant events or developments, but useful as a quick overview of the ebb and flow of the relationship); a listing of U.S. presidents and secretaries of state; and a brief but valuable selection of excerpts from key U.S. policy statements on Latin America. Of greatest value, perhaps, is a substantial bibliography, both annotated and topical. The bibliography contains only a handful of Spanish and Portuguese-language sources, which limits its value to the serious Latin American scholar, but it provides a comprehensive listing of sources currently available in English.

Historical Dictionary of United States-Latin American Relations has little that is truly new for the scholar with some background in U.S.–Latin American relations. However it is a reliable reference source for college and university libraries and a handy desk reference for the lecturer, student, or nonspecialist scholar who prefers the substantiality of a book to the ethereal impermanence and suspect authority of electronic reference sources.

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Colonial Period

The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative. By ROLENA ADORNO. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xix, 428 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

This is a book about unexpected connections among colonial authors we thought we knew well. It is also about the traffic between literature and history that historians adamantly seek to police on the grounds that our discipline is allegedly about facts, not fiction. The key to this complex book is the “polemics of possession,” the mid-sixteenth-century debates spearheaded by Bartolomé de las Casas on whether Spain had the right to rule the lands and peoples of the Indies. The details and chronology of these debates are well known, and Adorno builds on the scholarship of Lewis Hanke, Anthony Pagden, and Sabine MacCormack, among many others. Claims of rightful possession, or lack thereof, we have been told, ultimately rested on philosophical and religious arguments over the “quality” and accomplishments of Amerindian minds and societies. Adorno, however, goes a step further and demonstrates that the polemic colored every subject and touched every writer well into the seventeenth century.

For example, Adorno shows that certain puzzling aspects of the work of Guaman

Poma stemmed from a dialogue with Las Casas, who late held that authority should devolve back to the Amerindian nobilities. Boldly, Guaman Poma presented his own son as the rightful heir to the Incas, entitled to preside over the autonomous Amerindian kingdom of Peru, a kingdom long prepared for Christianity. It should surprise no one, therefore, that the frontispiece of the *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* has Guaman Poma and Philip III kneeling before the Pope next to their coats of arms, for in the composite monarchy that was the Catholic Church, the lands of Peru rightfully belonged to provincial Amerindian nobles. Adorno also shows that the writings of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl sought to refute writers like Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, who presented the Aztecs as cruel cannibals when facing millions of defenseless Amerindian rivals, and effeminate cowards when facing a handful of Spanish soldiers. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, therefore, cast the Texcocans as active allies of Cortés and great warriors, the product of a culture that valued military prowess. Adorno demonstrates that the polemic even informed debates over the epistemological authority of those anonymous conquistadors marginalized by either contemporary historians, bent on transforming Cortés into a lonesome Herculean hero, or imperial bureaucrats, adamant in taking the conquistadors' *encomiendas* away. Adorno offers a subtle, penetrating reading of Bernal Díaz de Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*. Either as a *probanza* (judicial inquiry to prove a point) or as a *relación* (formal report of an event to be presented to the authorities), *Historia verdadera* ought to be read as a brief on the *encomiendas* as a rightful reward. Díaz portrayed the conquest as a "just war" against the Aztecs, who had both disobeyed Moctezuma's donation of imperial authority and schemed to kill off the Spaniards at Cholula.

The careful attention to Díaz's legal argument comes as a result of Adorno's reconstruction of his overall career. She shows, for example, that Díaz began writing the *Historia verdadera* after having first participated in debates over the legality of the *encomienda* in Valladolid. Such attention to career trajectories also allows her to set the record straight on Las Casas's alleged promotion of the slave trade. Adorno acknowledges that Las Casas early on did promote African slavery to alleviate the plight of the Indians. But as soon as he read in Portuguese sources that Africans were not slaves captured in wars against Islam, but chattel bought on demand, Las Casas became a staunch opponent of the trade.

As a careful reader with a keen eye for detail, Adorno demonstrates that many episodes and places that historians would quickly embrace as facts were actually inventions by participants in the debate, hard-pressed to illustrate a point. For example, Adorno makes patently explicit that Gonzalo Guerrero, the captive who allegedly fought for the Mayans in the Spanish conquest of Yucatán, is a figment of our collective imagination. She ingeniously traces how a couple of contradictory passing references to a shipwrecked maroon slowly evolved into a full-fledged character, now immortalized even in a public sculpture in Yucatán. The permeable traffic between "literature" and "history" is also exemplified by "Guancane," a place meticulously described by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in his *Florida del Inca* but that only existed in Garcilaso's own imagination. Histo-

rians could naively be tempted to assume that Guancane was in fact one of the places visited by Hernando de Soto.

This book is a masterful reminder that often the chroniclers of the Indies chose “the ethereal airiness of myth to the cold antechamber of the archive” (p. 306) and that historians forget at their own peril “the low wall that, mostly by illusion, separates the realm of history from that of literature” (p. 245).

JORGE CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA, University of Texas at Austin

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Religion in New Spain. Edited by SUSAN SCHROEDER and STAFFORD POOLE. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Index. ix, 358 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

This excellent volume is a selection of 16 papers originally presented at a Tulane conference in honor of Richard Greenleaf. The articles are a rich sampler of recent work on religion in New Spain, providing new insights into how religion functioned socially and culturally, depending on region, race, and class, as well as how the Catholic Church as an institution responded in local situations.

Several contributions utilize Inquisition records or deal with the Holy Office directly. Of outstanding importance is María Elena Martínez’s article closely examining the development of the concept of purity of blood in Spain, its codification in statutes, and its application in colonial Mexico. In New Spain, Old Christian status became a critical test for men’s suitability for both civil and religious offices by rigorous investigation of candidates’ ancestry. Martínez contends that, in the colonial context, it became also a basis for categories in the *sistema de castas*, with European racial attitudes toward Indian and African ancestries being rooted in notions of religious purity. Another noteworthy contribution is Stanley M. Hordes’s examination of the Inquisition and crypto-Jews in New Mexico, in which he concludes that Spanish society and royal officials on the northern frontier were well aware and unconcerned about the presence of Jews. He contends that only because Franciscans engaged in a power struggle with the local governor did Jews’ presence become an issue, disrupting the otherwise tolerant attitude on the frontier.

On the southern cultural frontier of Yucatán, John Chuchiak studies cases of priestly solicitation of Maya men, women, and children in the confessional, showing how Mayas’ graphic and lurid accusations of priestly sexual abuse allowed them to gain power and to have offending clergy removed. The vulnerability of priests to this particular charge allowed Mayas to oust clergy who might well not have been sexually immoral but who were abusive in other ways. Chuchiak sees in these Mayas’ accusations of solicitation a successful cultural defense against a whole range of Spanish aggression.

In another example of indigenous agency against the imposition of Spanish culture, David Tavárez analyzes rich eighteenth-century archival evidence of campaigns to extir-

pate idolatry in the Zapotec region. Local clerics' discovery of idol-worshipping natives, many of whom were the political elites of indigenous communities, demonstrates the persistence of traditional religious beliefs. The extirpation campaign shows the equal persistence of Spanish clerics to win the spiritual conquest and impose economic and political punishment as well as religion on Zapotecs.

Art historian Jeanette Favrot Peterson's cogent article on the Virgin of Guadalupe examines images that predate the mid-seventeenth-century texts of the apparition story. Peterson identifies the earliest artistic renderings of the Guadalupe image as a painting by Baltasar Echave Orio (1606) and an engraving by Samuel Stradanus (1613), the latter of which includes eight miracle stories associated with the Virgin. In these images, Peterson sees the Catholic Church sanctioning existing Guadalupan oral tradition in a more permanent form, while securing institutional control over the cult decades before the texts of the Sánchez and the *Nican mopohua*.

In James D. Riley's article on priests and social order in Tlaxcala, he explores the notion of *herrschaft* (lordship) whereby Spanish families in Tlaxcala that could not secure political power and control indigenous labor through a single strategy encouraged sons to become clerics, adding religious power to other forms. Riley argues that Spanish *hacendados* and merchants could only mobilize indigenous labor by this linkage to religious power. Michael A. Polushin's article also adds to this literature by examining late colonial Chiapas, showing how local Spanish elites utilized religion to forward their own interests. He argues that priests promoted particular religious celebrations to gain political and economic advantage over meddling crown officials.

In other articles in the collection, Asunción Lavrin, the premier historian of female religious in New Spain, discusses the spiritual writings of colonial nuns, while Mónica Díaz examines the indigenous nuns of Corpus Christi. Kevin Terraciano discusses indigenous ambivalence toward Christianity in early colonial Oaxaca; Lisa Sousa examines traditional Nahua ideas and practices of marriage. Martha Few studies how stories of miraculous healings of children fit into larger Catholic strategies of conversion, appealing to parental concerns about their ill children through the church's mediation. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera examines the language of the body as an arena of cultural contestation between the Nahua and Spanish worlds. Although Spanish and Nahua ideas about comportment were similar, she shows how the underlying ideologies were significantly different. Javier Villa-Flores examines changing attitudes toward gambling and blasphemy from the Hapsburg to the Bourbon periods. Adding to the literature on the northern frontier is Maureen Ahern's article on early missionaries and martyrs in the north, and Kristin Dutcher Mann's excellent study of Franciscan and Jesuit music as an integral element in the spiritual conquest.

This anthology could easily serve as a course text, providing students and experts alike a broad range of topics and approaches presented in clear, accessible prose. Authors, editors, and the press are to be commended for this fine work.

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Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550–1650.

By ALAN DURSTON. History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007. Map. Notes.

Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 395 pp. Paper, \$42.00.

Pastoral Quechua is many books in one. It is a history of the institutions that fathered pastoral Quechua (secular clergy, mendicants, and Jesuits); of the ideology that justified its creation, Inca Christianity; and of the language, its texts, and its use. The topics include pre-evangelization in the Andes attributed to St. Thomas, St. Bartholomew, or the Devil; Quechua translators and writers; mestizos' presence in the Catholic Church; the Quechua "cartillas" since Juan de Betanzos's translations; genres and their poetics; the creation and evolution of an official corpus of Quechua pastoral texts; changing attitudes toward inclusion of Andean religious vocabulary and Andean customs in Christian practice; the use of the texts in everyday Quechua liturgy; interaction between the texts and their social, spatial, and temporal contexts; the properties and evolution of the religious vocabulary used; the grammatical characteristics of pastoral Quechua; attitudes to other Quechua languages; institutional use of the language to teach and preach Christianity in Quechua, Spanish, or Latin; and teaching pastoral Quechua.

This is the first so ample a book on pastoral Quechua. Previous investigations were case studies based on a text or a historical event but they did not bring together all the aspects of the language and its literature. Durston's book explains how pastoral Quechua developed and why it never became a universal written standard for nonpastoral uses. Some of the analyses are little masterpieces of research. The author discovered who had translated "Doctrina Cristiana," prepared and published by order of the Third Lima Council in 1583. His analysis of Oré's hymns and its intertexts is a marvel. His study of the ways in which Christian writers substituted Andean tropes and images for European ones is another masterpiece of analysis.

Some of the author's affirmations seem doubtful. When writing on pastoral Quechua, he does not use any model of Andean religion, yet it was Andean religion which was confronted by Christian teachings in pastoral Quechua and thus influenced pastoral Quechua texts and language. The only exceptions to this are his considerations of how the Inca religious vocabulary was used by pastoral Quechua authors and how the Inca grammar was corrected to express Christian truths.

He believes what the authorities tell him, if they come from the second half of the twentieth century. Thus he calls Inca prayers written down by Cristobal de Molina in Cuzco in about 1575 "pseudo-Inca," without considering their contents. At the same time he treats the vocabulary of "pseudo-Inca" texts as an example of Inca religious tradition. Thus he considers only separate words or paintings, but not the text that contains the words or describes the images. He quotes Juan Pérez Bocanegra's use of Inca religious terminology in reference to the Pope, archangels (as Capac Cozco San Miguel), and God, titled Huanacauri, but he does not try to understand the meanings of such words. Unfortunately, studies of Quechua sociolects in the sixteenth century do not exist. So the author should have left some of his ideas for a later volume and a more profound study.

Some statements sound absurd: “On several occasions Pérez Bocanegra replaced *mucha* – ‘to adore’ with *bupa* . . . This term appears to be a Puquina loan word. . . . Its use brings to mind Cerrón-Palomino’s hypothesis that the Incas had originally been Puquina speakers. The fact that Pérez Bocanegra used it in some fairly strategic contexts (it is the first word in his Marian hymn) indicates that it carried a certain ritual prestige because of its Puquina origin” (p. 218). How could Pérez Bocanegra know that a word used in Southern Quechua about 1630 was of Puquina origin? How could the everyday Quechua speakers know that it was a prestigious word because of its origin? Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino does not affirm that the Incas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries spoke or knew Puquina. Deductions based on presence or absence of a word in colonial or modern vocabulary are frequently false, as is the case of *rana*, “buy or sell,” attributed by Durston to coastal Quechua exclusively but also present in Diego González Holguín’s 1608 *Vocabulario* (part 2, p. 220 [original p. 222]), which supposedly describes Cuzco Quechua of the late sixteenth century.

The book is solidly based on all accessible colonial Quechua texts and on the literature that surrounds them. The author uses terminology and methods of historical investigation, linguistics, literary theory, and art studies, sometimes esoterically. Everyone interested in the history of Quechua, Christianity in the Andes, and language planning should read it.

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El “premio” de ser virrey: Los intereses públicos y privados del gobierno virreinal en el Perú de Felipe V. By ALFREDO MORENO CEBRIÁN and NÚRIA SALA I VILA. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Historia, 2004. Appendixes.

Notes. Bibliography. Index. 335 pp. Paper.

We do not have many histories of corruption, and for good reason. The term, freighted with judgment, begs the question of whose standards we use to gauge it. And sources are an obvious problem: how to write the history of practices and profits that were deliberately kept off the books? In this remarkable study, Alfredo Moreno Cebrián and Núria Sala i Vila attempt the seemingly impossible. They trace the fortunes of two eighteenth-century viceroys of Peru, only one of whom, the Marqués de Casteldosrius (1707–10), went down in history as corrupt and profligate. (The other, the Marqués of Castelfuerte [1724–36], is still considered a paragon of probity.) The authors bring the zeal of investigative reporters to their task of following the money. They also give readers a detailed look at the social networks so crucial to governance and profit on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the book’s first half, Núria Sala i Vila examines the case of Peru’s first Bourbon viceroy, Catalán aristocrat Manuel de Oms de Santa Pau olim Sentmenat i de Lanuza (1651–1710), best known by his title Marqués de Casteldosrius. Previously Spain’s

ambassador to the court of Louis XIV, CastellDOSrius kept his connection to various French aristocrats and a deep loyalty to the House of Bourbon. When in 1702 Felipe V rewarded him with the post of viceroy, CastellDOSrius wrote to a friend in Paris that he knew little or nothing of the Indies, but hoped "to achieve the same fortune" as his predecessors (p. 23). He first had to face wartime blockades and other obstacles. Only in 1707 would CastellDOSrius arrive in Lima to assume his office, by which time, as Sala meticulously shows, he had covered himself with debts.

CastellDOSrius took charge at a time when Peru's fiscal health and military defenses were in terrible shape. French contraband, well established along Peru's coast, had flooded Peruvian markets, and Lima merchants were desperate to defend their monopolistic privileges. In this context, the new viceroy, a Francophile, was immediately suspect. In 1708, he was denounced in Madrid by his Peruvian enemies for participating in the thriving commerce in French goods that he was supposed to repress. Before long, Felipe V decided to replace him. None of this is news. What Sala contributes is a detailed reconstruction of the available sources for evaluating the charges against CastellDOSrius and his alleged partners.

Drawing on copious sources, from private correspondence in Catalán archives to Lima notarial records, Sala traces the viceroy's networks of kin, friends, and mutual obligations. He relied especially on a Catalán circle of old friends who acted as his commercial agents. And CastellDOSrius seems to have participated in many deeply rooted practices of his day besides contraband: collecting sums from those who had been named to administrative and ecclesiastical posts, profiting from the unpaid salaries of soldiers destined for the presidio of Callao, and more. Altogether, Sala estimates the viceroy's personal income during his brief tenure in office at 1,294,060 pesos, or more than 10 million reales de plata—a sum greater than that accumulated by the Marqués de Castelfuerte over a much longer period (pp. 111–12). While his enormous debts and expenses greatly reduced the amount he was able to pass on to his heirs, Sala shows that CastellDOSrius ultimately succeeded in his attempt to "hacerse su Perú."

In the book's second half, Alfredo Moreno Cebrián brings equally impressive research to bear on the career of Navarre aristocrat José de Armendáriz y Perurena, Marqués de Castelfuerte, Peru's viceroy from 1724 to 1736. A distinguished military man, Castelfuerte enjoyed a reputation for rectitude. Yet Moreno painstakingly shows that Castelfuerte's income from Peru far exceeded his viceregal salary and supplementary allowances (pp. 264–69). Once his funds were repatriated, Castelfuerte was able to leave his kinsmen handsomely installed in a Pamplona mansion and equipped with a *mayorazgo*. Where did his additional income come from? The answer in this case does not appear to be contraband, but "gifts" the viceroy received from those named to important posts, particularly *corregidores* (pp. 246–63).

Like Sala, Moreno does a thorough job of tracing the viceroy's innermost circle, his *hombres de confianza*, and the transactions they carried out for him. Both viceroys were clearly driven to enhance their aristocratic lineages as much as they possibly could.

Castelldosrius comes across as the more debt-pressed and greedy of the two, but both men seem to have benefited greatly from the “gifts” they received as gatekeepers to the exercise of viceregal offices.

The authors employ terms that will surely stir debate. Is it fair to indict an eighteenth-century viceroy for the modern crime of money laundering, for example, or to attribute “bad conscience” to his actions? Moreno’s evidence for the latter claim about Castelfuerte seems thin, and disregards the viceroy’s close relations with Jesuit confessors, his sizeable investments in *capellanías*, and the workings of an early modern spiritual economy in which such relations and investments might palliate one’s sins. More promising is Sala’s identification of the fundamental issue: “the confusion between what was public and private, which characterized the conduct of a large part of the functionaries of the administration of the modern state” (p. 143). Why and how this confusion existed and thrived seems central to understanding the (early) modern state. This impressive book shows us how the productive entanglement of interests actually worked.

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Emporios transpacíficos: Comerciantes mexicanos en Manila, 1710–1815.

By CARMEN YUSTE LÓPEZ. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2007. 514 pp. \$43.00.

In *Emporios transpacíficos*, Carmen Yuste López provides a convincing explanation of two key issues in the dynamics of the colonial territories of the Spanish empire in both the Pacific area and the imperial system as a whole. She proves that Mexico City traders comprised the most dynamic, powerful economic group in eighteenth-century New Spain, and that the linchpin of their fortunes and influence was business related to the importation of merchandise via the Pacific. In addition to being supported by lengthy, in-depth research, which has permitted a total reconsideration of transpacific trade, this is a beautifully written book, whose logical development and breadth of scope make it a pleasure to read.

The basis of these transpacific emporia was the Acapulco-Manila trade route, which became crucial for Mexico in 1640, when trade with Peru was forbidden. Philippine trade became a magnificent alternative for investing Mexican silver, far better than that provided by the transatlantic route. Trade on the Pacific side had several advantages: Mexican traders obtained a wide range of good quality merchandise at much lower prices and avoided the risk of having their wealth confiscated in Seville in the king’s name. Although navigating the Pacific took longer and entailed more risks than the Atlantic, vessels on this route, which took the *situado* (intracolony transfers of funds from royal treasuries with financial surpluses to those with perennial deficits) to the Philippines, were paid for by the royal treasury, entailing considerable savings for the traders.

Emporios transpacíficos fits neatly into the recent historiography that has revised the

history of the colonial economy. Authors such as John Lynch, Peter Bakewell, John J. TePaske, Herbert S. Klein, and Louisa Schell Hoberman paved the way for new hypotheses about the colonial economy. As a result of this new perspective, Yuste has shown that, far from simply being a link in the trade between Spain and the Philippines, Mexico played an active role in this trade, becoming the main beneficiary of the profits it created.

This book has successfully debunked the image of Mexican traders as passive purchasers of the merchandise brought by the Manila galleons to Acapulco. Yuste has proved that a significant portion of Mexican traders managed to insert themselves into the Philippine commercial organization, creating a dense network of relations between Spanish territories in Asia and America. Yuste has also revealed the mechanism whereby Mexican traders managed to manipulate the Acapulco *feria* (fair) so that merchandise imported from Asia entered the viceroyalty in keeping with the regulations, thereby covering all operations with an aura of legality, despite the fact that the majority were of questionable legality.

Yuste shows that Mexican traders managed trade with Philippine commercial organizations by relying mainly on *encomenderos* (men who had been given money to purchase merchandise) and trading partners, who were often bound by kinship links. The Mexicans sent them capital and set up *encomiendas* to purchase merchandise and cargo spaces on the galleon. They also invested in credits for small-scale merchants in the Philippines, provided backing for credits obtained from Asian traders, and paid off interest on high-risk loans with money from charity funds. The author analyzes the transactions undertaken at the Acapulco fair. She finds that most dealings there were carried out on the basis of private agreements, rather than taking place spontaneously. Yuste's third hypothesis is that Pacific trade provided enormous competition for Atlantic trade. From the outset, spices and manufactured textiles imported from Asia into Mexico discouraged the purchase of merchandise brought to Veracruz by the fleet, but competition intensified from 1750 onward, when imports included both manufactured goods and raw materials for processing in Mexico. Another element that gave Pacific trade an edge over Atlantic trade was that the galleons not only brought luxury goods for consumers with high purchasing power but imported cargo to supply a wide range of consumers of all levels. There were fewer intermediaries, which made this one of the most profitable businesses. In short, Yuste shows how transpacific trade became the most desired inter-colonial trade alternative and proves that Mexican traders were the main beneficiaries of this, leaving the metropolis few or no profits.

The study then shifts from Asia to Mexico. Yuste describes the establishment of the route between the Philippines and America and the erection of the legal scaffolding for transpacific trade; she provides a more detailed examination of trade performance through study of the Spanish residents and *cargadores* who operated from Manila, and the way cargo space was distributed in the galleon. Although the author points out that her study should not be considered part of Philippine historiography but instead should be included in the history of New Spain, scholars of colonial Philippine or Asian trade

should not omit it, since it reveals the origin and mechanisms of the flow of silver across the Pacific, which is vital to understanding global trade dynamics of the time. Yuste's analysis of Mexico is doubly impressive because it places New Spain in the world context. No issue can be fully understood if it is isolated from its imperial context, but foreign trade obviously must be studied without losing sight of global interconnections.

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(Translated by SUZANNE STEPHENS)

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Une ville entre deux mondes: Trujillo d'Espagne et les Indes au XVI^e siècle.

By GREGORIO SALINERO. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2006. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 541 pp. Cloth.

While over the last two decades many of us have taken a diversity of methodological paths, the French, or at least a good number of them, still faithfully adhere to a research tradition dating back to the massive works of Fernand Braudel on the Mediterranean and Huguette and Pierre Chaunu on the Atlantic. Are such works, in our new methodological climate, still valuable? The answer to that rhetorical question, in regard to Gregorio Salinero's impressive book, is a resounding yes.

Rather than a "town between two worlds," this superb book presents us with an insightful portrait of how people from Trujillo and its environs moved back and forth between the Old and New Worlds and the implications—social, political, economic, and cultural—of such ebb and flow across the Atlantic. Drawing from the rich and already well-mined Sevillian sources and from hitherto unexplored Trujillo notarial records, Salinero offers us a vivid portrait of what it meant to travel to the New World and return to one's ancestral town. With a masterful command of archival sources and the vast secondary literature, his book goes beyond the usual local study or microhistorical analysis to use Trujillo as a lens through which to explore a series of complex and overlapping issues. As such, this book lays claim to an important place in our new understanding of Atlantic history and of the manner in which Peru and Trujillo were linked inextricably.

Far more than a close study of social dynamics, prosopography, and people's movements, *Une ville entre deux mondes* opens wide vistas on the cultural consequences of the extensive flow of population across the Atlantic. Opening with a series of methodological reflections and building upon the works of others such as James Lockhart, Salinero reviews demographic estimates and the impact of migration on family structure in Andalusia, in general, and Trujillo, in particular. Placing Trujillo within its particular geographical setting and trade network, he moves onward to explore what it meant to depart for the Indies, what prompted such departures, and the social, cultural, and economic mechanisms involved in this flow of people out of Trujillo and southern Spain. Although the author's assertions are profusely supported by useful tables and graphs, he is at his best in the copious case studies and vignettes, drawn mostly from archival

notarial sources, that illuminate what it meant to leave one's country and the impact on marriage and family. Nothing is missing. From the expense of transportation to the pervasive "American dream" to the social filiation of migrants, Salinero examines the local conditions that fostered migration. Migration occurred because of the many attractions of the New World but also because of the deterioration of local economies. Included here, as all of us who have migrated know, are also the emotional penalties incurred in leaving one's home.

Other chapters focus on naming and identity, the exchange and circulation of information, and the movement of Peruvian silver along the Silver Road. This section prompts a wonderful tangential discussion of scribes and notarial culture, a model for the intersection of archival research and social and cultural history. Finally, the third part of the book addresses the meaning of returning, emphasizing what has been a constant throughout the book, the role of the Pizarro family in linking Trujillo to Peru. A detailed study of Hernando Pizarro, Francisco's brother, and of his material wealth and family in the Old World belies the belief that the Pizarros' influence waned after the disasters that befell the family in Peru. Both in the Old and New Worlds, the Pizarros carried on. While using them as a coda for the entire book, Salinero concludes with a perceptive look at the family and clientele of the "*indiano*," a recurring trope in the history of Spanish migration to the New World.

I think this is a superb contribution to our understanding of what migration did to towns in southern Spain and to the cultural meaning of population displacement, of departing and returning. It is about a new culture being born in the Atlantic world, and it teaches salutary lessons as to the social and psychological dynamics of migration. Sometimes the profusion of case studies and data overwhelms the narrative. The abundant references and extensive methodological discussions could have been simplified. Doing so, however, could not have improved what is a truly remarkable achievement, one that, while faithful to the dream of a *histoire totale*, does so by integrating, in superb fashion, new ways of seeing the past and the overlapping of cultural, economic, and social themes.

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Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America.

Edited by ONDINA E. GONZÁLEZ and BIANCA PREMO. Diálogos. Albuquerque: NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. xi, 258 pp. Paper, \$24.95.

Youth is coming of age in Latin American history, or so it seems with recent studies on children and childhood. González and Premo's edited volume contributes to the field by studying children as an extension of empire in the early modern Iberian world. The editors set out to present various alternatives for the study of childhood in the Iberian world. The first alternative is to unhitch the history of childhood from the history of modernity, a connection proposed by Philippe Ariès in his pioneering work on European childhood. Rather than assuming children to be hidden and silent, researchers can find them in often-used sources such as criminal, notary, and institutional records and court cases. By reading such sources for children, they emerge not only as objects of historical research but as "key colonial subjects" (p. 243).

Two chapters, by Isabel dos Guimarães Sá and Valentina Tikoff, look at children in the Iberian Peninsula. While Sá's chapter is largely an overview of children in Portugal, in particular children in the royal court, Tikoff examines elite and common children placed in Seville's various institutions for children and the strategic use of institutions, even orphanages, by parents as a means to educate and feed children. A flexible interpretation of the category of "orphan" made it possible for parents to secure social mobility through state beneficence and discipline.

The theme of strategies for survival is raised again in the chapter on indigenous migration to Lima in the early colonial period. Using principally the 1613 census of Lima, Teresa Vergara asks us to assume that indigenous parents migrated to the city for a better life for their children, and that they subsequently placed their children in the homes of other people whom they "trusted would treat [their children] well." While this might have been "a strategy that allowed them [indigenous families] to cope with the colonial system," this explanation might risk downplaying the very coercive actions of the colonial state for labor extraction that pushed some families to take such extreme measures.

The argument that the labor needs of adults determined the lives of some children is made by Laura Shelton, who describes the "adoption" of children to fill the labor shortages suffered by Sonoran ranchers and agriculturalists. This ad hoc labor scheme took advantage of an informal social practice of passing along children to family members and non-kin. According to Shelton, when it came down to who held the rights of *patria potestad* in custody battles, the colonial courts tended to side in favor of patron-guardians. Yet, the fact that parents who could afford to repay childcare expenses could thus recover their children suggests another possible interpretation, that parents maintained their rights (if they had the money).

The connection between the maintenance of empire and the fate of children comes to the foreground in the chapters by Ondina González and Ann Twinam. González

studies the establishment of a foundling home in Havana, the apparent need for such an institution, and its doomed fate as a consequence of lack of financial support from the local elite. Twinam's chapter moves to the late eighteenth century and gives a nuanced study of the racial and gender considerations of abandoned babes (*expósitos*) and Bourbon legislation that wished to erase the stain of illegitimacy suffered by those of unknown parentage. The potential collapse of racial hierarchy due to such blanket legislation led to an ultimately successful battle by local elites to protect "white" privilege.

The fragility and insecurity of children's lives is most heart-wrenchingly described in Elizabeth Kuznesof's thoughtful chapter on slave children in Brazil. This chapter successfully combines a historiographical overview with new readings of established research into children. While the fortune of poor Brazilian children was bleak in general, children born into slavery were "vulnerable to being separated from family members at any point" (p. 189).

It is perhaps in terms of the editors' goal of hearing children's voices (or at least their "echoes") that this collection of essays falls short. In the chapter "Ursula: The Life and Times of an Aristocratic Girl in Santiago, Chile (1666–1678)," Jorge Rojas Flores comes the closest to directly citing a child, though not in a child's voice but that of an adult woman reflecting on her childhood for the purposes of a religious autobiography. For the most part, children remain on the margins of adults' lives as contested property (in custody battles over child servants), as normalized citizens formed in institutions, or as the subjects of legal and religious prescriptions. However, as this volume shows, we can learn much about social practices, normative views of childhood, labor systems, and indeed the building and maintaining of empire through the study of the smallest of subjects, a colonial child.

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Gender, Race and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas.

Edited by NORA E. JAFFARY. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.

Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007. Tables. Notes. Bibliography.

Index. xi, 206 pp. Cloth, \$89.95.

This is an ambitious edited volume that attempts to discuss the interaction of gender, race, and religion across Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French colonial America. In her introduction, Nora Jaffary takes pains to discuss these three variables within the context of Atlantic World colonialism. Unfortunately there is no attempt to weigh the role of each variable within a theoretical framework. Furthermore, Jaffary is somewhat vague about the issue of resistance as it applied to gender and race. Jaffary sees the articles as adding to our "understanding [of] how gender dynamics played a constitutive role in the establishment and maintenance of European colonial ventures" (p. 9). Although all the articles deal with gender, not all engage questions of race or religion.

Under the rubric of "frontiers," Alida Metcalf examines indigenous and white women in sixteenth-century Brazil and finds that, in general, Portuguese women did not function as cultural go-betweens, in part because of their limited numbers. While some indigenous women probably served as physical, transactional, or representational brokers, Metcalf finds sources to be scarce and indeed almost silent on their participation and roles. Bruce A. Erickson emphasizes that women were victims of sexual and other violence along the northern frontier of New Spain. His discussion is sometimes rather vague on the question of race; the reader is never sure if the victimized women were Spanish, mestizo, or Indian. Ben Marsh examines women in Georgia, the southern British-American frontier. He finds that at least some white and mixed-race women were powerful figures who played seminal roles in the survival of these colonies and the transmission of culture.

At least three contributions to this volume address issues related to female religious. Some of these essays suffer from thin to nonexistent sources. Susan Broomhall examines the case of Antoinette de Saint-Estienne, an indigenous Mi'kmaq woman who entered a Benedictine convent in Tours. Unfortunately the extant sources are too thin to allow Broomhall to do more than make suppositions as to any lasting effect of Antoinette's stay in the French convent. Joan C. Bristol, writing about Juana Esperanza de San Alberto, a black *poblana* (inhabitant of the city of Puebla) who entered the Carmelite convent as a servant and eventually became a nun, has a much richer source, a *vida* or spiritual autobiography. The *vida* enables her to examine closely the relationship between race and virtuous conduct. She concludes that Juana's position was unique and ultimately reflected the Spanish view that black piety was impossible. Kathryn Burns's essay examines several *beaterios* (houses of pious women) in Cuzco, concentrating on the goals of their founders and possible links to ideas of feminine indigenous honor.

In a section on "Race Mixing," Nora Jaffary analyzes mid-eighteenth-century dispensation requests for both affinal and consanguineous marriages. She suggests that the cases involving premarital sexual relations show the persistence of pre-Hispanic indigenous custom. Unfortunately she fails to mention that premarital sexual relations were common both in the Iberian Peninsula and in regions of the colonial world where few pre-Hispanic peoples survived. Yvonne Fabella's piece on the *mulâtresse* in colonial Saint Domingue analyzes a depiction of the free woman of the French colony written by Michel René Hilliard, an eighteenth-century observer. Bethany Fleming's article on Mackinaw Island, an important trading zone inhabited by French, British, and Americans as well as indigenous peoples and mixed-bloods, finds that a group of *métis* women were important fur traders who preserved their mixed-race culture while marrying prosperous Euro-American men.

The section titled "Networks" begins with Nancy E. van Deusen's article on the transmission of spiritual ideas among nuns, *beatas*, mystics, and other religious women in seventeenth-century Lima. Perhaps the most interesting article, and the only one that addresses gender, religion, and ethnicity, is Linda M. Rupert's discussion of the physical movement of women of all races between Dutch Curaçao and mainland Venezuela. She

finds a network of women owning ships, migrating between Dutch and Spanish colonial possessions, and escaping slavery. Lastly, in a brief "Afterword," Patricia Seed points out some general differences between women in each colonial power within the Atlantic world.

Taken as a totality, these articles eventually reject the dichotomous choice between arguing that colonialism either hindered or helped women, and instead show both how women of different races and religious backgrounds adapted to their colonial status in a variety of ways, and how colonialism shaped their lives.

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Mujeres indias y señores de la coca: Potosí y Cuzco en el siglo XVI.

By PAULINA NUMHAUSER. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2005. Appendixes. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. 407 pp. Paper.

Mujeres indias y señores de la coca breaks a silence, first established in the official record, about the existence of rich Indian women in Potosí, Latin America's most important and populous sixteenth-century city (160,000 by 1610). Silver mining built Potosí, and indigenous workers chewing the mild stimulant coca leaf extracted and milled the ore. They also purchased prodigious quantities of coca and *chicha* corn beer in the city's markets, often trading ore from the mines with the female market sellers. Growers and merchants made fortunes supplying Potosí with leaf from Cuzco's coca-growing regions. At the Cuzco end of the coca circuit, Spanish colonists and crown officials moved to control most coca fields, and they largely kept other ethnic or racial groups out of the business except as pickers, porters, and mule train drivers. Or so we thought until Paulina Numhauser helped set the record straight. Using wills and civil litigation from Cuzco, she shows that at least a few local market women, commoners, came to own coca fields in the 1560s. Some of these women even formed partnerships and had children with the *señores de la coca*. As the century progressed into the 1580s, these women and their mestizo children were pushed aside. The study could benefit from more cases and more analysis to determine how prevalent these Cuzco partnerships were and how closely they conformed to patterns of urban Indian women's initial empowerment and then marginalization posited by Elinor Burkett.

In Potosí, coca merchants, the "lords of the coca," could not distribute and sell their product to consumers without skilled market sellers. These indispensable "mujeres indias" became the "indias ricas" whose history remained largely absent in official chronicles. Numhauser vindicates these women with research in archives in Bolivia, Peru, Spain, and Chile. Unlike the sections devoted to colonial policies and the view of the commercialization of coca from above, the judicial and notary records give the chapters in this section analytical power. Indias ricas stood in contrast to the period image of "indios pobres y miserables" (poor and miserable Indians), a class of people lacking the

force of character to act in an entrepreneurial fashion and benefit from markets, wage labor, or a legal system. Potosí's market women engaged in complex commercial activities and developed the ability to make capital investments in moveable goods and landed property. Indian women made contracts and other legal agreements barred to women by law. Women worked at all levels of economic action: as servants or dependents of a Spanish "master," as mobile traders carrying small quantities of coca up to the mines to barter for pieces of ore, or even as wholesalers with their own shops providing coca leaf to others. Male Indians were generally excluded from selling coca. Women hired to sell coca could command higher salaries than skilled male mine workers. Even in the rural circuits plied by Spanish traders and others, Indian women sold the coca on consignment or in exchange for a small salary and a percentage of the profits.

Recognizing the activities of the female sellers of coca in Potosí represents the greatest contribution of this book; however, the book offers more. Numhauser describes the other players: growers, speculators, and merchants. She explains how markets arose in mining centers, how coca became the commercial product par excellence, and how credit and fraudulent reselling worked. Readers familiar with period sources or monographs like Peter Bakewell's *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosí, 1545–1650* may not find much that is new in these sections. A possible exception is the chapter devoted to church involvement in coca growing and commerce. The bishops of Cuzco and Charcas benefited from the tithes collected on agricultural products, and coca was by far the most valuable. The upper clergy and growers disputed how much to pay. But they forgot their differences when faced with the controversy over coca in the 1550s and 1560s. Some opponents considered coca's ritual uses an obstacle to evangelization, while others feared that coca cultivation and its unbridled consumption depleted the indigenous workforce. The Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1568–80) arrived in Peru willing to act on royal instructions to prohibit coca. He retreated from coca eradication and embraced further regulation in the course of his official inspection of the highlands. What he saw and heard convinced him of coca's essential role in making the mining system produce the revenue the crown depended so heavily upon.

The residents of Potosí also told Toledo that the mines would cease to function if he prohibited women from freely selling in the markets (Quechua *gatos*). The women selling small quantities of coca in the stores, in the street, and at the mineshafts were the last step in the production and commercialization of coca and the first step in the circulation of silver up through Peru's internal economy. Without petty commerce and agile distribution, such a large mining settlement and huge profits from its markets could not have existed. In short, this book shows that women were central to the way money was made in Potosí.

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Rebellious Nuns: The Troubled History of a Mexican Convent, 1752–1863.

By MARGARET CHOWNING. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Photographs. Illustrations. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 296 pp. Cloth, \$35.00.

This volume addresses the life history of an “unsuccessful” Mexican religious community, La Purísima Concepción in San Miguel el Grande, from its eighteenth-century origins to its suppression by the liberals in 1863. The work was made possible by the author’s serendipitous discovery of a wealth of documentation regarding this convent that had been misfiled in the archives of the Archdiocese of Michoacán. These materials detailed the saga of two “rebellions” occurring during the convent’s early decades. The letters, interrogatories, interviews, and official reports of these conflicts, along with more standard sources like documents of profession and account books, form the documentary base for the book.

San Miguel el Grande’s first convent, La Purísima Concepción, was established in 1752 with an endowment from the teenaged heiress María Josepha Lina, who also became its first novice. In 1756, four nuns from the Conceptionist Convent of Regina Coeli in Mexico City arrived to establish the religious community. The convent’s life was rocky: the early decades of La Purísima’s existence were marred by internal dissension and rebellions against authority. The convent did not attract the expected numbers of professions, and it never flourished financially. Having survived for a century without having prospered, it was suppressed by the liberals during the reform.

Two internal upheavals, which occurred in the first two decades after the foundation, shaped the rest of the convent’s institutional life. The first rebellion in the early 1760s stemmed from the efforts of the first abbess to impose a strenuous regimen of prayer and conduct with a strict interpretation of the vows of poverty and enclosure. The Conceptionist order in Mexico was generally known for the laxness of observance in its convents, where community life (*vida común*) was often deemphasized or ignored. At La Purísima, dissident nuns, chafing under the harsh rule of the first abbess, successfully challenged her authority and that of her successor. Having won this first round by forcing out the first two abbesses, the “rebellious” nuns moved into leadership positions at La Purísima. This led to a second confrontation half a decade later, this time with the bishop, who sought to enforce the *vida común* against the wishes of the convent’s leadership. The second rebellion ended in 1772 with the election of an abbess who was a member of the reformist faction. This did not, however, signal a return to strict reformism. In the end, neither side won outright victory; a spirit of accommodation to both groups characterized subsequent convent governance.

The rich documentation Chowning discovered allows her to examine in detail the dynamics as well as the causes of these rebellions. She describes how local factors unique to La Purísima, like convent demographics and the expectations of the novices and professed nuns, as well as general attitudes toward conventual reform in the church at large impacted the outcomes of these two serious internal conflicts.

Despite the end of open conflict after 1772, the rebellions continued to shape con-

vent life. The convent never grew the way its founders had envisioned. Having acquired a reputation for upheaval, La Purísima had chronic problems attracting sufficient numbers of appropriate novices for the rest of its institutional life. This problem exacerbated an already precarious financial situation and led to fiscal crisis. This, in turn, further contributed to recruitment problems. Despite this, the convent survived the wars of independence, although it failed to grow and economically prosper in the post-independence period. It was closed in the 1860s, a victim of the liberals' secularization policies.

This work has broader scope than the history of one troubled convent. While studying La Purísima's specific problems in detail, the book also addresses broader historical themes, including the relationship between the nuns and the male ecclesiastical establishment, the attitude of the church toward women, and the impact of changing ideas on the church's policies toward the convent. Chowning presents a more comprehensive view of La Purísima than is seen in many works on female religious institutions. She identifies two major approaches to writing the history of convent life, each shaped by the type of documentation available to the researcher. Scholarly works tend to take either a feminist approach, focusing on "the convent as a place where women could create fulfilling and productive communities with a minimum of male intervention" (p. 12), or an institutional one, where "writers have emphasized the social and economic functions of the convent" (pp. 12–13). Because of the richness of her sources, Chowning is able to combine these approaches, tracing the history of the institution while highlighting individual participants in its internal conflicts. She also takes advantage of documentation in the archiepiscopal archives to compare La Purísima to other convents that were its contemporaries in the archbishopric.

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National Period

Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence. By JOHN CHARLES CHASTEEN. Pivotal Moments in World History. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xx, 218 pp. Cloth, \$28.00.

This dramatic history brings alive the story of mainland Iberian Americans' nineteenth-century wars of independence. Pitched perfectly to the undergraduate or generalist audience and presented from the perspective of the "liberators," including Bolívar, San Martín, and Morelos, John Charles Chasteen tells the story of an "Americano" desire for political independence from Spain and includes sources and additional readings for those interested in digging deeper. Identifying Iberoamericans as "Americanos" is an effective device to bridge race and class divisions, binding the disparate strands of the tale together and facilitating discussion of wars that often passed from one colonial jurisdiction to another via intrepid mountain treks or daring naval voyages.

Readers discover this America of *Americanos* in an introductory chapter with *dramatis personae* Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland (whose travels let Chasteen discuss key Spanish colonial centers in New Spain, New Granada, and Cuba) and imperial pilgrim Félix de Azara (whose story offers insight into frontier zones of Brazil and Argentina). Introducing three patriot archetypes as well—gaucho leader José Artigas, creole patriot Simón Bolívar, and Brazilian intellectual José Bonifácio Andrade da Silva—this chapter teaches general readers enough about colonial politics, economics, social and ethnic structures, and geography to jump into the main story, which began soon after Humboldt's travel account reached European readers in 1805.

Chasteen's act two is the presentation of Latin America's struggles with the failure of revolutionary movements to take hold, despite Francisco Miranda's efforts in Venezuela and British invasions in the Rio de la Plata. He thus sets the stage for act three, which shows how Napoleon's invasion of Spain led to autonomist movements that soon abandoned the "mask of Ferdinand" to seek independence. Each chapter moves the story forward in Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and South America. The remove of the Portuguese court to Brazil and subsequent negotiated transition to constitutional monarchy, and the bottom-up war of New Spain's Hidalgo and Morelos provide counterpoints to the top-down military movements headed by Bolívar and San Martín. Despite the multiple story threads, a carefully constructed chronology clearly presents the trajectory of individual movements, the flaws as well as heroism of key actors, and challenges to the independence forces ranging from royalist locals to imperial armies to interprovincial rivalries. The watershed years 1821–22 mark a fitting climax when independence of New Spain, Central America, Venezuela, and Brazil shift the balance in favor of the advocates of independence.

The concluding chapters offer a cinematic wrap-up of our heroes' post-independence careers and early nation-building efforts through the 1830s. Chasteen argues that political revolution was not enough. Without social and economic revolutions that might have provided more social mobility for the "brown and black" majority, instability impaired leaders' ability to create "cohesive, inclusive nations" or meaningful popular sovereignty (p. 185). While it is surely correct that colonial structures contributed to post-independence instability, some discussion of other factors would have been welcome, including the role of economies devastated by patriotic "loans" to Spain or by war, and the wars' militarization of many societies.

Americanos shares the energetic and compelling storytelling of Chasteen's deservedly popular *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America*. For those who want to make the wars come alive for their students, this excellent companion volume will engage readers in an up-to-date retelling of the story of Spanish and Portuguese America's founding fathers. Chasteen also makes a serious attempt to identify and credit some founding mothers, who served as couriers, soldiers, inspirations, and even martyrs who lost their lives to the firing squad. Yet the choice to develop coherence by retelling the wars of independence through the eyes of leaders comes at the expense of a more thorough exploration of the many kinds of political experiments under way in the same

period. While Bolívar and San Martín come alive, *Americanos* leaves largely unexplored why anyone followed these men in what seemed a quixotic quest until around 1821. In Mexico, in particular, Chasteen reports “multitudes” swelling the ranks of Hidalgo’s forces, but offers little explanation of the motives, whether economic or political, that kept the movement alive for a decade. Further, the book largely leaves aside any impact that the “Cádiz experiment” in constitutional monarchy had on some regions’ initial attempts to devise political systems blending new ideas of citizenship with respect for traditions, including Catholicism as an official religion. In this book, readers are traveling with the generals, not at home wringing their hands with the fence-sitters. Areas that did not fight for independence but did produce autonomist movements—Central America, which separated from Spain in 1821, and Cuba and Puerto Rico, which did not—are not explored as counterexamples. This is a terrific story of the military struggles, and warmly recommended for those interested in this topic, with the caveat that they will not find in this synthesis the individual and collective voices of the indigenous and pardo soldiers, the city councils anxious not to make the wrong decision, the newspaper articles debating the costs and benefits of free trade, and the voters in the numerous local and national elections convened in this period.

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Nación y nacionalismo en América Latina. By JORGE ENRIQUE GONZÁLEZ.

Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Centro de Estudios Sociales (CES) / Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2007. Illustrations. Notes. 335 pp. Paper.

This collective volume consists of a heterogeneous and uneven collection of essays dealing with different aspects of the construction of the nation and nationalism in five Latin American countries and Puerto Rico. The organization of the volume lacks structure; the chapters are not grouped in sections. Moreover, the editor’s introduction looks like a general review of the literature on nationalism and does not address the contents of the chapters.

Focusing on Mexico, Fernando Vizcaíno’s “Estado multinacional y globalización” shows how globalization has forced a reconceptualization of sovereignty in two different directions. On the one hand, globalization, understood as “the link between the state and society with the world through the economy, law, politics, culture, and technology” (p. 29), has brought to the surface the problem of multinational states. On the other hand, the new international environment has promoted the involvement of global organizations, or even foreign countries, into domestic issues ranging from human rights to local politics. According to the author, in today’s globalized world, sovereignty cannot elude the interconnections between the global and the domestic dimensions.

In “El problema nacional: Hispanoamérica, Colombia y Panamá,” Olmedo Beluche discusses the formation of the modern national state from a “Marxist perspective.” Only

the last 4 pages of this 22-page essay deal with the cases of Colombia and Panama. The rest of the chapter consists of a general (and rather uncritical and, I would add, incomplete) discussion of the Marxist literature on state formation.

Ramón Grosfoguel's chapter on Puerto Rican nationalism is probably one of the most successful of the collection. It convincingly shows why the options that promote the "status quo" and the incorporation of the island into the United States as a state (*estadidad*) has gained the favor of Puerto Ricans in recent decades, at the expense of nationalism. The author argues that the United States has established a unique kind of relationship with the island that has resulted in the introduction of a variety of social benefits unavailable to the rest of the Caribbean, as well as in a multibillion-dollar transfer of income from the metropolis to the colony (a kind of reverse colonialism). According to Grosfoguel, independence would bring the loss of these profits and the establishment of a neocolonial relationship with the United States similar to that of the formally independent islands of the region. In the author's view, Puerto Rico has a lot to lose and very little to gain if it cuts its ties to the United States.

The following two chapters deal with political ideas in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Colombia. Héspes Eduardo Pérez Rivera discusses in detail the ideas of two Catholic Colombian politicians, Miguel Antonio Caro and Laureano Gómez, and their relationships with the Conservative Party and with liberalism. José Enrique González traces the origins and development of the tension between the "*tradicionalista*" and the liberal political traditions in Colombia.

Georges Couffignal and Rosaly Ramírez Roa focus on the emergence of neopopulist/neoliberal governments in Latin America during the 1990s. This chapter could be loosely grouped together with the next one by Danilo Martuccelli and Maristella Svampa, which proposes the suggestive hypothesis that many of the problems that contemporary Peruvian society is undergoing could be better interpreted in the light of the incomplete nature of the country's three "national-popular" political experiences: Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre's APRA, the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces established in 1968, and the first Alan García government during the 1980s. The authors seem to imply that if these three populist (or "national-popular" as they call them) experiments had been taken to completion, Perú would be today in a much better shape. I wonder if an analysis of the legacies left by other "national populist" experiences in Latin America would sustain this hypothesis.

Jurandir Malerba's chapter is a historiographical essay on Brazilian independence. It provides a complete bibliography and a useful agenda for future research. Finally, Arturo Claudio Laguado approaches a well-worn topic: the place of liberalism in the construction of the Argentine national state. In particular, the author focuses on the ideas of Sarmiento and Alberdi on such issues as education, religion, and immigration. Laguado traces Argentina's political instability and "constant military intervention" to the system of exclusion promoted by Argentine liberals in the nineteenth century. This conclusion is a bit far-fetched, since before the coup of 1930, whose causes could probably be found in more immediate factors, Argentina had enjoyed almost 80 years of reasonable political

stability under a constitutional-democratic system (admittedly imperfect but more than acceptable for the standards of the time). This was a longer period of democratic stability than most European countries can boast of even today.

In sum, *Nación y nacionalismo* should be appreciated more for the quality of some individual essays than for its coherence and structure as a volume.

MARIANO PLOTKIN, IDES / CONICET

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Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution. By JÜRGEN BUCHENAU.

Latin American Silhouettes. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Photographs. Maps. Tables. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xxvii, 275 pp. Cloth, \$80.00. Paper, \$34.95.

Jürgen Buchenau's *Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution* provides a much-needed analysis of the little-understood life of Mexican strongman Plutarco Elías Calles. No monograph to date has placed Calles so squarely at the center of postrevolutionary Mexican analysis. Calles rose from a life of poverty in rural Sonora to become Mexico's president in 1924 and a principal architect of Mexico's single-party system that held power until 2000. While Buchenau argues that Calles was Mexico's first "authoritarian populist" and was instrumental to the consolidation of the Mexican Revolution (1910–20), he also revises previous scholarship that emphasized Calles's supreme power. In addition, he refreshingly complicates and humanizes his subject within the broader context of Mexico's revolution. The author's methodology not only interrogates Calles's political acumen, it also revises how many Mexican historians have come to understand the era known as the Maximato.

This book is not a traditional biography. Rather, the author eloquently integrates how Calles's personal experiences, coupled with the tumultuous social and ideological transformations during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1910), shaped his political ideology. Buchenau skillfully unravels the complex political relationships that emerged from the revolution and the postrevolutionary consolidation in which Calles played a vital role. While Calles was a troubled and rebellious youth born outside Mexico City, he graduated from the Primera Escuela Municipal and later passed the teacher's exam. Calles's positivist education and the influence of the *científicos* (those who believed that only educated men should make political decisions) informed his authoritarian populism as well as his fierce anticlericalism.

Early adulthood brought many changes for the future political leader. Calles's stint as a schoolteacher, although influential in his life, lasted only a short time and was followed by his involvement in several unsuccessful business ventures. However, the onset of the Mexican Revolution created new opportunities. He opened a small store in Agua Prieta, located on the border of the United States, which became a vital strategic location for trafficking arms. Calles used his advantageous business position to advance his

political ambitions. Buchenau's analysis of the revolutionary years underscores Calles's political astuteness while also demonstrating how Calles benefited from alliances and relationships with other prominent revolutionary figures. This section illustrates clearly the importance of patronage and clientelism in Mexican society.

Although there is much in this book for newcomers to Mexican history, specialists in the region will also benefit. Buchenau culls rich archival sources including the state archive in Sonora and the Plutarco Elías Calles Archive, which enables him to uncover the intricacies of Calles's relationship with Álvaro Obregón and Adolfo de la Huerta. This is perhaps the most enriching section of the book. Here Buchenau explores the minutiae of their relationships, the power of the "Sonoran Triangle," and the immense effect Obregón's assassination in 1928 had on Calles and the future of the Mexican Revolution. Many historians have focused on the authoritarianism and vehement anticlericalism of the Calles years, which led to the bloody Cristero Rebellion (1926–29) and the birth of the Maximato in 1928. Between 1928 and 1934, Calles strategically positioned himself as the leader of the "revolutionary family" that began with Francisco Madero. He worked behind the scenes to manipulate heads of state; this activity reached its apex in 1932 with the resignation of President Ortiz Rubio. Yet Buchenau is careful to point out that other factors, such as the economic ramifications of the Depression and Mexico's relationship with the United States, had far-reaching effects that Calles was not able to control, even at the height of his influence. The author skillfully balances Calles's political power and the realities of postrevolutionary Mexican society with his personal weaknesses. Calles's poor health, self-destructive behavior, and occasional political miscalculations, coupled with the changing nature of Mexican politics, gradually eroded his influence. In the end, Calles's attempt to manipulate President Lázaro Cárdenas after the election of 1934 backfired and led to his exile in 1936.

Plutarco Elías Calles and the Mexican Revolution is chronologically organized, clearly written, and easily accessible to an undergraduate audience. The book, however, would have benefited from a clearer definition of "authoritarian populism" and how this applies to Calles, as opposed, for example, to Juan Perón in Argentina. In addition, the author mentions Calles's marriages and several children yet he does not integrate a gendered analysis. How did machismo inform Calles's ideas and actions and how did it influence the structuring of postrevolutionary society? Despite these minor omissions, the book is a welcome addition to the newly emerging scholarship on Mexico's postrevolutionary period.

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Venezuela: Hugo Chávez and the Decline of an "Exceptional Democracy."

Edited by STEVE ELLNER and MIGUEL TINKER SALAS. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. xvi, 220 pp. Cloth, \$69.00. Paper, \$24.95.

The exceptionalism thesis claimed that Venezuelan democracy between 1958 and 1998, uniquely in Latin America, was a progressive, inclusive, and democratic system operating effectively and with the full support of the population. Since the economic and political crises of the 1980s and 1990s in Venezuela, this thesis has been called into doubt by many commentators and, in practice, by the 1998 election of Hugo Chávez as president. However, these ideas were deeply entrenched. Furthermore, while Venezuela is hugely influential in regional politics and development and is a major oil supplier in an energy-poor world, there are relatively few academic experts on Venezuela and even fewer university courses dedicated to its study. This has led to a situation where polarized opinion pieces pass for analysis. Steve Ellner and Miguel Tinker Salas meet the need for a measured and accessible synthesis of the arguments around the decline of Venezuelan "exceptional" democracy and the concomitant rise and presidency of Hugo Chávez. Unusually for an edited volume, the contributions are all of high quality.

The book is divided into sections on areas of key importance for understanding the past and predicting the future of Venezuela, including history, oil and economics, and the battle for (and with) democracy. Two sections focus on issues of identity politics and representation. The grouping of chapters imposes a sense of structure and order to the volume and, consequently, encourages higher-level thinking on what could otherwise appear to be ten random topics. Additionally, the excellent and concise introduction by the editors connects seamlessly to the individual contributions to illustrate the failure of the exceptionalism thesis. Further structural reinforcement comes in the first chapter, again by the editors, which details the rationale behind, and the debunking of, the exceptionalism thesis.

Many of the claims of progress and modernization under the 1958–98 democratic regime have been shown to be false. Edgardo Lander's essay on polarization within Venezuela, ignored by the exceptionalism thesis, shows it to have been of long standing and not merely a symptom of the Chávez era. Furthermore, although the democratic parties, especially Acción Democrática, promoted themselves in their literature as proponents of oil nationalism and radical change, these ideas were not translated into practice through progressive policies or negotiations with the oil companies. Even the eventual nationalization of the oil industry was less than the triumph promised (Tinker Salas). In fact, the traditional aim of "sowing the oil," promoted since the 1930s as a guiding mantra for development, is only now, under Chávez, reaching fruition through the development of coherent alternatives to neoliberalism using oil revenues (Dick Parker). The past failures and present possibilities explained here allow readers informed insight into Chávez's controversial pleas for an extended period in office.

Part of the unique selling point of Venezuelan democracy, as expounded by exceptionalist writers, was widespread representation and racial equality. However, Ellner's essay on union representation highlights the cleavages and corruption regularly ignored in a rush to praise democracy. Jesús María Herrera Salas adds to the description of a divided society by pointing to the racist ideology inherent in the foundations of the democratic project (evident in ex-president Rómulo Gallegos's novels), which reemerged and intensified after the election of Chávez amid the decreasing influence of the upper classes.

Given the widely discussed shortcomings of democracy, hopes for the future often lie within civil society. Yet María Pilar García-Guadilla exposes the myth of a democratic civil society in Venezuela, showing how it "exclude[s] the popular organizations of the low-income population, particularly those aligned with Chávez" (p. 150), while Cristóbal Valencia gives a more rounded picture of what it means to be a *chavista*. This section (part 4) on social movements is guaranteed to stimulate debate, given modern skepticism about unions and democracy, the overlap between racism and class prejudice, and simplistic misrepresentations in the international press and media.

Literature promoting the "third wave" transition to democracy in Latin America always begs for time to embed the new processes. Radical regimes are rarely afforded that luxury. Building on Parker's investigation of the "new economy," and bearing in mind last year's electoral defeat for Chávez, Daniel Hellinger argues that continued mass electoral participation is required to establish and prolong the advances made under Chávez. Otherwise, the dangers are obvious; Christopher I. Clement reminds us how precarious any regime is that does not follow the dictates of U.S. foreign policy and "democracy promotion." His gloomy conclusions lead one to speculate on how or whether democratic states can avoid U.S. interference.

The volume achieves its goal of introducing contemporary Venezuela to a student audience by explanation of its history, the contemporary issues facing its government, and through an understanding of the traditionally unsatisfactory historiography. Part of the series titled *Latin American Perspectives in the Classroom*, the volume successfully stimulates discussion and covers relevant topics at an accessible level for today's universities, colleges, and schools, while it is also more widely valuable to the enquiring general public.

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The History of Panama. By ROBERT C. HARDING. The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006. Map. Notes. Bibliographical Essay. Index. xviii, 153 pp. Cloth, \$45.00.

The History of Panama by Robert C. Harding is plagued by so many mistakes of fact and is so biased in its interpretations that it fails to accomplish the main goal of the Greenwood Histories of Modern Nations series, to provide "students and interested laypeople with up-to-date, concise, and analytical histories of many of the nations of the contemporary world."

In part, these faults originate from the author's apparent lack of knowledge regarding the most recent historiography on Panama by both national and foreign historians. Harding mentions only three Panamanian historians (Bonifacio Pereira, Ricaurte Soler, and Alfredo Castillero Calvo), and the books he refers to are general overviews instead of existing research monographs. Therefore, the wide, complex, and well-researched articles and books produced in the last ten years have not been considered.

Regarding U.S. historians, Harding does not consider the contributions produced after 1992 by academics like Michael L. Conniff, Thomas L. Percy, Aims C. McGuinness, and Peter A. Szok. Though Harding mentions Michael LaRosa and German Mejía's *The United States Discovers Panama: The Writing of Soldiers, Scholars, Scientists and Scoundrels, 1850–1905* (2004), he does not use these travelers' descriptions of Panama during the nineteenth century to provide a more balanced, accurate image of Panama, its peoples, and its cultures.

This disregard of readily available literature perhaps explains why "Galván" appears in the name of Rodrigo de Bastidas (not "de Las Bastidas"), the first entry included in the "Timeline of Historical Events." Among other grievous errors in this timeline are the author's suggestions that the National Police supported Acción Comunal's 1931 coup d'état, or that 120 students died in "Operation Sovereignty" in 1958.

In the first chapter, "Panama is a Canal and More," Harding maintains that "Panama's modern political system is the direct result of its long relationship with the United States" (p. 9). In fact, Panama's first constitution drew largely from Colombia's 1886 constitution. Moreover, Spanish and French judiciary traditions inspired Panama's legal system, differing markedly from the British and U.S. models. Also, the executive branch of the Panamanian government does not resemble the U.S. model.

The first paragraph of chapter 3, "Completing the Canal to World War II," ends with an inaccurate statement that reflects the author's uninformed biases: "However, the construction of the canal would build more than just a waterway; it would eventually forge a nation" (p. 27). Harding badly oversimplifies the complex process of nation building, which in the Panamanian case began early in the colonial period and developed during Panama's union to Colombia in the nineteenth century. The intervention of the United States was key to Panama's separation from Colombia and the subsequent establishment of an independent Panamanian state, but not to the development of the Panamanian nation. This chapter contains many other fundamental mistakes: Panama was

recognized by the United States Department of State on November 6, 1903, not November 13; Manuel Amador Guerrero, Pablo Arosemena, and José Domingo de Obaldía did not form part of the revolutionary “Junta de Gobierno”; the labor force that built the Panama Canal was not integrated “mostly” by Panamanians (the truth is that very few local workers participated in the canal’s construction); before Colonel George W. Goethals assumed the leadership of the Panama Canal Commission, John Frank Stevens was its chief engineer, and under his civilian administration not only did Doctor William Gorgas launch his historic sanitation campaign, but also detailed plans for a locks canal were approved; and finally, the first ship to use the canal was the *Alexandre La Valley* (January 7, 1914), not the *Cristobal*.

Chapter 4, “Panama during the Cold War,” correctly deals with the emergence of nationalistic forces and movements demanding Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone and a fair share of the interoceanic canal income. In December 1947, ten thousand unarmed women marched to the National Assembly against the Filos-Hines Treaty, which would have allowed the permanence of U.S. military bases outside the Canal Zone. In May 1958, a few members of the University Students Union entered the Canal Zone to set up 75 Panamanian flags in “Operation Sovereignty,” and, contrary to Harding’s statement, there was no clash between students and U.S. or Panamanian police; such confrontation happened only later, on November 3, 1959, during the “Siembra de Banderas.”

The next two chapters (“Dictatorship, Nationalism, and the Canal Treaties, 1968–1981” and “The Noriega Years, 1981–1990”) examine the military regime. The first, which recognizes some achievements of General Omar Torrijos’s social and reformist program and the negotiation of the Torrijos-Carter Treaty (1977), depicts him as a corrupt and repressive leader, “with an ever-present bottle of whiskey” (p. 73). In the next chapter, Manuel Antonio Noriega is portrayed as an even more corrupt and brutal dictator who used his intelligence connections with the U.S. government to impose his will on Panamanian society until the United States grew weary of his abuses and decided to invade the country. Harding’s description of the deepening crisis seems to be an attempt to justify the U.S. bombing of El Chorrillo and the deaths of thousands of Panamanian civilians. However, reading the final chapter “Democracy and the Canal Gained,” I wonder if the new “democracy” and the return to power of the old oligarchy validate this interpretation.

Finally, this book focuses narrowly on U.S.-Panamanian diplomatic and political relationships. Social movements, women, cultural trends, and even economic history are missing. It fails in its main goal and distorts Panamanians’ struggle to consolidate our nation-state and develop our country.

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La modernización entre cafetales: San José, Costa Rica, 1880–1930. By FLORENCIA QUESADA AVENDAÑO. Helsinki: Instituto Renvall, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. xiv, 316 pp.

This is a solidly researched work dealing with a set of well-mined issues regarding urban modernization. Florencia Quesada Avendaño notes that modernization studies associated with the export boom period appear to have bypassed the historiography of Costa Rican and other Central American cities. She proposes to correct this gap in our understanding of the era between 1880 and 1930 by analyzing urban development in the Costa Rican capital of San José.

San José's development reflects the characteristics of a latecomer to the Spanish American urban landscape. More a village than a town, its foundation in 1737, late by the standards of colonial settlements, signaled its limited functions within the broader strategic visions of Spain's empire. Tobacco and coffee would eventually provide San José with significant linkages to the Atlantic economy, but even here, the pace of economic activities was languid, and it would not be until the era of intensive coffee cultivation toward the end of the nineteenth century that officials spoke of aspirations for a new urban design and expanded municipal functions. The author employs a cultural approach to analyze the objectives of urban designers; she looks at space as a function of urbanists' visions of the modern, Europeanized city. These included, above all, a goal of order and progress, in a sense encompassing political, socioeconomic, and physical dimensions. The ordered city would be represented by neatly compartmentalized functional regions, such as green spaces for outdoor leisure activities and administrative areas for the distribution of public services, but it would also result in residential segregation along socioeconomic lines. The distribution of technical infrastructure and municipal services followed along the fault lines of evolving residential segmentation. Urban planners delivered new services, such as water, sewerage, electricity, and urban transportation, first to the more affluent neighborhoods developing north of the city's center, while the southern extensions, populated by the poor, would wait for many years to enjoy such benefits. A former village of easy and fluid social exchange was becoming a more differentiated urban space, stratified along new distinctions that would become permanent features of the modern city.

The earliest proponents of specific modernization projects represented a technocratic vanguard, specifically hygienists. Along with technical improvements, the modern city imagined by these agents of liberalism was also the orderly city, the emblem of proper morality, mannered sociability, and the symbolic practices associated with public space, necessitating the exercise of social control. Thus, San José's earliest modernizing visionaries combined the imagination of physicians, engineers, and politicians, all working toward the common objective of changing public habits. Quesada Avendaño emphasizes the elite's interest in centralizing authority as the clearest demonstration of the constructed nature of public space.

In the end, the principle of hegemonic power as the defining characteristic of the modern liberal state was largely absent from San José's planning capabilities. The state showed little initiative in implementing modernizing urban projects and was hardly an actor in funding them. Unlike turn-of-the-century Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, where the state took a leading role in infrastructural modernization projects, Costa Rica's economy did not allow the state to lead such efforts. Instead, growth and modernization of San José depended almost entirely on private initiative and financing. The municipality only generated plans and visions, and its oversight of projects was sporadic and ineffective. The result was a series of small growth projects, a reflection of the calculated opportunity costs borne by private investors. Urban elites were the principal beneficiaries of the city's transformation; that is, the concentration of initiatives in the hands of private speculators meant decades-long delays in comprehensive plans. Furthermore, while health specialists had been the earliest advocates of modernizing infrastructure, starting in the 1870s and 1880s, physicians and health professionals were absent from the projects as they were devised and implemented by private developers who favored northern elite neighborhoods.

An especially appealing element of this work is the analysis of a significant collection of 329 images depicting the city, culled from magazines, newspapers, postcards, photographic albums, and the city's *Blue Book*—published in Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Paris, and listing businesses and presenting urban images portraying a dynamic and wholesome urban environment attractive to potential investors. Most photographs depicted the city's central business districts and the northern and northeastern residential areas of the well-heeled *josefinos*. Very few images depicted the poor neighborhoods concentrated in the city's south. Most often, images were devoid of people: emphasis was placed on structures and parks. The author puts these images to very effective use. Drawing on the pathbreaking works of Robert M. Levine (*Images of History: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Latin American Photographs as Documents*, 1989), Peter Burke (*Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence*, 2001) and others, she emphasizes social space as a social product as she analyzes the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the photographs.

This is a valuable work of urban history and urbanism in an area of Latin American history long dominated by agrarian questions and lacking studies of its politically dominant cities.

MARK D. SZUCHMAN, Florida International University

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Caribbean Culture: Soundings on Kamau Brathwaite. Edited by ANNIE PAUL. Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2007. Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. vii, 439 pp. Paper, \$35.00.

The 22 essays collected in *Caribbean Culture* are representative of the quality of the intellectual dialogue that took place at the Second Conference on Caribbean Culture held in January 2002. Scholars and critics gathered at the Mona campus of the University of the West Indies to honor the life and writings of Caribbean poet, historian, and cultural critic Kamau Brathwaite. The volume's introductory essay offers a brief but compelling overview of Brathwaite's key theoretical contributions to the field of Caribbean studies. This opening discussion of Brathwaite's use of the concepts of creolization, "nation language," and a Caribbean aesthetic helps to introduce the reader to the many themes that will bring cohesion to what could have been a disjointed body of work.

The volume's essays are arranged into seven sections according to theme and methodology, with most of the contributors engaging in refreshing discussions of "globalization and subalternity, and the relationship between Caribbean creolization, historiography, orature and aesthetics, and other regional cultures" (p. 17). The essays reflect Brathwaite's insistence that historians and literary critics rethink and challenge disciplinary boundaries. Some essays directly assess Brathwaite's historical and literary writings, while others use his concepts to develop their own critiques of Caribbean historiography, gender studies, and popular culture.

Historians and graduate students interested in the concept of creolization will find the fourth section of this volume particularly relevant to their studies. Cecil Gutzmore offers a sharp critique of creole discourse and of historians who have failed to pay critical attention to historical theory. The author argues that historians of the Caribbean have "problematically theorized" the concept of creolization and attributed to it empirical results confused with other processes like *acculturation* and *transculturation* (p. 190). Gutzmore contends that creole discourse also excludes particular Caribbean communities (Asian and Amerindian communities, for example) and tends to "de-Africanize and inferiorize Caribbean and continental Africans" (p. 191). Throughout the essay, Gutzmore challenges key aspects of Brathwaite's *Development of Creole Society in Jamaica*, concluding that his major offense stems from his "strong tendency towards sociocultural totalization and the cultural resolution of issues" (p. 209). Nonspecialists of the Anglophone Caribbean familiar with the work of Néstor García Canclini will enjoy Ileana Rodríguez's discussion of debates centered on the meanings of racial and political terms like *mestizaje*, *creolization*, *transculturation*, *hybridity*, and *pluralism*. Rodríguez contends that these socially constructed terms explain the identity politics of different historical moments from the eras of colonization and the diaspora to the current period of globalization (p. 244).

The two essays featured in the sixth section of the book use Brathwaite's writings on creole society and a Caribbean aesthetic to inform their analyses of gender and sexuality in contemporary popular culture. Donna P. Hope challenges the widespread belief that

Jamaican dancehall culture is misogynistic, arguing that lyrics and performances actually represent “a creative negotiation of multiple masculinities as part of the lived realities [in a postcolonial society] of the actors in the dancehall dis/place” (p. 378). Rachel Moseley-Wood’s essay looks at the Jamaican film *Dancehall Queen*, insisting that the film challenges the representation and reception of female sexuality and the female body (p. 397). Moseley-Wood’s initial effort here to position Jamaican filmmaking in relation to films produced in Cuba, Latin America, and Hollywood points to the need for scholars of popular culture and mass media to position their studies in comparative frameworks.

Specialists of Caribbean history, literature, and theory will find this volume both an open celebration and direct confrontation with the legacy of Kamau Brathwaite. The editor has assembled a body of work that stretches beyond the confines of colonial and disciplinary borders. It is likely, however, that most undergraduate and even some graduate students will find *Caribbean Culture* inaccessible, since many of the contributors assume that readers are well-versed in the language of the field. Yet, this detracts little from what is a polished, thoughtful, and engaging collection of essays.

CHRISTINA D. ABREU, University of Michigan

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Los textos de la patria: Nacionalismo, políticas culturales y canon en Argentina.

By FERNANDO DEGIOVANNI. Ensayos Críticos, 37. Rosario: Beatriz Viterbo Editora, 2007. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Indexes. 383 pp. Paper.

Various expressions of nationalism in Argentina throughout the twentieth century revealed a chronic lack of ideological unanimity and reflected marked partisanship among policy makers and intellectuals. The struggle to reach both a political consensus and a shared conception of *argentinidad* impeded the progress of the state and exposed a profound schism within the national leadership. Many of these disputes are familiar to scholars. During the first decade of the century, a series of xenophobic legislation underlined the ethnic tensions that had arisen from years of rampant European immigration. In 1922 Hipólito Yrigoyen founded the state-owned YPF oil company, a move met with obdurate conservative resistance. During the 1940s and 1950s, Juan Perón’s inclusive populism stressed that progress could be achieved only through a plan of national development predicated on collective unity, regardless of ethnicity and class. The reactionary military junta that emerged during the 1970s overturned the Peronist ethos of mass participation in favor of a repressive and individualistic state. That dictatorial regime finally was undone after it attempted to resuscitate feelings of national pride by occupying the Falklands Islands in 1982, only to be defeated promptly by British naval forces.

An uncertain and contested sense of national identity and political philosophy is indeed an Argentine tradition that reaches back to independence. Yet, despite this sustained discord, the nation enjoyed a period of economic prosperity and relative political stability for five decades beginning in the early 1880s. During that era of furious eco-

conomic growth and social change, intellectuals became preoccupied with questions concerning the way the nation's history should be presented and how those representations would affect the meaning of nationalism going forward. In the magnificent *Los textos de la patria*, Fernando Degiovanni examines two intellectuals at the epicenter of that dispute, which peaked in 1915 in the wake of the nation's centenary. The first, Ricardo Rojas, was a liberal who argued that the country would advance only if a common Argentine identity superseded disparate ethnic affiliations. His rival, José Ingenieros, was a positivist who rejected Rojas's elevation of the gaucho and provincial traditions, instead favoring cosmopolitan ideas and foreign culture. Both presented collections that culled literary materials that were imagined to be related historically to the development of argentinidad. In this way each presented an alternate vision of what they believed embodied the national canon linguistically, culturally, politically, and symbolically. Their debate, though confined to print, was part and parcel of the same fundamental argument that would polarize the political and intellectual leadership of the nation throughout the century: should Argentines embrace native traditions, jettison their disparate ethnic identities, and disavow foreign influences or, instead, look abroad for cultural and economic support?

According to Degiovanni, there were two major issues at stake in 1915 when Rojas and Ingenieros began their culture war. First was the issue of open democracy following the enactment of the landmark Sáenz Peña Law, which reformed electoral corruption and required mandatory suffrage for native or naturalized males. Rojas believed that the new Argentine politician should be pro-Catholic and educated in creole literary and cultural traditions, while Ingenieros argued that leaders ought to possess scientific and rational knowledge. The second issue involved immigrants, whom Rojas felt should be creolized rapidly to cultivate a shared national identity, and whose multiformity Ingenieros viewed as evidence that no natural Argentine race yet existed.

To thwart the incursion of foreign ideas, Rojas planned, through his collection (*Biblioteca Argentina*), to implant a common consciousness inspired by local traditions. He drew on the folklore of the nation's interior, romantically envisaging its people and spaces to be the essence of the Argentine "spirit." Ingenieros (*La cultura argentina*) argued that any such pastoral identity was lost when caudillo Juan Manuel de Rosas was defeated in 1852. Instead, he contended that, by 1915, few Argentines had any affiliation with the nation's forefathers, and thus the construction of a collective identity was still in motion and rooted elsewhere. Degiovanni shrewdly points out that, while both men were proposing two decidedly different versions of the past, they each were doing so with the hope of fostering social cohesion during a pivotal period of development and modernization.

Degiovanni's work is a splendid contribution to the historiography of nationalism, historical memory, and political culture in twentieth-century Latin America. His analysis lies at the critical, yet understudied, interface of intellectual and cultural history. Scholars are only beginning to treat the two fields as analogous, recognizing the complicated

origins of “popular” culture and the oft-veiled derivations of founding myths. While the minutiae of this volume will be of interest only to specialists, the work should be required reading for those interested in the rise of cultural nationalism in Latin America and the manipulation of national histories by the political and intellectual elite.

BRAD LANGE, Emory University

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Diáspora y exilio: Crónica de una familia argentina. By EDUARDO D. FAINGOLD.

Buenos Aires: Ediciones al Margen, 2006. Photographs. Bibliography. 138 pp. Paper.

In this mixture of family history and autobiography, Eduardo D. Faingold describes a family’s reaction to the terror, displacement, and seeming randomness of Argentina’s Dirty War. It is a book about personal adaptation and family cohesion. *Diáspora y exilio* is clearly not an academic study of the Dirty War (known in Argentina as the *Proceso*). Rather, the author tells the story from the point of view of an average Argentine Jew in an extended family that was trying to survive the terror the best it could.

When the Dirty War began in earnest in 1976, Eduardo was a college student, like a large proportion of Argentine Jews of his age. At that point, the growing terror seemed not to touch him personally. Then in 1977, his home was subject to attack, or *allanamiento*, a kind of breaking, entering, and destruction that was carried out by the army and later paramilitary groups. Eduardo had heard of people who had been disappeared, that is, abducted and murdered, though he didn’t feel endangered. But, after the attack on his home, Eduardo, though never a Zionist, escaped to Israel.

In Israel, Eduardo tried to continue his schooling and to mind his own business. He did not want to be in Israel. Whereas most immigrants come to Israel to build the country or to practice intensely held religious beliefs, Eduardo had neither of those motivations. He just wanted to hide out from the Argentine thugs and to try to get his moorings. After three months in a Galilean kibbutz, he left Israel, eventually for Denmark and a second exile in a country very unlike Argentina. With hardly any money, he traveled around Europe, eventually returning to Israel and then to Denmark again.

At a Danish border crossing in 1980, Eduardo was stopped by an Argentine consular official. The functionary told him that he had only ten hours to return to Argentina and immediately enlist in the army. Like many young Argentines, particularly those on the run, it turned out that that Eduardo could survive only if he returned and served in an army he detested. Ironically, at that point in the Dirty War, the military was one of the safest places to be.

Faingold includes many other people in his story through the use of interviews, remembered conversations, and brief, episodic commentaries by many speakers, including himself. Most of these are enlightening, though a few are repetitive and unhelpful. While the variety of characters is a strength of the book, there are so many characters that it is hard to keep track of them. The story ends when Eduardo Faingold is dis-

charged from the military and sets off on yet one more voyage of discovery in Israel and other domains. Yet the reader needs to know more. What happened to those who stayed? Did things get even worse? How did it all end? The war on the Argentine public went on for three more years. The psychological portraits that hold this book together should have gone farther.

Eduardo D. Faingold's work is best when he is writing about himself. He is both an everyman and an idiosyncratic individual. He shows himself constantly making rash decisions and always leaving people and places behind. While the book is about family, the early chapters about his paternal and maternal European ancestors should have been shortened. There is more information than is really needed, and this skews the book.

In *Diáspora y exilio*, Faingold has written a short book that is both highly emotional and compelling. He appears as both the teller of tales and as the main character. He is the student, the kibbutznik, the man on the road with barely enough to live on, and the exile who returns to Argentina to join the army. He watches his beloved family split up and emigrate to countries where Spanish is not spoken. Faingold himself is now a professor in Oklahoma. For most members of his family, and in spite of all they went through, the tie to Argentina remains strong.

STEPHEN A. SADOW, Northeastern University

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Ciudadanía y derechos indígenas en América Latina: Poblaciones, estados y orden internacional. Edited by LAURA GIRAUDO. Cuadernos y debates. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2007. Illustrations. Map. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. viii, 388 pp. Paper.

In October 2006, European, Latin American, and indigenous scholars gathered at Madrid's Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales for a conference on the rights and citizenship of Latin America's native peoples. One result was this timely, noteworthy volume. Editor Laura Giraudo has set out to "enrich the debate on indigenous rights in Latin America" by presenting multiple "visions" and "different angles" rather than a "homogeneous account" (p. 1). The book by and large succeeds in this goal. Its nine essays examine native peoples' rights at the local, national, and international levels through topics ranging from the Kuna Revolution of 1925 to intellectual property rights and the protection of the traditional knowledge of Ecuador's Awa Indians. The essays are well written and grounded in the relevant scholarship and, together, have a vast chronological and geographic scope. The volume's only real drawback is its introduction, which neither develops the book's main concepts and themes nor attempts to link together the contributors' different visions. Nevertheless, the essays do fit together nicely, making for a work that is much more than the sum of its parts. This is a significant contribution to the field of indigenous studies that should prove useful to graduate students and specialists, while some of the essays will most likely interest activists.

As with much of the recent literature in the field, the volume examines the rela-

tionship between native peoples and the state; its novelty lies in that it does so from the perspective of legislation (often with the actual laws effectively tucked into the book's appendixes). Giraudo's piece analyzes the constitutional reforms, legislation, and censuses of the past two decades to argue that many Latin American states have adopted a "multicultural" or "pluriethnic" model. This model represents a break with the long-standing liberal paradigm that emphasized homogenization as the key to nation building. Giraudo attributes the change to the current indigenous mobilizations, to neoliberalism and decentralization, and to an international climate cognizant of native peoples' rights. Although the multicultural model might seem promising, she warns that it draws both implicitly and explicitly on forms and language from the colonial period.

This same theme of diversity and homogenization is deftly taken up by Mónica Quijada, who addresses the construction of collective identities in two very different contexts. She compares the nineteenth-century liberal concept of the nation to notions of identity common to contemporary indigenous movements. While the movements of the last three decades are heterogeneous and vast, they share certain features, such as an identification with "the land" or a specific territory. The two approaches to identity, Quijada concludes, have never been reconciled. One of Latin America's persistent challenges, she writes, has been the articulation of "ethnic diversity and communal rights with a principle of citizenship based on positive legislation and individual rights" (p. 81).

It is, in fact, its examination of citizenship that makes this book a significant contribution to the field. One article in particular, by Luis Rodríguez-Piñero Royo, focuses on citizenships' global dimensions, tracing the evolution of international law regarding the rights of native peoples from the colonial period to the recent (2006) United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

The rest of the essays primarily treat individual countries, and the indigenous peoples that surface in them are decidedly "active agents" in history (p. 9). We see, for example, Bolivia's Aymaras mobilizing from the late nineteenth century to the present to reconstitute the *ayllu* and to restore ancient Qullasuyu; Mexico's EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional) defining their vision of autonomy; and the Kuna revolting and forcing Panama to recognize their autonomy. An article by Bartolomé Clavero considers the inverse, the indigenous peoples' recognition of states, with an overview of two centuries of treaties between Chile and Mapu ("the land" of the Mapuches). Finally, a piece by Ramón Máiz looks at citizenship in Bolivia from the perspective of discourse. Máiz analyzes the discursive strategies employed by the MIP (Movimiento Indígena Pachakuti) of Felipe Quispe and the victorious MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo) of Evo Morales. (The accompanying charts that compare the rhetoric of the MIP's ethnic nationalism with the MAS's more pluralist nationalism are fascinating.) In all, as this book reminds us, it is erroneous to call the indigenous mobilizations of the last three decades "an awakening." In the words of Quijada, the "Indians have always been there and exist today. What has changed is their degree of visibility and their capacity for action" (p. 61).

CHRISTINA BUENO, Northeastern Illinois University

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The Imagined Underworld: Sex, Crime, and Vice in Porfirian Mexico City.

By JAMES ALEX GARZA. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 220 pp. Cloth, \$45.00.

James Alex Garza has written a thoughtful social history of sex, crime, and vice in late nineteenth-century Mexico. He uses judicial archives, newspaper accounts, secondary literature, and correspondence to examine six sensational criminal trials in Mexico City during the Porfiriato. Garza pays special attention to a serial killer, a young woman who died at the hand of a former lover, burglars and murderers of store owners, a woman who died from a botched abortion, and the would-be assassin of Porfirio Díaz. Building on the works and ideas of eminent scholars such as William H. Beezley and Benedict Anderson, Garza analyzes “the ways in which urban elites . . . imagined, forged, and populated this underworld of crime and vice” (p. 3). “In an effort to maintain moral superiority, erect an ideological barrier between the educated and popular classes, and instruct the middle class in what they believed were appropriate behaviors and customs,” he continues, “elites invented a criminal underworld and populated it with imaginary, stock Mexicans: degenerate, foul, drunk, deviant, and murderous” (pp. 3–4). The author convincingly demonstrates that the government sought “to validate the ideal city by labeling impoverished neighborhoods and their residents as disease and crime ridden” (p. 17).

Like any provocative work, Garza’s inquiry forces the reader to contend with complicated issues. This reviewer found some of Garza’s conclusions less satisfying than others. While the author focuses on the “imagined underworld,” his painstaking and at times overly detailed depictions of specific events suggest that *científicos* did not need to exaggerate the level of crime in order to promote their agenda of order and progress. Garza correctly criticizes the state for ignoring the economic basis of poverty and depicts the Porfirian elite as manipulative. But not every project of the state (sewer projects, campaigns to eradicate typhus, vaccination programs, etc.) was meant “to control the lives and the bodies” of the popular class (p. 132). The tragic case of María Barrera, who died from a massive hemorrhage, serves as an example of a forced conclusion. The author contends that this incident “threatened not only to undermine official efforts to promote modern medical science, but to link professional medicine with the imagined underworld” (p. 132). Later, Barrera is said to have “fallen victim to modernity’s grasp, for the abortion she died from clearly had a modern aspect [and she . . .] became entangled in the bowels of the underworld” (p. 153). A simpler explanation would have been that this ashamed and frightened unmarried woman (with or without the help of her boyfriend) became mortally ill after a botched abortion, and detectives and medical examiners sought to determine the cause of death. In his introduction, Garza stated that his study (especially the characters in chapter four) reveals “how average Mexicans coped with the intrusive powers of the state” (p. 9). But these protagonists were thieves and murderers, not average people. Their sophisticated arsenal may have included “careful planning, rendezvous sites, and street tactics,” but these individuals made life difficult for average Mexicans (p. 110).

Garza's final section, "The Porfiriato Revisited," reveals an interesting perspective on class dynamics. He comments on a massive protest march in 2004 in which "Mexicans, mostly from the middle and upper classes, marched . . . [while] millions of other Mexicans reported to work as usual. . . . [For these latter citizens] crime was not an issue to protest but part of everyday life . . . not an abstract issue but a horrifying reality. However, for the press and the government, crime is a social phenomenon that often takes on imagined aspects. . . . like its late nineteenth-century incarnation, the imagined underworld of the present is judged by those in power to be a threat to the nation" (pp. 181–82). I participated in that march and remember it differently. People from all backgrounds protested that Sunday afternoon against the drug-related violence, organized crime, carjackings, taxi-jackings, and kidnappings that gripped (and continue to grip) the country. My hunch is that both those who marched and those who did not, regardless of social class, view the underworld as a true threat to the nation. Perhaps Garza's focus on and sympathy for members of the underclass—during the Porfiriato and in 2004—prevented him from seeing those occasions when criminals are, in fact, part of the problem and those other occasions when public officials (detectives, medical examiners, and even some policy makers) have sincere, if misguided, motives.

These concerns should not detract from appreciating Garza's effective research and narrative of Porfirian society. Chapters from this valuable work would perfectly complement university courses on Mexican history and the Porfiriato and Mexican Revolution.

LEE M. PENYAK, University of Scranton

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Mexico and Modern Printmaking: A Revolution in the Graphic Arts, 1920 to 1950.

By JOHN ITTMANN; with contributions by INNIS HOWE SHOEMAKER, JAMES M. WECHSLER, and LYLE W. WILLIAMS. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art / San Antonio: McNay Art Museum / New Haven: in association with Yale University Press, 2006. Plates. Illustrations. Notes. Index of Names. xi, 289 pp. Cloth, \$65.00.

In 1924, as the Mexican government was clamping down on politically militant muralists, David Alfaro Siqueiros declared that if their mural commissions were canceled, artists would "exchange the walls of public buildings for the pages of [*El Machete*]," an illustrated newspaper launched by the Syndicate of Workers, Painters, and Writers. This beautifully illustrated catalog for an exhibition co-organized by the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA) and the McNay Art Museum in San Antonio shows that printmaking became a key medium for a broad array of artists who linked art to populist politics in revolutionary Mexico. Drawing on the collections of the aforementioned museums, the catalog showcases artists like Siqueiros, José Clemente Orozco, and Diego Rivera, as well as lesser-known figures like Emilio Amero and others not known for their work in

printmaking like Dr. Atl (Gerardo Murillo). The volume is weaker in contextualizing artists less interested in politics, who instead worked in a variety of print techniques to make art that was shaped more by artistic and aesthetic experimentation.

In the first chapter, Lyle W. Williams, curator of prints and drawings at the McNay, provides a historical overview from the introduction of the first press in the New World in Mexico City in 1539 through the 1940s and the waning of antifascist printmaking collectives like the Taller de Gráfica Popular. Following Williams's introductory essay, Innis Howe Shoemaker, senior curator of prints, drawings, and photographs at the PMA, tells the story of the Weyhe Gallery in New York, an important early promoter of Orozco, Rivera, and Rufino Tamayo. Shoemaker offers a fascinating history of the interest in Mexican art among New York dealers such as Weyhe's director Carl Zigrosser. In New York, Mexican artists mastered a variety of techniques, and figures like Zigrosser promoted their work to American collectors. In 1940 Zigrosser became the print curator at the PMA. His personal collection of Mexican prints became the basis of the PMA collection. The third lead essay, by James Wechsler, offers a thorough overview of the relationship between printmaking and radical politics, emphasizing the artists of the LEAR (League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists) and the Taller de Gráfica Popular.

The volume also includes shorter chapters by these authors and by John Ittmann, who co-curated the show for the PMA, on particular artists and themes like "Mexicanidad," "Foreign Artists in Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s," the Open Air Schools, and Surrealist currents. Again, the featured artists are drawn from those represented in the museums' collections. Thus important artists are overlooked, such as Jean Charlot, who led the revival of the woodcut in the 1920s, and others. Certainly the bibliography on José Guadalupe Posada is large, but the discussion of him and his peers is overly brief. Other early pioneers are also shortchanged, such as the *modernista* Julio Ruelas (1870–1907), a turn-of-the-century illustrator and engraver. This reinforces the idea that graphics in Mexico were necessarily politicized. A closer, more rigorous look at Ruelas's complicated images would have provided a more comprehensive picture of modern printmaking in Mexico. To his credit, Williams mentions Ruelas, but he describes Ruelas as a "modernist" (p. 7), when in fact he was the Mexican paragon of *modernismo*, Rubén Darío's literary movement, which in visual terms combined symbolist, decadent, and art nouveau tendencies. Modernismo is an important chapter in Mexican art history and thus warrants more careful attention. As for Rufino Tamayo, he receives a discrete chapter, but it is the PMA collection rather than his broader contribution to printmaking that drives the essay, which focuses on Tamayo's earliest series of woodcuts. Rendered in a naive style, they depict paradigmatic Mexican peasants; however, a recent catalogue raisonné of Tamayo's prints shows that his real contribution to the graphic arts came later. An expert's perspective from within the field of Mexican art history would have sharpened both the essays and the curatorial vision. Nevertheless, the volume has substantial merits and is a welcome contribution for a nonexpert audience or for teaching.

The PMA's interest in Mexican art dates to the 1930s. In 1932, the museum received Diego Rivera's retrospective from MoMA. In 1934 it hosted a chronological exhibition,

Mexican Art, and in 1943 it organized an important survey of contemporary Mexican painting called Mexican Art Today (p. viii). In 2006, the museum co-organized a major exhibition of Latin American colonial art. This year it hosts an exhibition on Frida Kahlo in honor of the 100th anniversary of her birth, as well as a smaller but important exhibition on Juan Soriano (1920–2006), an important midcentury painter known little outside of Mexico. This volume underscores the museum's commitment to the art of Mexico.

ADRIANA ZAVALA, Tufts University

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J.-B. Debret, *historiador e pintor: A viagem pitoresca e histórica ao Brasil (1816–1839)*.

By VALÉRIA LIMA. Coleção Várias Histórias. Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 2007.

Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. 327 pp. Paper.

Originally a PhD thesis defended at the Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP), this book aims to investigate Jean-Baptiste Debret's masterpiece *A viagem pitoresca e histórica ao Brasil* and Debret's experiences in Brazil between 1816 and 1831. The author announces as her major objective to understand Debret's intentions by illuminating elements of his biography, his manifest aesthetic filiations, and the conception and accomplishment of his historical and "picturesque" travel narrative, concluding her story with his return to France after 16 years of residence in Rio de Janeiro. Lima tries to demonstrate the "constructed" character of Debret's work. As an heir to Enlightenment and postrevolutionary postulates—in accordance with which human history marches in the direction of an unstoppable progress toward perfection—Debret would supposedly have imputed these same conceptions to the history of Brazil. Thus, the recondite intention of his *Viagem pitoresca* would be to demonstrate the thesis that Brazil is part of this same worldwide movement from barbarity to civilization. According to Lima, the selections and construction in Debret's work show us his conception of Brazilian civilization and history.

Lima's book comprises four chapters plus a long introduction reviewing Debret's work. The first chapter divides the subject's biography into three parts: his education and professional training prior to his experience in Brazil, his stay there, and his path after his return to France. According to the author, this chapter lays a foundation for understanding Debret's artistic options and the intentions that guided the general plan and execution of his work on Brazil.

Chapter 2 offers an analysis of the organization of the volumes, followed by a reflection on the techniques of watercolor and the importance of lithography to the genre of historical and "picturesque" journeys. In this chapter, one will also find an interesting attempt to discover how Debret's work was received, based on analysis of the verdicts of the members of the Institut de France and the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, of which Debret was a corresponding fellow. The third chapter raises the ques-

tion of whether Debret's work belongs to the genre of travel literature and compares Debret's *Viagem* with similar contemporary works. Finally, chapter 4 seeks to recover Debret's general plan of interpretation of Brazil by means of the analysis of the images and texts that clarify them, "the brush and the plume," as Lima puts it. Lima concludes that Debret "is a man of his time"; his interpretation of Brazil rests on Enlightenment ideas and in his close attention to local conditions, as they can be seen in other contemporary aesthetic and literary manifestations in France, such as the Celtic Academy and the *Tableau de la France* by Michelet.

One might say that J.-B. Debret, *historiador e pintor* was published prematurely. Its original function as an academic thesis is clear in the maintenance in the text of an immense number of pages dedicated to bibliographical review. Here, one by one, dozens of similar works of travel literature are described, focusing on Brazil or elsewhere.

While in Lima's book one can indeed find very interesting insights, particularly regarding Debret's education as an artist and his place in the postrevolutionary context, this aspect far surpasses any attempt at internal analysis of his artwork. The two first chapters are the most solid of the book, as the author was more successful in analyzing Debret's artistic training and the public reception of the *Viagem* than in iconographic analysis of the images produced by Debret. That is, Lima's emphasis falls much more on the "plume" than on the "brush" of the French artist. Lima's book lacks internal coherence or narrative unity, as evident in the absence of a conclusion.

Throughout the book, and especially in the last chapter, where one would finally expect to find an iconographic analysis of Debret's monumental work, images are no more than mere illustrations to corroborate the author's argument. Pictorial, formal, or iconographic analyses of the images themselves are practically absent. Furthermore, many of the images cited are not reproduced in the book. The quality of the reproductions, minute and in black and white, strongly harms the final result. At the end of the reading, one feels that the book effectively fulfills much less than it promises in its introduction. If the great analysis of Debret's *Viagem* is not Rodrigo Naves's, as Lima states, it still remains to be done.

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International and Comparative

The Book of Salsa: A Chronicle of Urban Music from the Caribbean to New York City.

By CÉSAR MIGUEL RONDÓN. Translated by FRANCES R. APARICIO with JACKIE WHITE. Latin America in Translation / en Traducción / em Tradução. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. Appendix. Index. xi, 340 pp. Cloth, \$59.95. Paper, \$20.00.

Though long out of print, *El Libro de la Salsa*, published in 1980 by a Venezuelan disc jockey and journalist named César Miguel Rondón, has been an underground hit among scholars for more than two decades. Now, happily, the book's incorporation into the world of academic writing on music is official. Leaving out the photographs, cover art, and lyrics that appeared in the original, UNC Press has published an excellent English translation of Rondón's text. The classic narrative of the origins and trajectory of salsa, which has informed the best academic writing on the subject for years, is now at the disposal of readers of English.

Rondón argues that salsa was a reinvention of Cuban and other Caribbean music in the context of working-class Latino New York after the Cuban Revolution. In the 1960s, as the great New York mambo orchestras went into decline and musical innovations no longer arrived from Havana, small *conjuntos* led by Ray Baretto and Eddie Palmieri restructured the sounds of Latin big bands to fit in the smaller clubs in the Village, el Barrio, and the South Bronx. They, and younger barrio musicians like Willie Colón, wrote lyrics that recounted everyday experiences in New York and in some cases offered critiques of the racial and class oppression in that city. In the early 1970s, the record industry, led by Fania Records, helped to consolidate this new scene under the umbrella term *salsa*. Some of Fania's interventions, like all-star jam sessions at the Cheetah Club, allowed musicians the freedom to develop the new style. But, Rondón recounts with regret, between 1975 and 1978, record companies created a commercial boom dominated by what he calls the Matancera style—a rejection of the New York sound with its gritty feel and edgy lyrics in favor of the nostalgic reproduction of Cuban music from the 1950s, in the style of the Sonora Matancera. Much of this production was musically uninteresting. But even the virtuosic recordings the Sonora's brilliant singer Celia Cruz made for Fania were not, he argues, really salsa.

Writing in the late 1970s, Rondón sought to distinguish between music marketed as salsa by the industry and true salsa, the evolving New York sound kept alive in the hands of artists like Papo Lucca, Roberto Roena, Manny Oquendo, and Willie Colón. This helped him to rebuff the contention of many Cuban musicians that salsa was merely a marketing strategy designed to repackage and profit from Cuban music. Commercial salsa might be an invention of the marketing department, he retorted, but true salsa was the invention of the barrio. The separation of true from commercial salsa also helped Rondón respond to nationalists in Venezuela, who saw rural folklore as the true expression of popular culture and salsa as a foreign, commercial, and imperial influence.

Within Latin America, he contended, “authentic, popular music” has always crossed national boundaries (p. 7). And, he added, New York barrios are properly part of Latin America. True salsa, in other words, was the popular music of the urban Caribbean, including New York, Caracas, Ponce, and Santo Domingo. Thus his first major contribution was to situate salsa in a particular social milieu, identifying a key relationship between musical production and ethnic expression in marginalized working-class barrios in New York. His second major contribution was to trace the circulation and evolution of the New York sound in Puerto Rico and Venezuela. Long before transnational media studies came into fashion in academic departments, Rondón analyzed the cultural exchange (often mediated by culture industries) between Latino diasporas and Latin American societies in transformation.

These groundbreaking interventions aside, in some ways Rondón’s vision translates awkwardly for contemporary academic audiences. The distinction Rondón proposes between the “truly popular” music and “trends created by the industry” relies on an uncomplicated notion of authenticity that many scholars will find suspect and that is frequently undermined by his own account. Much of the music he likes best comes not from the barrio, but from socially conscious but commercially successful, middle-class songwriters (Rubén Blades and Juan Luis Guerra). The barrios Rondón urges us to consider appear more as symbolic places than real ones, abstract and heroic counterpoints to the villains in the industry. It is therefore useful to remember that, despite the well-deserved imprint of an academic press, Rondón is not an ethnographer or a sociologist. He is a disc jockey and journalist with a vast collection of recordings and an impeccable ear. His best evidence is the music itself, which he catalogues and deconstructs with a liveliness that will send all but the most insensible readers running to the record store (though some may find themselves overwhelmed by his thoroughness). This explains why his arguments about authenticity don’t fall totally flat. The nature of his project is to identify music with *sabor* (the Spanish word for “flavor”) and distinguish it from music that is second-rate. His efforts to explain these matters of taste in social as well as musical terms sometimes leads to an overly simplistic vision of social relations, but they are also what make the book a classic.

JESSE HOFFNUNG-GARSKOF, University of Michigan

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Memories and Migrations: Mapping Boricua and Chicana Histories.

Edited by VICKI L. RUIZ and JOHN R. CHÁVEZ. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008. Photographs. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. xiv, 234 pp. Cloth, \$60.00. Paper, \$20.00.

In *Memories and Migrations*, Vicki L. Ruiz and John R. Chávez present a first-rate collection that seeks to transcend U.S. history and borderlands history by examining how twentieth-century Latinas have defined themselves across interstate, international, and conceptual boundaries. The editors pose a central question: how have Latinas “engendered region”? In the preface, Chávez tells us that the collection evolved as the contributing authors exchanged ideas and then presented their work to scholars and the public at a symposium designed to “celebrate and assess” the “maturing historical field” of Latina history (p. ix). While a more traditional geographic focus on the Southwest borderlands was initially considered, the book took a more ambitious scope, with discussion of Latinas in the Northeast, Pacific Northwest, Great Lakes region, and those who cross back and forth from Mexico. In the introduction, Ruiz argues that the collection addresses a trend in Latina historiography where “immigration, sexuality, generation, wage work, and cultural coalescence have frequently overshadowed region as a distinct category of analysis” (p. 1).

The case studies explore how women of Mexican and Puerto Rican heritage locate identity as shaped by gender, generation, class, and region. In part 1, María E. Montoya describes women’s experience in Southwest mining company towns and Lydia R. Otero relates an effort to protect a local Latino heritage site in Tucson, Arizona. In part 2, “Migration and Settlement,” Yolanda Chávez Leyva, Gabriela F. Arredondo, and Carmen Teresa Whalen offer case studies on the experience of Mexican children crossing the Mexican border in the early 1900s, *mujeridad* (womanhood) in Chicago in the 1920s–1940s, and unionization among Puerto Rican garment workers in New York. Part 3 includes chapters by Elizabeth Salas, Marisela R. Chávez, and Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, who address, respectively, the evolution of identity and political action among Latinas in Washington State, the dissonant experience of California Chicanas in the International Women’s Year in Mexico City, and one Latina’s academic journey. Each of the eight essays is solidly grounded in documentary evidence, and overall, the methodologies are diverse. Both Chávez Leyva and Whalen use immigration documents to reveal how women and children navigated the boundaries of race, class, and gender as well as physical borders and geographic space. Chávez Leyva examines Immigration and Naturalization Service interviews that document diverse circumstances, motivations, and rhetorical strategies of children and families who crossed and recrossed the border in pursuit of commerce, family socializing, and legal migration. Arredondo profiles women who embraced new opportunity by migrating to Chicago and often challenged traditional gender norms. The photographs Arredondo reproduces from naturalization petition files are the only visual documents in the collection; they offer students and

scholars the opportunity to consider these official portraits as a form of visual representation of Latinas. Sánchez-Korrol's *Boricua* autoethnography is profoundly engaging; it contributes an important example of how individuals have affected the evolution of Puerto Rican and Latino/a studies in the United States.

While the editors and authors agree that region is central to identity formation, it is not clear if they agree on key terms like *Chicana*, *Boricua*, and *Latina*. Just as there is no single or unified Latina experience, the meaning of these terms is often contested. Some consideration of how these identifiers have evolved, and continue to evolve, would have been helpful. Significantly, the collection of articles persuasively demonstrates that individual Latinas and Latina groups define themselves subjectively and that identities change over time. Reading the entire collection allows one to consider Latina identity as historical and regional consciousness that transcends borders.

The editors' choice to focus on women of Mexican-American and Puerto Rican heritage makes sense because these two groups comprise three-quarters of all Latinos in the United States. Additionally, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have persistent patterns of transnational movements and, within the United States, they share "congruent patterns of economic segmentation and discrimination" (p. 2). Both general readers and scholars should read this excellent collection, which, although it focuses on Latina history, also contributes to a more nuanced understanding of United States history. Ruiz frames the discussion in terms of "cultural coalescence," which transcends models of assimilation or resistance to discrimination and subordination. These essays provide further evidence that as they interact socially, work, and consume in their everyday lives, Latinas navigate through intersections and boundaries that are both spatial and cultural, using complex and evolving gendered ethnoracial identities. This collection's examination or "mapping" of twentieth-century *Boricua* and *Chicana* identity should encourage further exploration of the complex historical and contemporary experience of U.S. Latinas.

CARMEN NAVA, California State University, San Marcos

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Black behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops.

By GINETTA E. B. CANDELARIO. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Photographs. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 340 pp. Cloth, \$84.95.

Paper, \$23.95.

Ginetta Candelario's *Black behind the Ears* is a historical and sociological study of Dominican racial formation. For decades, scholars of race in the Americas have been befuddled by the pervasiveness of Negrophobic racist thought in a country with an African-descended majority. Rejecting narratives that tend to pathologize Dominicans for their inability to recognize their "true" identity, Candelario examines the ways Dominicans construct their own racial understandings to explore why many have sought to keep "black behind the ears." Moreover, her transnational frame of analysis allows her to depart from most studies that have tended to focus solely on the island or the United States. The result is a stimulating book that enhances our understanding of Dominican racial formation.

Candelario argues that Dominicans have historically identified themselves as "Indo-Hispanic," not due to self-delusion but instead to their effort to assert national sovereignty in the face of the "triangular dialectic" of U.S. imperialism and Haitian unification efforts. Here, she follows the work of Dominican historians, including Frank Moya Pons, among others, who have illustrated how the country's unique history of colonialism and slavery departed from many Caribbean societies. Candelario extends these arguments into the twentieth century by utilizing a multidisciplinary "bricolage methodology" that includes discourse analysis, ethnography, in-depth interviewing, and photo elicitation; this enables her to analyze Dominican racial understandings among nonelite classes.

Like other historians, Candelario traces the notion of nonblack Dominicaness back to the colonial period and the nineteenth century. The first chapter underscores how outsider travel narratives colluded with what she calls the Dominican elite "racial project" to distinguish the emerging nation from the "black republic" of Haiti. Instead, Dominican state institutions celebrated the country's imagined indigenous past to create a nonblack nationality. The second chapter illustrates how this Indo-Hispanic identification was institutionalized in Dominican museums, particularly the Museo del Hombre Dominicano in Santo Domingo. Candelario's analysis of the museums complements Richard Turits's work on how the Dominican state institutionalized anti-Haitianism and *indigenismo* as central motifs of Dominican nationalism.

In the remaining chapters, Candelario breaks new ground with her analysis of racial formation in Dominican communities in the United States. She shows how local contexts affect racial formation by focusing on two contrasting cases of Dominican experiences in Washington, D.C., and New York City. Drawing from interviews and archival work, Candelario examines the presence of Dominicans in the Black Mosaic exhibit organized by the Smithsonian's Anacostia Neighborhood Museum in 1994. She highlights the tensions that emerged as African-American and Dominican organizers negotiated their contrasting understandings of blackness. Particularly compelling are

Candelario's interviews with Dominicans in Washington, many of whom participated in the Black Mosaic project. She argues that Dominicans in the U.S. capital are more likely to identify as black due to the absence of significant Dominican institutions and their close proximity to African-American communities. Her research invites further scholarship on the population of Latin American origin in what has been viewed as a black and white city.

Candelario's discussion of Dominican racial formation in New York City convincingly illustrates the importance of beauty culture, and hairstyling in particular, as a marker of Dominican racial understandings. Drawing from ethnographic work in a beauty salon in Washington Heights, the heart of New York's Dominican community, Candelario shows how racial self-understandings transform from *indio* to "Hispanic" in the New York context. By using a photo elicitation method in which salon customers and employees were asked a series of questions to evaluate the beauty of cross-racial individuals in hairstyle books, Candelario insists that Dominicans tend to reject blackness not in favor of whiteness but to embrace a nonblack and nonwhite "Hispanic" identification. While this argument reveals the ways Hispanicity operates as an alternative to blackness, one cannot help but wonder how Candelario and her informants distinguish Hispanicity from whiteness. The images of whiteness that appear in the book seem based on the notion that all people defined as white have blond hair and blue eyes. In short, one is left asking the question, how do populations of Latin American origin understand whiteness?

Candelario's study inadvertently raises the question of the utility of the concept of identity itself. Throughout the text, a tension persists in her understanding of identity as something that is "displayed" or performed and something that is "internalized." While she explicitly rejects an essentialist notion of identity, it remains unclear whether or not she is analyzing a process that is ongoing and mobilized at different moments, or a "thing" that Dominicans possess. Her study would have been enriched by drawing from recent scholarship, especially the work of Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, which has proposed more precise concepts to grasp the multilayered process of self-identification. Despite this conceptual ambiguity, *Black behind the Ears* makes a significant contribution to our understanding of Dominican racial formation. It should be widely read by historians, anthropologists, and sociologists in the fields of Latin American and Latina/o studies.

FRANK ANDRE GURIDY, University of Texas at Austin

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A Discontented Diaspora: Japanese Brazilians and the Meanings of Ethnic Militancy, 1960–1980. By JEFFREY LESSER. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. Photographs. Maps. Tables. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xxx, 219 pp. Cloth, \$79.95. Paper, \$22.95.

Over the last decade, scholars working on race and ethnicity in Brazil have systematically dismantled Gilberto Freyre's long-standing ideas about the alleged tri-polar historical construction of a color-blind national identity based on African, European, and indigenous peoples and their cultures. Anthropologists, sociologists, and historians have also questioned the corollary that racial discrimination has been attenuated because of unique historical processes. Yet, within popular culture and among many academics, notions still persist that Brazilians hold few racial or ethnic stereotypes. In his insightful study of Japanese and Syrian-Lebanese immigration to Brazil over the course of the twentieth century, historian Jeffrey Lesser took on those who insisted that Brazil's melting pot dissolved all ethnic identities (*Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil*, Duke University Press, 1999). In *A Discontented Diaspora*, Lesser once again challenges the lingering view that Brazilians are disinterested in ethnic origins.

The ongoing boom in coffee production encouraged large-scale immigration to the state of São Paulo and its environs during the first half of the twentieth century; these immigrants largely came from Italy and Japan. Between 1908 and the outbreak of World War II, approximately 190,000 Japanese emigrated to Brazil, another 50,000 settled in the country during the postwar period. Although most began as hard-working farm laborers, by the 1960s significant sectors had moved into the middle class or were pushing their children in that direction. How did young Nikkei approach their identity as children of Japanese heritage and ancestry at a moment when pervasive social norms insisted that race and ethnicity were unimportant, yet stereotypes were ubiquitous? In order to carry out a historically based sociological and anthropological investigation of how Brazilians reacted to the sons and daughters of Japanese immigrants as they moved into mainstream society, Lesser has cleverly chosen two unexpected arenas for his study—soft-core erotic films that managed to pass the dictatorship's censorship, and revolutionary activities of Japanese-Brazilian students who challenged the military regime that ruled the country from 1964 to 1985. By analyzing how Nikkei filmmakers and actors understood themselves and were understood by film critics and the public, and by examining the ways politicized youth crafted their identity within the revolutionary left, Lesser offers an insightful and original reading of how ethnicity has played out in everyday Brazilian life.

Throughout the twentieth century, as Lesser points out, the Brazilian elites saw industrial and economic success in Japan as a model to be emulated. Japanese immigrants, so it seemed, brought that dedication and hard work to Brazil and actively participated in the nation's development. Omnipresent images portrayed Japanese-Brazilians as both excessively traditional and excessively modern. Urbanized Nikkei youth who

entered university in the 1960s or circulated in the bustling São Paulo cultural scene found themselves trapped between a series of ethnic stereotypes that emphasized their difference precisely when they were attempting to integrate into Brazilian society and erase these exclusionary prejudices. This book is about the tensions involved in confronting their dilemma.

The individuals that Lesser highlights—film directors, actors, and revolutionary militants—generally saw themselves as outsiders. They seemingly rejected their Japanese ethnicity in order to integrate into Brazilian society, yet they ended up reinforcing the very same notions of Japanese identity that they sought to escape. Thus, Nikkei actors in films that had Japanese themes saw themselves as “pure” Brazilians while they took on—or were forced to take on—roles that emphasized a “Japanese essence.” Escaping these stereotypes was not easy. Shizuo Osawa, a leader of the Popular Revolutionary Vanguard, which favored armed struggle to topple the military regime, became known in the underground as Mário Japa (Mario the Jap), a code name that made him particularly vulnerable to identification and arrest. As Lesser points out, code names of revolutionaries from other ethnic backgrounds did not mark them ethnically.

Japanese-Brazilians coming to adulthood in the 1960s and 1970s did not fit into the predominant categories of black, white, indigenous, or some mixture of these three “races.” While scholars have noted that notions of race are somewhat fluid in Brazil, Nikkei, as Lesser points out, had less room for maneuver, especially as they were seen to stand out and be different from what was considered authentically Brazilian. Becoming Brazilian, which seems to have been an underlying ambition of the people Lesser studied, remained a frustrating experience for them. Ironically, those who risked their lives to fight the military regime understood their militancy as a place where their ethnicity was unimportant. Perhaps this is why some, like Shizuo Osawa, joined a revolutionary organization that promoted a socialist solution that might obliterate racial or ethnic distinctions, and why so many more militants joined the *Ação Libertadora Nacional*, which proclaimed that the struggle against the military regime was also a struggle for national liberation against foreign exploitation. What more effective way to prove to oneself and others that one was authentically Brazilian? *A Discontented Diaspora* is an important contribution to our understanding of Brazilian culture and society.

JAMES N. GREEN, Brown University

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Corridors of Migration: The Odyssey of Mexican Laborers, 1600–1933.

By RODOLFO F. ACUÑA. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007. Photographs. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvii, 408 pp. Cloth, \$49.95. Paper, \$26.95.

With *Corridors of Migration*, Rodolfo Acuña's prodigious career as a historian comes full circle. Acuña is widely known for his work in the development of Chicano studies and his numerous books on Chicano history. Less known is the fact that Acuña is one of a handful of pioneering Chicano historians trained as a historian of Mexico (others include Ramón Ruiz and Juan Gómez-Quíñonez). The current work under review is based on years of deep research that goes back at least to his 1968 dissertation and subsequent book on the nineteenth-century "Sonoran strongman" Ignacio Pesqueira. Acuña's firm roots in Mexican history and the history of the U.S. Southwest set him apart from many historians trained in traditional approaches to national history and now working to transnationalize their studies.

Corridors of Migration is an authoritative history of Mexican labor migrations from northern Mexico to the U.S. Southwest from 1600 to 1933. Acuña amassed a wealth of primary sources (newspaper articles, census data, oral histories, and so on), which fill the 200 boxes he donated to the California State University, Northridge library; his original manuscript was 2,000 pages long. Acuña links socioeconomic changes associated with capitalist development to migrations and to Mexican migrants' struggles for dignity. In the process, he effectively demonstrates the historic connections between Mexico and what is now the U.S. Southwest, and how successive struggles built on one another.

Acuña anchors his engaging analysis in the story of Pedro Subia, a Mexican striker killed on the picket line in Arvin, California, during a cotton strike in 1933. Subia was born in Chihuahua and migrated to southern Arizona, where he was involved in the mining strikes in Clifton-Morenci, before following the cotton harvest to California's San Joaquin Valley. Subia's migration and labor narrative challenges prevailing attitudes toward migration and fixed borders and illustrates the larger structural processes that are too often ignored in the heated debates around immigration.

Corridors of Migration is structured around four major paths of Mexican migration to the United States. These corridors are pathways for labor migration, cultural transmission, and cultures of resistance. While migration through these corridors is constant, Acuña focuses on each of these corridors during periods of significant migration. Migration along the Camino Real corridor took place in the colonial period through the nineteenth century and was closely linked to Spanish colonization and the mining booms in Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Parral, and throughout Chihuahua, as well as to the economic expansion of the Porfiriato. The section on the Mesilla corridor details the late nineteenth-century migration to southern New Mexico and Arizona connected to the economic expansion of northern Mexico and the U.S. Southwest. In his discussion of the Sonoran corridor, Acuña focuses on the Spanish and Mexican conquest of the region and then the economic boom during the Porfiriato based on agriculture and mining. A chapter on the cotton corridor then explores migration in the post-World War I period

from southern Arizona through the Imperial Valley up through the San Joaquin Valley. In each of these sections, Acuña seeks to identify patterns of migration and community building and organizing that developed over the course of centuries and thousands of miles.

Central to this study are the struggles of hard-working men and women who sought to create better lives for themselves and their families without sacrificing their dignity and cultural traditions. In Acuña's close retelling of the strikes at Cananea, Clifton-Morenci, and the San Joaquin Valley, he details the labor conflicts and ways that mine operators, growers, and local and federal governments colluded to further the interests of capital and to maintain control over "their Mexican workers." In the face of collusion and violence, Mexican workers organized unions, forged coalitions with other unions and community groups, sought to reproduce their cultural bonds, and formed community. Through this struggle, Acuña demonstrates "that significant social change does not come about without opposition to the established order, and that raising the issue of radicalism in one form or another is a pretext to destroy all opposition, whether radical or reformist" (p. 208).

Corridors of Migration successfully connects stories that have generally been studied in relative isolation to provide readers with a highly readable, well-crafted history of transnational migration and labor struggles. It is full of important political implications for our understanding of Mexican immigration, social struggles, and the damaging social effects of colonialism and capitalism. This study deserves a broad readership and would be excellent in both graduate and undergraduate classes.

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La inmigración fascista en la Argentina. By FEDERICA BERTAGNA. Historia y cultura. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2007. Notes. 294 pp. Paper.

The image of Argentina as a paradise for fascists is widely shared across the globe. To be sure, many Nazis escaped to Argentina and, thanks to the Peronists' warm reception of them, international justice was not served. But other countries in the Western hemisphere received German fascists without much fanfare or historical research. The myth of a postwar Argentina overflowing with Nazis and fascists is problematic, yet it contains important grains of truth.

Nazi activities in Argentina are well researched. Ronald Newton's *Nazi Menace in Argentina, 1931-1947* (Stanford University Press, 1992) remains an essential book for Argentine historians. Less known are the Argentine activities of defeated fascists from Croatia, Belgium, and other European countries. The most influential fascism in the Southern Cone was Italian fascism, but until the publication of this timely book by the Italian scholar Federica Bertagna, historians lacked extensive contextual studies of postwar Italian fascist activities in Latin America. This lack was especially problematic

for Argentina, the Latin American country most affected by fascism and the one with perhaps the most Italian emigrants per capita in the world. For this reason the book is highly significant for Argentine studies.

The book is especially illuminating when it addresses the neofascist networks for escapees and the rather unusual role played in them by the Italian fascist Maria Pignatelli, who was a central figure in organizing neofascist women in Italy as well. The list of fascist escapees is surprisingly large and includes a son of Mussolini, a former boss of the National Fascist Party, government ministers of different caliber, Salò fighters, and war criminals. Students of Italian politics might also be interested in the larger contexts of fascist republican emigration, especially in Switzerland. The book's analysis of internal conflicts in the Italian community in Argentina should interest historians of Italian emigration.

Why would radical nationalists, such as the escaping fascists, leave their nation for Argentina? Why did their departures represent an "escape" in the first place? Bertagna unnecessarily tends to oppose social networks to culture and politics. Although she recognizes that, for many of the escapees, the reasons to leave included the lack of political prospects in Italy; she also argues that, for most of them, "escaping" was more related to economic possibilities in the New World. In short, ideological and cultural developments are not given the centrality that they deserve, especially when the subjects of study are fascists who chose politics, the Mussolinian "primacy of politics," as their life pursuit.

As Bertagna notes, a main difference between Nazi and Italian fascist emigration lies in the fact that the latter was almost entirely legal. Unlike the Nazis, Italian fascists were leaving a country that had given amnesty to most fascists in 1946. They decided to come to Argentina because they saw this country in more positive terms than postwar Italy. Peronism played no small role in this view. Many fascists saw Peronism as the transatlantic continuation of fascism, whereas Peron saw them as prospective Peronistas, that is, Argentines of Italian origins who eventually could vote for him. Bertagna does not substantially analyze Peronista or fascist ideology, and she tends to downplay these as prime motivations for the fleeing fascists, but she addresses significant personal links between members of these two political currents. She shows how substantial funding for postwar neofascist activities in Italy was coming from Latin America, especially from fascist escapees living in Argentina. Bertagna superbly addresses the rich itineraries of the fascist escapees and she illustrates a wide range of postwar fascist economic and social activities in Italy and Argentina.

All in all, this book is an extremely well researched transnational history, especially from the perspective of Italian archives and printed sources. It reads like a history of Italian emigration, but the author also considers some socioeconomic dimensions of the nation that hosted them. Italian history is given more space in the book than Argentine history, as it informs the context of departure that prompted south-Atlantic-bound fascists to leave their past behind. From an Argentine historical perspective, though, the book brushes aside a central question that deserves more analysis. Most Italian emigrants practically became Argentines and ceased to act within the confines of the organized

Italian community. A broader consideration of processes of assimilation and Argentine political culture and history could have added a significant Argentine angle to a book that represents an important addition to the history of European immigration to Argentina.

FEDERICO FINCHELSTEIN, *The New School*

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A Glorious Defeat: Mexico and Its War with the United States.

By TIMOTHY J. HENDERSON. New York: Hill and Wang, 2007. Notes. Bibliography. xxi, 204 pp. Cloth, \$25.00.

In the United States, the war with Mexico is generally seen through the lens of American expansion, as a conflict that established the American republic as a continental power. While historians in this country have studied at length the actions of the Polk administration, rarely have they examined the war from the perspective of political elites below the Rio Grande. In *A Glorious Defeat: Mexico and Its War with the United States*, Timothy J. Henderson seeks to provide a corrective to this view, exploring the challenges that Mexican leaders faced as they vainly sought to forestall the American conquest of the Southwest.

The author's objective, as he states in the first sentence of *A Glorious Defeat*, is to explain "why Mexico went to war with the United States in 1846, and why that war went so badly for Mexico" (p. xvii). The author's definition of causation is a broad one, allowing him to devote considerable attention to the chronic political instability and economic weakness that plagued the Mexican republic during the quarter century after it won independence from Spain. Henderson demonstrates clearly why republicanism failed to produce in Mexico the dynamic economic system of its northern neighbor. With respect to Mexico's relations with the United States, the author is especially interested in the problem of Texas. Taking the long view, he sees the path to war between the United States and Mexico as one that began with the early settlement of the region by Anglo-Americans. The Texas war for independence in 1835–36 and Texas's annexation to the United States almost a decade later created a deep-seated resentment among Mexican leaders that made a second conflict almost inevitable. Strictly speaking, then, *A Glorious Defeat* is not a history of the U.S.-Mexican War, but rather a study of its root causes. Readers expecting a study of military campaigns may be surprised to find that the book devotes only one of seven chapters to the chain of events that began with the attack on Taylor's forces in 1846 and ended with the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.

A narrative that covers the broad sweep of Mexican history from independence to midcentury in less than 200 pages allows little room for substantive analysis. Nonetheless, Henderson does seek to answer one of the more intriguing questions of the conflict: why did Mexico, a nation so much weaker than its northern neighbor, choose war against the United States rather than compromise? Noting that the bellicose rhetoric of Mexican leaders on the eve of the war did not reflect their private concerns, the author argues

that Mexico's instability made a negotiated settlement with the United States for Texas and other territories untenable. Mexican elites were not only unwilling to sacrifice the nation's honor but reluctant to eschew factional infighting in order to reach a political consensus, which the cession of northern lands would have certainly required. In the end, they preferred "a glorious defeat" to a dishonorable peace.

Despite its somewhat misleading title, *A Glorious Defeat* offers a cogent and well-written narrative of the early Mexican republic, a formative period that continues to shape Mexico's national identity and relations with the United States in innumerable ways. As a study of the complex political dynamics on both sides of the Rio Grande, it serves to remind us that, in the final analysis, the war occurred as much because of Mexico's inherent weaknesses as American strengths.

SAM W. HAYNES, University of Texas at Arlington

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-122

Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas. By JERRY THOMPSON. Fronteras Series, 6. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 344 pp. Cloth, \$32.50.

Ever since September 1859, when he led a daring raid into the young border city of Brownsville, Texas, Juan Cortina has been enshrined in the folklore of the lower U.S.-Mexico border as a valiant opponent of Anglo hegemony and racial chauvinism. Jerry Thompson's biography is not only the most thorough and exhaustively researched treatment of Cortina to date, but it also breaks new ground in placing Cortina's political and military exploits in the context of the wider ferment of nineteenth-century Mexican politics.

Born in 1824 in the river town of Camargo, Tamaulipas, Juan Nepomuceno Cortina grew into adulthood as his home region, the old Spanish colony of Nuevo Santander, was remade by the U.S.-Mexico border. A member of a prosperous ranching family, Cortina fought with the Mexican forces in the early battles of the U.S.-Mexican War but at the war's end returned to his ranches in what had become south Texas. For a time he seemed to make his peace with life under U.S. rule. Like many of the area's leading ranchers of Mexican descent, he benefited from business and family ties to newly arrived Anglo-Americans. Cortina even worked for a time for the U.S. Army's local quartermaster. By 1859, he had become an important lieutenant for the local Democratic Party. Cortina was just as active across the river, maintaining landholdings, family ties, and political commitments in Tamaulipas, including military service against U.S. filibusters in the 1850s.

This border-straddling existence, in which "Cortina seemed content with dual national allegiances" and "the border was only a line on the map where people were free to come and go and national identities were not particularly pertinent" (p. 250), became more complicated over the course of the 1850s as Anglo Americans began to exercise economic and political dominance over south Texas's Mexican-descent majority. Cortina

grew more and more angry over disputed ownership of land and cattle, particularly a family tract sold for a dollar that became downtown Brownsville.

Cortina broke decisively with south Texas's establishment in July 1859, when he shot a Brownsville marshal who was pistol-whipping a former employee of Cortina's. Now wanted by Texas law enforcement officers, Cortina regrouped in Matamoros and soon organized his own military company. In late September, he crossed the river, capturing Brownsville, pursuing vengeance on a number of his enemies, and freeing five prisoners from jail. After his retreat, he issued a proclamation condemning Anglos for their depredations on Mexican Texans. These events launched what many of his contemporaries called the "Cortina War," in which Cortina's forces, which enjoyed deep support from the Mexican-descent population in south Texas, fought local militias, some Mexican military forces, the Texas Rangers, and eventually the U.S. military. Cortina was forced to retreat deeper into Mexico by the end of the year, but by then he had cemented his reputation as a spokesman for aggrieved Mexican Texans.

In the next decade, as civil war broke out first in the United States and then in Mexico, Cortina continued to be a key player on the lower border. He supported south Texas's unionist guerrillas and eventually the Union Army forces that occupied much of the region. He was even more deeply embroiled in Mexican politics, fighting with forces loyal to Mexican President Benito Juárez against the French near Puebla, and struggling for control of Matamoros and the lower border, generally, though not always, in support of Juárez's government.

Cortina's animosity for south Texas's establishment continued through the 1870s, as he aided and abetted massive cattle raids north of the Rio Grande, using the proceeds to expand his own landholdings in Mexico. His enemies in Texas continued to work against him, successfully pressing the U.S. government to demand that Mexico's central state arrest Cortina and remove him from the border. Although Cortina provided Porfirio Díaz with critical military assistance at the early stages of the revolt that brought Díaz to national power, Díaz bowed to U.S. pressure and arrested Cortina in 1877. Released from prison after several months, Cortina was confined to the capital for the rest of his life, save for one brief 1891 visit to Matamoros. He died in 1894.

Thompson draws few wider conclusions from his story, focusing closely on Cortina and the twists and turns of his political career. Many scholars would have appreciated a bit more intellectual and theoretical ambition. It is particularly unfortunate that Thompson does not attempt to place his story in the context of the burgeoning discussion of borders and borderlands; indeed, there is no index entry for "border," despite the fact that Cortina, as Thompson shows, was the most important figure relating to the U.S.-Mexico border in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, scholars interested in borderlands, Mexican-American history, Mexican politics in the second half of the nineteenth century, and caudillos more broadly will find much to mull over in Thompson's meticulously researched account of Cortina's life.

BENJAMIN H. JOHNSON, Southern Methodist University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-123

Ecuador and the United States: Useful Strangers. By RONN PINEO. The United States and the Americas. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007. Maps. Notes. Bibliographic essay. Index. xiii, 260 pp. Paper, \$22.95.

Ecuador and the United States is the latest volume on bilateral relations in the well-regarded United States and the Americas series under general editor Lester D. Langley. It includes helpful maps, an index, and a compact but wide-ranging bibliographic essay on both Ecuadoran relations with the United States and domestic political, social, and economic dynamics since independence. Ronn Pineo, a historian at Towson University in Maryland, organizes the book chronologically but interweaves discussion of bilateral foreign policy concerns with the topics of domestic politics and the multiple challenges of Ecuador's pronounced regional differences between coast and highlands, which are reinforced by parallel ethnic and economic production distinctions. For an understudied country like Ecuador, where the reader is likely not to be well acquainted with either domestic or foreign policy matters, such a combination of internal context with external relations works very well.

Pineo also offers a most appropriate general framework for analyzing bilateral relations between a large and a small state, emphasizing the degree to which the less powerful actor in the relationship is often able to achieve considerably more of its policy objectives than would be expected on the basis of the dramatic differences in the objective capacity of each country. He employs this framework as a major justification for writing a volume on relations between the United States and a Latin American country usually quite low on a list of U.S. foreign policy priorities.

In his use of an asymmetry framework, Pineo is successful, thereby offering an implicit critique of the extensive literature on U.S. foreign policy that frames the United States as a regional hegemon. He illustrates the political dynamics at work by fleshing out a number of key bilateral controversies in his chronological narrative. In the cases of the building of the Guayaquil-Quito railroad by a U.S. company between 1899 and 1908, and the six-year effort to rid Guayaquil of yellow fever from 1912 to 1918, U.S. government attempts to secure repayment to U.S. bondholders or to manage the eradication project were completely frustrated by Ecuadorian authorities. The Edwin Kemmerer economic mission to Ecuador in 1926–27 was successful in temporarily restabilizing the country's chaotic finances and in establishing a central bank, but it found itself outmaneuvered by Quito elites, whose primary goal in inviting the mission was to reduce their Guayaquil counterparts' influence over economic affairs. Ecuador authorized two U.S. bases on its soil during World War II, but asked U.S. forces to leave in 1946 when it found U.S. proposals for extending the leases unacceptable. In the "tuna wars" controversy between the mid-1950s and the 1980s, Ecuadoran officials captured scores of U.S. fishing vessels in what they claimed were Ecuadoran waters and levied substantial fines on their private owners. These actions provoked extended tensions; the issue was not resolved until the U.S. government formally accepted the 200-mile limit in 1988. Oil exploration and production by U.S. companies produced new controversies from the late 1960s onward; several provoked the expulsion of such firms as Texaco and Occidental.

Even though such illustrations of Ecuador's ability to press its own priorities on the more powerful United States did not characterize all aspects of bilateral relations, they do indicate the often difficult relationship between the two countries, and the author develops them effectively. The description and analysis of underlying political and economic contexts within Ecuador over time represent another important strength of the book. The only significant weakness, and it is an important one, is the abbreviated discussion of bilateral relations and internal politics over the past two decades or so, including the U.S. role in assisting with the establishment and retention of democratic processes, in helping to facilitate the definitive resolution of the boundary dispute with Peru, and in the challenges posed by Ecuador's recent electoral turn to the left.

Nevertheless, *Ecuador and the United States* is a comprehensive and eminently readable account of the history of bilateral relations that will engage students of diplomatic history, Latin American specialists, and policy makers alike.

DAVID SCOTT PALMER, Boston University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-124

El comercio exterior de México en la era del capitalismo liberal, 1870–1929.

By SANDRA KUNTZ FICKER. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2007. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. 531 pp. Paper.

Statistics, we know, are notoriously unreliable. The volume of data that goes into measuring current economic performance can be legitimately read in such a number of ways that the results often tell us as much about the economist as they do about the economy. So how, then, are we to measure something as daunting as Mexico's foreign trade over a 60-year period beginning in the late nineteenth century? The sources are scattered in archives and libraries across the Americas and Europe, recorded according to a wide array of accounting practices, and sometimes simply do not exist. When one factors in contraband and the failure to record the movement of goods and capital, we face a daunting task trying to draw reliable conclusions from the extant data. Still, if one were to put all the material together in a compelling fashion, it would offer critical insights into the nature of growth, the impact of foreign trade and capital in economic development, and Mexico's place within the global economy during this era. This is why Sandra Kuntz Ficker has devoted more than a decade to this task; judging from this volume, her time was well spent.

Kuntz Ficker's principal concerns lie in an attempt to both provide a clear accounting for the impact of exports and imports on Mexican economic development between 1870 and 1929, and to lay to rest any remaining tendency to understand this period in terms of "enclaves," "dependency," "worsening terms of trade," or other relics of the Left's critique of global capitalism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In order to do this, she offers a voluminous accounting of Mexican trade during these six

decades, culled from a vast number of international sources. She identifies a series of long-term patterns but also breaks trade down according to economic sector, commodities, destinations, and other factors. Her findings, on some level, are unsurprising. Trade was critical to Mexican growth, though in uneven ways. Some sectors, such as mining, had more significant impacts than others, such as oil production. Kuntz Ficker finds that Mexico's trading partners were, for the most part, diverse, and that while the Revolution had a relatively minor impact on trading patterns, the First World War had a transformative impact. More than this, trade policies, particularly tariffs, played changing roles over time, and during much of this period tariffs were designed to protect incipient manufacturing industries. Like Stephen Haber and others, Kuntz Ficker thus problematizes the claim that the Great Depression somehow transformed economic priorities.

As with other observations about the general impact of economic growth during the period in question, this conclusion relies in part on Kuntz Ficker's synthetic reading of the extant scholarship. Having established the volume of exports and their diversity, she argues first that an economic formula based on export growth was the best possible alternative for late nineteenth-century modernizers, and second, that its overall results were positive, setting the stage for future generations of industrial growth. Lacking capital and technologies, Mexican elites needed exports to fuel modernization, and those exports had a significant return value (measuring the percentage of an export's value returned to the exporting nation) as well as considerable ancillary benefits, promoting further growth. Even accounting for the wealth lost through foreign remittances, foreign investment and trade were largely beneficial.

This may be true. The arguments developed by Kuntz Ficker and others critiquing dependency theory and its corollaries are at this point received wisdom, and her evidence reveals robust and complex patterns of trade, which provided capital that Mexico would otherwise have lacked. Still, in so carefully debunking dependency theory, she neglects the core problems the theory addressed. Modernization in Latin America was accompanied by deepening inequality, increased economic vulnerability, and political and social instability. Yes, exports fueled growth, and that growth entailed industrialization. And yes, declines in the terms of trade could be offset by increasing productivity and often were. But why was this period of dramatic economic growth accompanied by such profound problems? How were growth and inequality linked, and how were the benefits of growth felt across society—by region, class, and ethnicity—and within particular class fractions?

Kuntz Ficker offers some answers to these questions—noting the historical legacies of deep inequality, for example—but to be fair, this is not her concern. As an economic historian, her goal is to contribute to an ongoing revision of the historiography of this era of liberal capitalism in Mexico. In this, she succeeds, fitting her own research into a much larger effort to reassess the impact of export-led development. If anything, we come away from this with the understanding that we cannot simply argue that Mexico was denied an opportunity to benefit from its own exports. We must instead ask ques-

tions about how the power arrangements in this and other postcolonial societies seem to have deepened inequalities during an economic boom instead of ameliorating them.

ALEXANDER DAWSON, Simon Fraser University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-125

Integración económica latinoamericana: Proceso ALALC/ALADI, 1950–2000, vol. 3.

By GUSTAVO MAGARIÑOS. Montevideo: Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración, 2006. Appendixes. Notes. 446 pp. Paper, \$29.50.

The last tome of Gustavo Magariños's three volumes examines efforts to promote economic integration in Latin America. In this volume, Magariños amplifies his focus dramatically; whereas the prior studies were characterized by curt observations, his analyses in the third are expanded as he surveys the political and economic crises that hit the movement throughout the 1960s and 1970s. He discusses Cuba, the election of Salvador Allende, and the strains that these developments placed on the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), known as ALALC in Spanish. The author argues that the integration process ultimately failed due to lack of political will. He maintains that politicians disowned the integration movement from the very beginning by leaving it in the hands of technocrats responsible for negotiating trade concessions via industrial sectoral commissions. LAFTA thus died a slow death, officially expiring in 1980. During LAFTA's existence, legislators and presidents (civilians or generals) were nowhere to be seen, a reflection of their ambivalence and hostility to the process.

Economic integration was part of a larger public debate concerning economic growth, which became the victim of a rivalry between foreign or domestic commercial interests seeking to protect their internal markets, however limited, and those that favored broader regional development. Commercial interests eventually prevailed in the encounter because of their control of the sectoral commissions, which were tasked with determining tariffs concessions to be made by each national industry, such as automobiles, petrochemicals, electronics, and so on. As an example of this struggle, Magariños cites the duplicity of Eduardo Frei. While claiming commitment to LAFTA, Frei worked behind the scenes to create the rival Andean Community (AC) in 1968, which continued to serve officially as an organization within LAFTA. The AC's objective was to protect domestic industry from foreign competition regardless of its point of origin. It soon became clear in this dual world of technocracies that the AC was the liege lord for member states. Globalization figures prominently in the post-1980 Latin American states as they sought to expand trade via bilateral agreements in the new Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración (ALADI), which took over from LAFTA. Significantly, ALADI invited Cuba to join the organization in 1980. Magariños argues that a major problem of LAFTA/ALADI was that a "strong element of regional autarky sought to strengthen resistance to a long period of dependency," thus hindering integration by promoting import substitution against other Latin American states. Though Latin

American states might balk at tariffs concessions with each other, they could only buy time. Eventually, international competition forced Latin American states to embrace integration as the *raison d'être*.

This Spanish-language work requires the reader to have an above average command of the language due to the writer's elegant literary manner. The book is well documented with extensive Spanish-language primary and secondary sources. The author is reluctant to deal with the personalities involved in the process; hence, we have little insight into the dynamics between individual negotiators. Adding this approach would have allowed the author and reader an opportunity to highlight the many complex issues in the integration process. This is not an oversight, as the author clearly believes it is the process and issues that merit consideration rather than individuals. This makes for a rather dry and tedious study. Nevertheless, Magariños's book is indispensable for understanding the globalization process in Latin America. Readers will conclude that economic integration is too important to be left to technocrats and politicians. The author is to be commended for his important contribution to our understanding of a complex and often ignored process.

SALVADOR RIVERA, State University of New York at Albany

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2008-126

Erratum for Jonathan C. Brown, "Obituary: John W. F. Dulles (1913–2008)," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89, no. 1 (February 2009): 141–43.

An incorrect DOI (digital object identifier) was published with this obituary. The correct DOI is 10.1215/00182168-2008-129. It has been corrected online.

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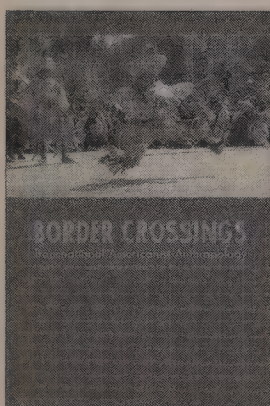
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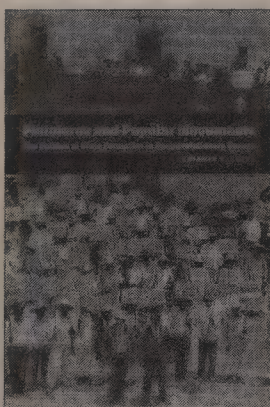
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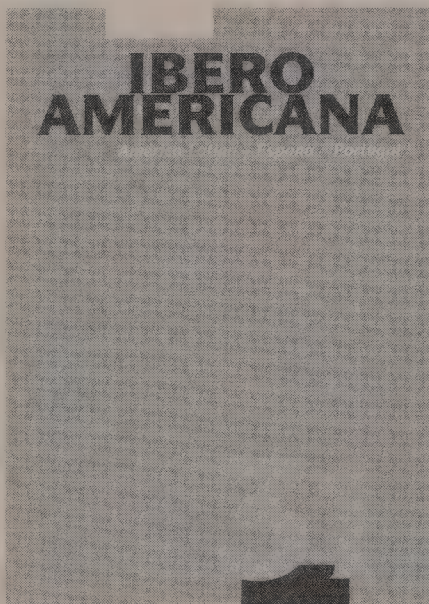
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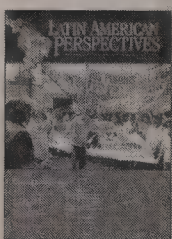
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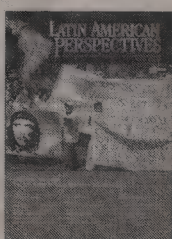
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In This Issue

Historians have studied for years how racially subordinated subjects have been socially constituted, labeled, counted, and contained, as well as the activities and subjectivities of those subjects. The articles in this issue deal with this process, which began in the early colonial period, continued after independence, and was central to modernization programs sponsored by Latin American states in the early twentieth century.

The article by João José Reis and Hendrik Kraay studies some of the political conflicts surrounding the process of independence in the city of Salvador, Bahia. Traditionally portrayed as a peaceful process, particularly in comparison with the protracted struggles that led to the independence of Spanish America, the independence of Brazil was nevertheless fraught with conflicts over social and political rights. As elsewhere in Latin America, the coalitions for independence mobilized lower-class elements, including slaves and free people of color, who had their own critical perspectives on society. This popular mobilization did not disappear with independence, to the dismay of authorities. More troubling to local elites, however, was the fact that the struggles for independence produced armies that were significantly darker than those of the colonial period. This was the case of Bahia's Third Battalion, known as "Periquitos" (parakeets) because of the green trim on their uniforms. These soldiers rebelled in 1824, partly for internal military politics and partly as a reflection of liberal and regional opposition to centralist, monarchical authoritarianism. The rebellion, which was unsuccessful, showed the limits of a radical liberal project. It was quickly abandoned by a frightened leadership concerned with questions of order and with the "confidence and strength" that armed mulattoes and blacks had acquired in these conflicts.

Concerns about the strength of the black population in Brazil continued well into the twentieth century and are central to Mara Loveman's study of racial categories in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century censuses. The article documents how the *Directoria Geral de Estatística* (DGE), a state agency created in 1870 to collect and publish statistics about the size and composition of the Brazilian population, promoted and documented the

progress of the nation. Not surprisingly, this process was intimately connected to racial concerns. As any scholar of race in Latin America knows, by the early twentieth century the idea of progress had itself become racialized. What is surprising, however, is that DGE's increasingly racist prescriptions for the future of the nation coincided with the disappearance of racial categories in the censuses of 1900 and 1920. Indeed, the author argues that between 1872 and 1920 a significant shift took place in DGE's visions of nation and progress, a shift characterized by a gradual emphasis on race that did not exist before the abolition of slavery. To those interested in using censuses for the study of racial and other forms of social inequality, the article offers a very valuable lesson. A study of census categories that does not pay attention to the cultural and institutional conditions in which those categories are produced runs the risk of misunderstanding them.

Racial and ethnic labels, however, are not produced or used only by government officials and statisticians. Examining a collection of 381 wills from the notarial records of Lima and Trujillo (1580–1640), Karen Graubart analyzes how indigenous subjects probably invented and certainly used labels that allowed them to identify their social position and to differentiate themselves from the masses of destitute rural Indians. Changing social relations in urban colonial centers demanded a new vocabulary to describe new groups and identities. Among the vernacular categories she finds in use in early colonial Peru are those of *indio solarero* and *indio criollo*, two terms describing the new social positions of these subjects. The first referred to the ownership of urban property (*solares*), whereas the “criollos” were urban-born, Spanish-speaking city dwellers who sought to differentiate themselves from rural Indians. As Graubart asserts, the study of these terms reveals both changes in social structure and how colonial subjects perceived and rationalized those changes. In other words, a careful study of these vernaculars offers a path to studying the elusive question of the mentalities of these subjects.

“The Tyrant Is Dead!”

The Revolt of the Periquitos in Bahia, 1824

João José Reis and Hendrik Kraay

On July 2, 1823, Portuguese troops evacuated Salvador, capital of the Brazilian province of Bahia, and the patriot Exército Pacificador (Pacifying Army) occupied the city. With this peaceful military operation, Bahia secured its independence as part of the new Brazilian empire, established by Pedro I in Rio de Janeiro the year before.¹ The year-long independence war profoundly transformed Bahian society and politics, for the unprecedented mobilization released latent social tensions and instilled a new sense of importance in the lower classes. The sugar planters who had led the campaign against the Portu-

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The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

AAPEB (*Anais do Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia*)

AHMI (Arquivo Histórico do Museu Imperial)

AN/SPE (Arquivo Nacional, Seção do Poder Executivo)

APEB (Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia)

BNA/FO (British National Archives, Foreign Office)

BN/SM (Biblioteca Nacional, Seção de Manuscritos)

Unless otherwise indicated, the cited newspapers were published in Salvador; likewise, correspondence was issued in Salvador.

1. On independence in Bahia, see Braz do Amaral, *História da Independência na Bahia*, 2nd ed. (1923; Salvador: Prefeitura do Município do Salvador, 1957); F. W. O. Morton, “The Conservative Revolution of Independence: Economy, Society and Politics in Bahia, 1790–1840” (PhD diss., Oxford Univ., 1974); Luís Henrique Dias Tavares, *A Independência do Brasil na Bahia*, 2nd ed. (1977; Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1982); Hendrik Kraay, *Race, State, and Armed Forces in Independence-Era Brazil: Bahia, 1790s–1840s* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001); Thomas Wisiak, “Itinerário da Bahia na Independência do Brasil (1821–1823),” in *Independência: História e historiografia*, ed. István Jancsó (São Paulo: Hucitec / FAPESP, 2005), 447–74.

guese now faced mobilized and armed members of the free popular classes and also slaves, hundreds of whom had been enlisted during the war. The creation of the empire likewise posed important questions about the relationship that the province would establish with the new state. Would the monarch respect local autonomy or, better, local ruling-class prerogatives? What forms of citizenship and what level of political participation would characterize the new regime?

Recent scholarship has deepened our understanding of the complex process that led to the creation of the Brazilian empire. Far more than an “amicable divorce,” as Manoel de Oliveira Lima put it long ago, independence brought profound changes in political culture, significant popular mobilization, serious threats to social order, and intense debate about the political regime to be adopted. The unity of Portuguese America was not a necessary outcome; nor was the conservative and relatively authoritarian (but still constitutional) regime that Pedro founded by the mid-1820s. However, most of the new scholarship has focused on Rio de Janeiro, the country’s political center, neglecting the provinces, the periphery.² Bahia in particular has received little attention from scholars of this period, perhaps because the province never formally broke with Pedro’s regime after independence, in contrast to Pernambuco, the other nucleus of sugar-plantation agriculture in the North. Bahia’s importance was not, however, lost on contemporaries. Its capital, Salvador, was the new empire’s second-largest city. It was a major entrepôt in the slave trade to supply the plantations of the Recôncavo, the sugar-growing region surrounding the Bay of All

2. [Manoel de] Oliveira Lima, *O movimento da Independência; O império brasileiro (1821–1889)*, 4th ed. (1922; São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1962), 11. Key works in the new scholarship on independence include Márcia Regina Berbel, *A nação como artefato: Deputados do Brasil nas Cortes portuguesas, 1821–1822* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1999); Renato Lopes Leite, *Republicanos e libertários: Pensadores radicais no Rio de Janeiro (1822)* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2000); Isabel Lustosa, *Insultos impressos: A guerra dos jornalistas na Independência, 1821–1823* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000); Maria de Lourdes Viana Lyra, *A utopia do poderoso império: Bastidores da política, 1798–1822* (Rio de Janeiro: Sette Letras, 1994); Lúcia Maria Bastos Pereira das Neves, *Corcundas e constitucionais: A cultura política da Independência (1820–1822)* (Rio de Janeiro: FAPERJ / Revan, 2003); Cecília Helena L. de Salles Oliveira, *A astúcia liberal: Relações de mercado e projetos políticos no Rio de Janeiro (1820–1824)* (Bragança Paulista: EDUSF and Ícone, 1999); Iara Lis Carvalho Souza, *Pátria coroada: O Brasil como corpo político autônomo, 1780–1831* (São Paulo: Editora da UNESP, 1999); István Jancsó, ed., *Brasil: Formação do Estado e da nação* (São Paulo: Hucitec / Ijuí: Editora Unijuí, 2003); Jancsó, ed., *Independência*; Jurandir Malerba, ed., *A Independência brasileira: Novas dimensões* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2006). The best work in English remains Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798–1852* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1988).

Saints. Bahia's location between Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco (and the rest of the North) meant that there was much truth to the hyperbole that the province was the key to control over Brazil.³

A close analysis of what ultimately did not take place—Bahia's break with Rio de Janeiro and the province's adhesion to the *Confederação do Equador* (Confederation of the Equator) proclaimed in Recife on July 2, 1824—reveals much about the process of state formation in early imperial Brazil. In the two years after the expulsion of Portuguese troops from Salvador, many Bahians advocated a liberal and federalist regime like that of the *Confederação*, while others gradually came to accept the more and more reactionary monarch. Those who cast their lot with Pedro ultimately triumphed, but not without facing serious challenges from below that prompted them to abandon their desire for greater autonomy. War and the changes that it brought to the Bahian army add another layer of complexity to the years that followed independence. The struggles of 1823–25 cannot simply be reduced to race or class conflicts, although these divisions played a major role in shaping Bahians' hopes and fears.

This article begins with a narrative of Bahian social and military unrest in the second half of 1823. Pedro's closure of the Constituent Assembly in November 1823 sparked an intense political struggle from December to February of the following year. Unlike in Pernambuco, those who rejected the constitution granted by Pedro lost in Bahia, where the monarch's supporters gradually closed the political space available to radical liberals. Nevertheless, support for the Pernambucan resistance to Rio de Janeiro persisted in Bahia, and a lengthy civilian and military conspiracy sought to align Bahia with Pernambuco.

After military protests in April and June, this conspiracy culminated in the October revolt of the Third Battalion, which began with the murder of Governor of Arms Colonel Felisberto Gomes Caldeira (the provincial military commander). An ultimately ambiguous movement, it took place after the *Confederação do Equador*'s defeat and therefore lacked broader political resonance, but it revealed that many Bahians continued to support the liberal, constitutional, and federalist ideals that had inspired the Pernambucan movement. The repression that followed the rebels' defeat, and particularly the struggle between the provincial president, Francisco Vicente Viana, and the new governor of arms, Brigadier José Egídio Gordilho de Barbuda, over the appropriate punishment for the rebels, reveals that many members of the Bahian elite still had misgivings about Pedro's authoritarian regime.

3. President Francisco Vicente Vianna to Minister of Empire João Severiano Maciel da Costa, 28 May 1824, *AAPEB* 13 (1925): 58.

Postwar Social and Military Unrest

In the aftermath of July 2, 1823, Bahian authorities desperately struggled to establish an effective government in the face of widespread social unrest. Soldiers and other patriots stood in the forefront of this popular mobilization, which specifically targeted Portuguese who had failed to support independence, men such as the druggist Manoel Joaquim de Carvalho, who “had made himself . . . so odious” by providing medicines to the Portuguese troops and insulting Brazilians “that . . . he was beaten in his home by soldiers” during the Exército Pacificador’s entry into the city.⁴ Not all of the victims of these attacks were militant Lusophiles, nor were these merely nativist riots. In September 1823, French consul Jacques Guinebaud wrote: “Black soldiers [*soldats nègres*] and the battalions of mulattoes are running through the streets, robbing and mistreating the Portuguese and some [other] foreigners, insulting the government in Rio de Janeiro and shouting death to the emperor, death to the Portuguese and *janerians*, with independence and the Republic.”⁵ While the consul perceived political goals in the black and mulatto protesters’ actions, others saw the erosion of racial hierarchies. Maria Bárbara Garcez Pinto de Madureira, the wife of a sugar planter, lamented the repeated assaults against Portuguese, which prompted many to emigrate. She condemned “blacks and mulattoes [*negros e mulatos*]” as “evildoers,” and added: “What furious language comes from the mouths of blacks [*negros*]! May the heavens spare us from the thunderbolts of their rage against us!”⁶

Neither Guinebaud’s cryptic references to republicans and *janerians* nor Maria Bárbara’s panicked letters about blacks’ language reveal much about the ideas that circulated among the lower classes—free and slave—who had been mobilized to fight for independence, but they do indicate that these people spoke about their views and that they had acquired a critical perspective on

4. Vianna to Minister of Empire Estevão Resende, 10 Jan. 1825, AN/SPE, IJJ^o, maço 331, fols. 28–29. On Lusophobia at this time, see Gladys Sabina Ribeiro, *A liberdade em construção: Identidade nacional e conflitos antilusitanos no Primeiro Reinado* (Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará, 2002), 27–143; and Jeffrey C. Mosher, *Political Struggle, Ideology, and State Building: Pernambuco and the Construction of Brazil, 1817–1850* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2008), 185–205.

5. Cited in Morton, “Conservative Revolution,” 289.

6. Maria Bárbara Garcez Pinto de Madureira to Luis Paulino (father), c. Aug. 1823 and 5 Sept. 1823, in *Cartas baianas, 1821–1824*, ed. Antônio d’Oliveira Pinto da França (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1980), 117, 122. In this article, we use *black* for the Portuguese terms *preto* and *negro*, and *nonwhite* to refer to people of African descent in general.

society. Politics is, of course, not limited to codified and explicit ideologies.⁷ Bahia's upper class well knew the dangers that its members faced, especially when lower-class agitators wore uniforms and carried weapons.

Guinebaud's allusion to black and mulatto soldiers urges a closer look at the Bahian army that emerged out of the demobilization of the Exército Pacificador. At its peak, the patriot army numbered around 15,000 men, including contingents from Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, and Minas Gerais. The Bahian majority of the Exército Pacificador was rapidly reduced to a peacetime force of about 2,500 men, formally organized in September 1823 into one artillery corps and four infantry battalions. Demobilized veterans struggled to find work, and the remaining soldiers had to adapt to tedious garrison duties and routine corporal punishment, barely compensated by low salaries and poor-quality rations. Complaints about these regularly reached authorities' ears, and assurances about the troops' loyalty and subordination sharply contrast to repeated orders that officers better control the ranks.⁸

Most worrisome for Guinebaud and many other contemporaries was the change in the social composition of the soldiery that the war had produced. The enlistment of a few hundred slaves, gradually freed in 1823 and 1824, and the broad recruitment among the nonwhite population, both free and freed, resulted in an army rank and file considerably darker than that of the colonial period, when service in the army (as opposed to the militia) had been reserved for white men. As far as the slaves were concerned, the imperial government did not hesitate. On the same day that it ordered the Bahian government to arrange for the freeing of the slaves who were serving as soldiers, it also ordered that they be sent at once to the Brazilian capital, ostensibly to spare Bahia the cost of maintaining the "unit of blacks [*pretos*]" but more likely to avoid their continued contact with the province's slaves. British consul William Follett reported that 360 "black soldiers (slaves)" left in September for Rio de Janeiro, where they could presumably be better controlled (his qualification of them as "slaves" indicates that many had not yet been formally freed).⁹

7. See E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon, 1963); James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985); James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1990).

8. Kraay, *Race*, 123, 126, 130–31.

9. Aviso, Ministry of War, 30 July 1823, in Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, *Pernambuco nas luctas emancipacionistas na Bahia em 1822–1823* (Recife: Typ. do Jornal de Recife, 1900), 256; William Follett to George Canning, 20 Sep. 1823, BNA/FO 63, vol. 263, fol. 8rv. On wartime slave recruitment, see Kraay, *Race*, 126–31.

Notwithstanding this deportation of the slaves recruited during the war, the garrison's racial composition still worried many. The man who had served as commander of the garrison in the 1810s, Marshal Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes, lamented in February 1824 that the barracks looked like slave pens on the African coast, while, a few months later, Provincial President Francisco Vicente Viana described the soldiery as 90 percent "black [*preto*]." Both recommended the immediate dissolution of the Third Battalion.¹⁰ Generally known by its nickname of Periquitos (parakeets) after the green trim on their uniforms, the core of this unit had been organized during the war by José Antônio da Silva Castro, then merely a militia *alferes* (infantry second lieutenant) from Maragogipe, a tobacco-producing town of the Recôncavo. Some suggested that this controversial figure earned his living as a muleteer. His early and eager embrace of the patriot cause as well as his work in organizing the battalion secured him promotion to major and command of the men whom he had personally recruited.¹¹ Few contemporaries had anything good to say about the Periquitos; deserters and former soldiers from this battalion were regularly blamed for banditry in the Recôncavo and beyond.¹²

The postwar Bahian army also had a large surplus of officers, for many men like Castro had received battlefield promotions or commissions for organizing units. All hoped that these commissions would be confirmed by the emperor, which would secure them lifetime salaries and pensions.¹³ Joining the army in the independence war had been a political act, and career officers condemned those recently recruited from the "class of civilians" for their lack of commitment to military life and their excessive involvement in politics.¹⁴

10. Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes to Foreign Minister Luiz José Carvalho de Mello, 12 Feb. 1824, Brasil, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, *Arquivo Diplomático da Independência*, 6 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Lith.-Typ. Fluminense, 1922–25), 2:7–8; Vianna to Pedro I, 8 May 1824, AN/SPE, cód. 603, vol. 1, fol. 66v.

11. Biographies of José Antonio da Silva Castro can be found in Maria Cristina Fraga Tanajura, "José Antonio da Silva Castro: Um herói injustiçado," *Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia* 83 (1961–67): 123–37; Luis Henrique Dias Tavares, *Da sedição de 1798 à revolta de 1824 na Bahia* (Salvador: EDUFBA / São Paulo: Editora da UNESP, 2003), 194–96.

12. João Manoel [illegible] da Fonseca to Raimundo Jozé do Valle, 31 Jan. 1824, AHMI, maço 50, doc. 2.298; Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memórias históricas e políticas da provincia da Bahia* . . . , 5 vols., ed. Braz do Amaral (1835–37; Salvador: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 1919–40), 4:179.

13. Kraay, *Race*, 120–22, 124.

14. Acting Governor of Arms Francisco da Costa Branco to Governor of Arms Felisberto Gomes Caldeira, 12 Apr. 1824, APEB, maço 3465; Laércio Caldeira de Andrade,

Victory brought to the fore divisions within the Exército Pacificador. A few days after the occupation of Salvador, the commander of the Pernambucan troops, José de Barros Falcão de Lacerda, requested that his unit be returned home at once, adding that, pending this transfer, his men be quartered together for their own security.¹⁵ In early September, several men from the Batalhão do Imperador (from Rio de Janeiro) were killed by Bahian soldiers, murders which one officer blamed on "anarchists, terrible anarchists" (indeed, this incident suggests that the "*janerians*" to whom Guinebaud cryptically referred were the troops from the capital).¹⁶ The presence of soldiers from other provinces appeared to negate the "independence" won by Bahians on July 2. Aware of these problems, the imperial government ordered the troops from Pernambuco, Paraíba, and Rio de Janeiro to return home, but it took time to organize their departure.

Furthermore, a bitter struggle over the post of governor of arms wracked the garrison. It dated back to the last months of the war when the imperious Pedro Labatut (the French adventurer appointed by the emperor to command the Exército Pacificador) had been deposed by officers closely linked to the Recôncavo planter class. They preserved the fiction of obedience to the monarch by naming the commander of the Batalhão do Imperador, Colonel José Joaquim de Lima e Silva, to command the army.¹⁷ On August 1, 1823, a replacement for Lima e Silva arrived in Bahia, but because "all the troops were upset" by this appointment, Lima e Silva remained at his post.¹⁸ The man behind this resistance, according to Inácio Acioli de Cerqueira e Silva (a contemporary historian), was Colonel Felisberto Gomes Caldeira, a brigade commander in the Exército Pacificador and a member of the provisional government.¹⁹

The issue of the garrison's command came to a head in October, amid "terrifying rumors" about a rebellion set to break out on October 12, Pedro's birth-

"O Cel. Felisberto Gomes Caldeira e a Independência da Bahia: O Coronel José Bonifácio Caldeira de Andrade e suas 'memórias,'" in *Anais do 1º Congresso de História da Bahia*, 5 vols. (Salvador: Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia, 1950-55), 3:220.

15. Petition of José de Barros Falcão de Lacerda to Provisional Government, 11 July 1823, BN/SM, II-33, 36, 45.

16. Luis Paulino (son) to Luis Paulino (father), 14 Sep. 1823; Maria Bárbara to Luis Paulino (father), 5 Sep. 1823, in *Cartas baianas*, 119, 118; "Chronica dos acontecimentos da Bahia," *AAPEB* 26 (1938): 81.

17. Amaral, *História*, 366-73; Kraay, *Race*, 122.

18. Provisional Government to José Manoel de Moraes, 1 Aug. 1823, in Silva, *Memorias*, 4:82.

19. Silva, *Memorias*, 4:185.

day and the first anniversary of his acclamation in Rio de Janeiro. On that day, Bahians were scheduled to acclaim Pedro emperor in Salvador. Lima e Silva resigned his post on the ninth—under pressure from “the military and the people,” according to Follett—and the provisional government reported a plot to depose some of its members. Guinebaud judged Salvador to be “close to anarchy.” The Bahian government named Caldeira acting governor of arms, and he was soon confirmed in his post. With Caldeira in command of the troops, the acclamation ritual was carried out peacefully.²⁰ On November 7, the Rio de Janeiro troops embarked for the capital, and those from Pernambuco and Paraíba sailed on November 26, but the orderly militia battalion from Minas Gerais remained in Salvador.²¹

While the conflict over the post of governor of arms no doubt involved personal ambitions, it also highlighted the issue of the relationship between Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. And, as is clear from the consul’s observations, there was significant popular participation in the struggle to secure a locally rooted commander for the garrison. The acclamation formally expressed Bahians’ acceptance of Pedro as emperor, but it did not settle the question of the nature of his rule.

The Constitution

Since his 1822 acclamation and coronation, Pedro had described himself as, “by the grace of God and the unanimous choice of the people, constitutional emperor and perpetual defender of the Empire of Brazil,” a formula that radical liberals like Cipriano José Barata de Almeida judged contradictory because of its mixture of divine and popular origins for the monarch’s sovereignty.²² Many in the North only accepted the monarchy (and the union with Rio de Janeiro) on the condition that Pedro’s regime be a constitutional one and that the emperor respect local autonomy.

In Bahia, the war had pushed constitutional issues to the back burner, but very different views on the appropriate political arrangements for the new empire existed among those enfranchised. Bahia’s delegation to the Constituent Assem-

20. Follett to Canning, 13 Oct. 1823, BNA/FO 63, vol. 263, fol. 83; Morton, “Conservative Revolution,” 288; Provisional Government to Minister of War João Vieira de Carvalho, 22 Oct. 1823, AN/SPE, IG¹, maço 114, fol. 111.

21. Condry Raguet to John Quincy Adams, Rio de Janeiro, 19 Nov. 1823, United States, National Archives and Records Service, T-172, roll 2; Costa, *Pernambuco*, 70.

22. Marco Morel, *Cipriano Barata na sentinela da liberdade* (Salvador: Academia de Letras da Bahia / Assembléia Legislativa da Bahia, 2001), 157–60; Barman, *Brazil*, 98–102.

bly, elected in early 1823, reflects this range of opinion. On the left, the deputies included the well-known radical liberal Cipriano Barata, Padre Francisco Agostinho Gomes, the doctor José Lino Coutinho, and Francisco Gê Acaíba de Montezuma (the future viscount of Jequitinhonha). Neither Barata nor Gomes dared take their seats, preferring to remain in Pernambuco, where they published newspapers in opposition to the imperial regime. They were replaced by much more conservative figures. On the right, the Bahian delegation included Marshal Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes, later replaced by Antônio Calmon du Pin e Almeida, and the latter's brother Miguel (the future marquis of Abrantes), leading members of Bahia's sugar planter aristocracy.²³

There are, unfortunately, no direct sources on Bahians' responses to news from Rio de Janeiro between July and November 1823, but they must have closely followed the work of the Constituent Assembly and the estrangement between deputies and the monarch. Bahian newspapers from the second half of 1823, none of which have survived, expressed very different views. *O Liberal*, published by Padre João Batista da Fonseca, proclaimed on its masthead that "to be free is everything; to be a slave is nothing," while *O Independente Constitucional* served as the mouthpiece of the provisional government.²⁴ One can readily imagine that these newspapers, as well as those from other provinces, were widely debated in Salvador streets and taverns. Only such popular interest can explain the reaction to Pedro's closing of the assembly at bayonet point in November and the arrest and exile of some of its members, among them Montezuma.

This news only reached Bahia in December, when three of the province's deputies—the Calmon brothers and Coutinho—arrived in Salvador. Although the emperor had promised to grant a new and "doubly liberal" charter, many feared that he would continue to govern in authoritarian fashion. The urban plebeians and their radical leaders again took to the streets, and, under intense popular pressure, the city council met on December 13 to discuss the situation. Amid "considerable agitation" and "acts of personal ill-treatment" directed at Portuguese nationals, the council published a protest "of a violent nature . . . little short of a declaration of war," in the words of the British representative in

23. Wenzel de Mareschal to Prince Metternich, Rio de Janeiro, 15 July 1823, *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 314 (Jan.–Mar. 1977): 313; Morel, *Cipriano Barata*, 173–80; Arquivo Nacional, *Organizações e programas ministeriais: Regime parlamentar no Império*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1962), 273.

24. "Catalogo dos jornaes bahianos," *Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia* 21 (1899): 412.

Rio de Janeiro. Guinebaud reported that the act included a threat of secession if the Constituent Assembly were not restored. According to one eyewitness, the Calmon brothers tried to calm the populace's legitimate anger, and Coutinho went so far as to praise the "draft [constitution] about which he knew nothing" (in other words, the charter promised by the emperor), much to the observer's surprise, for he was familiar with the doctor's "civic and moral virtues."²⁵ This episode demonstrated the strength and popularity of the view that Bahians' adhesion to the new monarchy depended on the monarch's subjection to the nation as represented by the Constituent Assembly. By closing the assembly, the emperor had broken his contract with the nation, and thus, Bahians "ceased their obedience to the emperor, unless he reestablish at once the dissolved assembly," as Friar Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca, one of the Confederação do Equador's ideologues, assessed the political meaning of the December 13 act.²⁶

The reaction was not long in coming. Four days later, a council composed of "the [provisional] government, the city council, ecclesiastical and civilian employees, [military] officers, [and] enlightened and zealous citizens" revoked the protest of the 13th, erasing all vestiges of it from the city council's minute book and thereby from history.²⁷ At the same time the council expressed the Bahian elite's "profound dismay" at Pedro's illiberal actions, requested that he immediately promulgate the promised "doubly liberal" charter, and tried to satisfy popular clamor by ordering the expulsion of Portuguese known to have opposed independence, including the druggist Manoel Joaquim de Carvalho. Brazilian army officers who had fought against independence or had failed to leave the city during the war would be dismissed and tried. The council also concerned itself with unrest among the popular classes, recommending the organization of a new police force and calling on the governor of arms to "rein in and contain" the soldiery. Press censorship soon followed.²⁸

Despite Bahians' fears, Pedro and his council of state rapidly drafted a new constitution, to be submitted to the city councils of provincial capitals for approval; he also mounted a campaign to win Bahia's assent to the charter. In late November, Pedro appointed the 70-year-old Francisco Vicente Viana to the

25. Henry Chamberlain to Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 31 Dec. 1823, BNA/FO 63, vol. 261, fol. 293; Morton, "Conservative Revolution," 293; *O Liberal* (Recife), 2 Mar. 1824, in Costa, *Pernambuco*, 293.

26. *O Typhis Pernambucano* (Recife), 4 Mar. 1824.

27. Governo Provisório to Maciel da Costa, 20 Dec. 1823, APEB, vol. 675, fol. 18.

28. Ata da Câmara, 17 Dec. 1823, in Silva, *Memórias*, 4:106–10; Morton, "Conservative Revolution," 292–94; Governo Provisório to Maciel da Costa, 20 Dec. 1823, APEB, vol. 675, fol. 17.

newly created post of provincial president (governor). Viana descended from a powerful Bahian sugar-planting family and enjoyed considerable respect in the province. His appointment suggested that Pedro still sought to govern through the local ruling class, even if he was reluctant to accept constitutional constraints on his power. Viana formally took office on January 19, 1824.²⁹ On January 30, Marshal Brant, a man deeply loyal to Pedro, arrived in Salvador charged with obtaining the city council's approval of the new constitution. To his dismay, the document had arrived ahead of him, and, he claimed, "the manipulators of public opinion among the class of browns and blacks [*pardos e pretos*], as well as the poor and the rabble of all colors . . . called for about one hundred changes to the draft and, at all costs, proclaimed themselves to be liberals." During the next ten days, Brant and "all the good men" of the province managed to contain the politicized "rabble" and the city council recorded only two minor reservations about the draft.³⁰ Some of those involved in the December movement "changed their language," according to Brant, among them "the mulatto Feliciano" (an anonymous popular-class leader) and Drs. José Avelino Barbosa and Antônio Policarpo Cabral.³¹ It was at this time that Brant made his critical observations about the racial composition of the garrison and recommended the removal of the Periquitos from Salvador.

On May 3, 1824, amid an elaborate ritual, Bahians swore their oath to the constitution. A euphoric Viana wrote to the imperial government about the impressive "harmony, tranquility, and peace" among the "upright and honorable citizens . . . authorities, the cathedral chapter, clergy, army and militia officers, and the people."³² The president's rhetoric reflected his understanding of appropriate social hierarchy, in which the people came last and the elite and authorities took pride of place. His enthusiasm, however, revealed a misplaced confidence in all Bahians' acceptance of this harmonious hierarchy.

29. Silva, *Memorias*, 4:164.

30. Fonseca to Valle, 31 Jan. 1824, AHMI, maço 50, doc. 2.298; Brant to Carvalho de Mello, 12 Feb. 1824, Brasil, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, *Arquivo Diplomático da Independência*, 2:6; Chamberlain to Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 5 Mar. 1824, BNA/FO 63, vol. 276, fols. 171–72v; Silva, *Memorias*, 4:168–71; *Grito da Razão*, 17 Feb. 1824.

31. Brant to Carvalho de Mello, 12 Feb. 1824, Brasil, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, *Arquivo Diplomático da Independência*, 2:7.

32. Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 17 Feb. 1824, AN/SPE, IJJ^o, maço 330, fols. 138–39. See also Tavares, *Da sedição*, 199–201.

The Confederação do Equador

While Bahians accepted the constitution, the dominant group in Pernambuco continued to reject the charter, and on July 2, 1824, the Confederação do Equador was proclaimed in Recife.³³ It derived from deep divisions within Pernambuco between a liberal north and a conservative south, the latter the site of the province's oldest sugar plantations. The reaction to the Constituent Assembly's dissolution caused the fall of the so-called Governo dos Matutos (Hillbillies' Government), controlled by sugar planters from the south, and brought to power Manoel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade, a revolutionary who had joined the 1817 republican revolt in Recife, the first armed challenge to colonial rule in Brazil.³⁴ As in Bahia, the city councils of Olinda and Recife vigorously opposed Pedro's despotism; ideologues like Friar Caneca envisaged a liberal, federalist, and constitutional Brazil, with considerable autonomy for the provinces and ample rights for its citizens. According to a recent scholar of the Confederação, this was no regional or separatist movement; rather, it constituted "a national project" that directly challenged Pedro's more authoritarian and centralist project.³⁵

In February 1824, Carvalho refused to cede power to Francisco Paes Barreto, a paragon of the conservative sugar aristocracy of southern Pernambuco appointed by Pedro to govern the province. Paes Barreto articulated a military coup against Carvalho, but troops loyal to the latter returned him to office. The planter and his military supporters retreated to Alagoas, and at the end of March, the navy blockaded Recife to impose the emperor's choice for president. Carvalho held out, and on June 11, the fleet was recalled to Rio de Janeiro to defend the capital against a rumored Portuguese invasion. This apparent

33. On the Confederação do Equador, see Glacyra Lazzari Leite, *Pernambuco 1824: A Confederação do Equador* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco / Editora Massangana, 1989); Marcus Joaquim Maciel de Carvalho, "Hegemony and Rebellion in Pernambuco (Brazil), 1821–1835" (PhD diss., Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989), 32–74; Denis Antônio de Mendonça Bernardes, "Pernambuco e o Império (1822–1824): Sem constituição soberana não há união," in Jancsó, *Brasil*, 219–49; Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: O federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2004), 163–237; Mosher, *Political Struggle*, 53–76.

34. On the 1817 revolt, see Amaro Quintas, *A revolução de 1817* (1939; Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1985); Carlos Guilherme Mota, *Nordeste 1817* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1972); and Glacyra Lazzari Leite, *Pernambuco 1817: Estrutura e comportamentos sociais* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco / Editora Massangana, 1988); Mello, *Outra Independência*, 25–63; Mosher, *Political Struggle*, 23–40.

35. Denis Antônio de Mendonça Bernardes, "Pernambuco e sua área de influência: Um território em transformação (1780–1824)," in Jancsó, *Independência*, 409.

imperial weakness gave Carvalho the chance to proclaim the Confederação do Equador and to seek support from other northern provinces. By the end of July, however, the blockade was reimposed, and in August imperial troops joined Paes Barreto's forces to attack Recife by land. The Pernambucan capital fell on September 17, but a large rebel force escaped toward Ceará and only surrendered on November 29.

Bahia did not lack for sympathizers to the Confederação. While the province had not joined Pernambuco's 1817 republican revolt, radical liberals in both provinces had built strong connections at that time and during Bahia's independence war. Pernambucan republican prisoners were incarcerated in Salvador and were highly influential in Bahia's adhesion to the Portuguese constitutional regime in February 1821.³⁶ After returning from the Lisbon Cortes, the Bahian radical liberal champion Cipriano Barata (also involved in the February 1821 rising) settled in Pernambuco, where he published his *Sentinela da Liberdade*, until his arrest in November 1823, just before Carvalho came to power.³⁷ Pernambucan troops commanded by José de Barros Falcão de Lacerda (also involved in 1817) joined the patriot troops in Bahia against the Portuguese in late 1822. Falcão made clear his political leanings in the proclamation by which he took leave of Bahia in November 1823. He called on Bahians to uphold the "sacred rights" of Brazilians and to defend their "independence and liberty" against "all the world's tyrants."³⁸ The troops arrived home on the very day that news of the Constituent Assembly's dissolution reached Recife and helped put Carvalho into power; later Falcão would command the Confederação's forces.

Upon coming to power in December 1823, Carvalho began a lengthy campaign to win Bahians to the Pernambucan cause. A steady stream of proclamations and correspondence flowed from Pernambuco to Bahia, and in April 1824, English observers identified strong support for the Confederação in Bahia. Indeed, sympathizers to the Pernambucan movement raised sufficient funds to fill a ship with manioc flour, then in short supply at Recife, but the imperial navy seized it. President Viana had authorized the purchase despite the blockade of Recife, an indication that he was taking a cautious, even neutral position between Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco.³⁹ The proclamation of the Confederação do Equador on July 2 prompted a new wave of correspondence from Recife.

36. Silva, *Memorias*, 3:267.

37. Morel, *Cipriano Barata*, 149–85.

38. Proclamação, 21 Nov. 1823, in Costa, *Pernambuco*, 257.

39. Follett to Canning, 16 Apr. 1824, BNA/FO 63, vol. 281, fol. 48; Letter from Bahia, 27 Apr. 1824, *O Typhis Pernambucano* (Recife), 24 June 1824; Tavares, *Da sedição*, 190–92.

Major Alexandre Gomes de Argolo Ferrão (member of a powerful planter family) received a printed form letter that invited Bahians to join the Confederação to resist the imminent Portuguese invasion and condemned Rio de Janeiro for leaving the North defenseless. More important, Carvalho lambasted the "Rio de Janeiro ministry's scheming to re-enslave Brazil and subject it to a despotic Portuguese government," as well as the emperor's efforts to impose his will on Pernambuco. Argolo turned the letter over to Viana, who sent it to Rio de Janeiro, thanking the emperor for reestablishing the blockade.⁴⁰

By this time (late July and early August), Viana had abandoned his earlier vacillation in response to the Confederação. He arrested some Pernambucan emissaries and loudly proclaimed his loyalty to Pedro.⁴¹ The Bahian government began providing supplies, troops, and logistical support to the anti-Confederação forces.⁴² Disappointed, Friar Caneca could only lament that "Bahia, misled by its Vianas, Caldeiras, Calmons, and other pompous crows [*gralbas apavonadas*]" had lost its "liberal spirit and gloried in its slavery."⁴³ Finally, on September 30, news of Recife's fall reached Bahia. Viana hailed it as the harbinger of a new era in which "Brazilian citizens will live peacefully and happily under the protection of the law and the paternal government of His Imperial Majesty."⁴⁴

The Pernambucan resistance to Rio de Janeiro thus represented a course that Bahia refused to take or, better, a course that elements of the Bahian elite managed to block. It is clear that many Bahians sympathized with the Confederação do Equador and its project of a liberal, federalist, and (for some) even republican Brazil. Some Bahians actively conspired to align their province with Pernambuco in 1824, despite the defeats of December 1823 (the revocation of the original protest against the Constituent Assembly's dissolution) and February 1824 (the acceptance of the constitution).

40. Manoel de Carvalho Paes d'Andrade to Alexandre Gomes d'Argollo Ferrão, Recife, 11 July 1824; Vianna to Minister of War João Gomes da Silveira Mendonça, 23 July 1824, AN/SPE, IG¹, maço 249, fols. 417, 420.

41. Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 8 Aug. 1824, AN/SPE, IJJ⁹, maço 549, fol. 261; Follett to Canning, 2 Aug. 1824, BNA/FO 63, vol. 281, fol. 85.

42. Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 7 Aug. 1824; Vianna to Navy Minister Francisco Villela Barboza, 19 Aug. 1824; and Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 26 Aug. 1824, APEB, vol. 675, fols. 148, 155, and 158.

43. *O Typhis Pernambucano* (Recife), 5 Aug. 1824.

44. Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 2 Oct. 1824, AN, cód. 603, vol. 1, fol. 72.

The April and June Conspiracies

On April 1, 1824, well before the proclamation of the Confederação do Equador in Pernambuco, a group of army officers, led by Major José Antônio da Silva Castro, arrived at the government palace to complain to President Viana that "the people of this capital were upset" at three government decisions: the expulsion of Padre João Batista da Fonseca, a Pernambucan and editor of the "incendiary newspaper" *O Liberal*, whom Castro described as "his friend"; the failure to implement the December 17 order to expel some 80 Portuguese; and the failure to call elections for the Conselho de Governo (Council of Government), an advisory council mandated by a law approved by the Constituent Assembly shortly before its dissolution. During the meeting, Castro reportedly declared that he "was not servile, that [he] wanted to, and would, die free," and Viana later explained that this declaration referred directly to the monarch's power over his subjects. Captain Victor José Topázio and Alferes Gaspar Lopes Vilasboas "added some less than respectful comments" on the president's authority.⁴⁵

Unhappy at the president's evasive replies, the officers rang the city council's bell to convene an assembly. They ignored Major Francisco da Costa Branco, the acting governor of arms, declaring that "they were there as citizens, not as officers." In his subsequent report, Costa Branco assured the president that few "citizens" had responded to the officers' appeal. By 5:00 p.m., they presented their demands for the expulsion of the proscribed Portuguese and for immediate elections for the Conselho de Governo. Perhaps because Viana could do nothing about it, they did not mention Padre Fonseca's deportation.⁴⁶

Viana promised to address these concerns and reinforced police patrols to prevent anti-Portuguese violence. On April 5, he published orders to expel the Portuguese under the terms of the December 17 act, explaining to the minister of justice that necessity had obliged him to undertake a measure contrary to Brazil's economic interests. Despite popular pressure, however, few Portuguese

45. Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 7 Apr. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 31, 2; Vianna to Pedro, 8 May 1824, AN, cód. 603, vol. 1, fol. 65v; "Memoria descriptiva dos attentados da facção demagógica na provincia da Bahia contendo a narração circunstanciada da rebelião de 25 de outubro de 1824 . . .," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 34 (1867): 240-42. Augusto Victorino Alves do Sacramento Blake identifies the author of this account as Claudio Luiz da Costa, an army surgeon and eyewitness to many of these events, *Diccionario bibliographico brasileiro*, 7 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1883-1902), 2:116.

46. Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 7 Apr. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 31, 2; Ata da Câmara Municipal, 1 Apr. 1824 (copy), BN/SM, II-34, 1, 1, doc. 41; Costa Branco to Caldeira, 12 Apr. 1824, APEB, maço 3465.

had left by June.⁴⁷ Viana convoked the city's electoral college to consider elections for the provincial council, but the electors observed that the new constitution (to which Bahians had not yet sworn their oath) called for a Conselho Geral da Província (General Council of the Province) to be elected along with deputies to parliament; as an anonymous observer remarked, "everything remained the same."⁴⁸

While Viana dealt easily with the April 1 movement, and one observer characterized the protesters as "a handful of adventurers" rejected by public opinion, there is considerable evidence that it constituted part of a broader conspiracy.⁴⁹ The anonymous author of a "Memória descritiva" (Descriptive Memoir) saw the machinations of a republican "club" behind the movement; two weeks earlier, anonymous proclamations had threatened the conservative editor of the *Grito da Razão*, Vicente Ribeiro Moreira, for having questioned the wisdom of deporting the Portuguese listed in the December act.⁵⁰ Shortly after the protest, Governor of Arms Felisberto Gomes Caldeira dismissed a sergeant and two scribes from his office for revealing confidential documents and for plotting against him and the president; two of the three had also attended the April 1 assembly.⁵¹ In addition to the nine army officers whom he identified, Viana also noted the participation of three doctors, José Lino Coutinho (an "associate of Barata," according to the president), José Avelino Barboza, and Antônio Policarpo Cabral. Although these three men had accepted the constitution in December 1823 or February 1824, they had evidently not resigned themselves to the new regime. Despite these indications of a broad conspiracy, a cautious Viana suspended the judicial investigation into the April 1 events for fear that it would merely heighten tensions.⁵²

In late June, coinciding with the final preparations for the Confederação do Equador's proclamation in Pernambuco, a little-known conspiracy was nipped

47. Portaria, 5 Apr. 1824, *Grito da Razão*, 13 Apr. 1824; Vianna to Minister of Justice Clemente Ferreira França, 8 Apr. 1824; Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 16 June 1824, *AAPEB* 13 (1925): 49, 63.

48. Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 7 Apr. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 31, 2; Vianna to Collegio Eleitoral and Collegio Eleitoral to Vianna, 5 Apr. 1824, BN/SM, II-34, 1, 1, docs. 43-44; "Chronica dos acontecimentos," 84; Tavares, *Da sedição*, 196, 198-99.

49. "Hum fiel subdito" to Pedro, 8 Apr. 1824, AHMI, I-POB-08.04.1824-PI.B.c.

50. "Memoria descritiva," 311; Proclamation of "O Atalaya," *Grito da Razão*, 21 May 1824.

51. Caldeira to Vianna, 20 Apr. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 28, 40; and 11 May 1824 (copy), BN/SM, II-34, 1, 1, doc. 85; Costa Branco to Caldeira, 12 Apr. 1824, APEB, maço 3465.

52. Costa Branco to Caldeira, 12 Apr. 1824, APEB, maço 3465; Vianna to Pedro, 8 May 1824, AN, cód. 603, vol. 1, fols. 65v-66.

in the bud. According to Guinebaud, it was led by the commanders of two battalions, "composed principally of blacks and mulattoes [*nègres et mulâtres*]." Its goals included, once again, the deposition of the president and the governor of arms, while its leaders favored the "Pernambucan system."⁵³ Viana merely reported that Caldeira had personally brought the conspirators under control and received demonstrations of loyalty from the troops. According to a letter published a year later in the *Grito da Razão*, the incident took place on June 29, and its "demagogic goals" were frustrated by the authorities' quick response. The author of the "Memória descritiva" added that the plot included plans to kill Caldeira and concurred that the governor of arms played a key role in suppressing it, but he dated the conspiracy to early June. He added that Inocêncio da Rocha Galvão, a lawyer, was the ringleader.⁵⁴ Little is known about Galvão. Sent as an adolescent to study at Coimbra, he had apparently fought against the French invasion of Portugal, where he subsequently earned his living as a language teacher. He only returned to Bahia after independence, but he evidently enjoyed considerable prestige in radical circles.⁵⁵

This time, Viana could not avoid making some arrests: Francisco Sabino Álvares da Rocha Vieira, surgeon of the Second Battalion (and later leader of the most important liberal rebellion in Bahia, the 1837–38 Sabinada), and an alferes, both involved in the April 1 protests, were packed off to Rio de Janeiro for having "spread seditious notions among the troops."⁵⁶ Many more, however, had been involved. An army major later described a June meeting in a civilian's home, at which the leading plotters were Majors José Antonio da Silva Castro and Joaquim Sátiro da Cunha (commanders respectively of the Periquitos Battalion and the Artillery Corps), Captain Francisco Macário Leopoldo, Galvão, several other officers, a priest, the merchant João Primo, and a customs house employee. Another junior officer identified Sabino as one of the two men who had invited him in June to join a "revolution" against the governor of arms, the

53. Jacques Guinebaud to Ministre de Marines, 1 July 1824, *AAPEB* 39 (1970): 162.

54. Tavares, *Da sedição*, 206; Letter from Philo Patricio, *Supplemento ao Grito da Razão*, 29 June 1825; "Memoria descritiva," 245–47.

55. Justino Nunes Sentoncé, "Nota biographica de Innocência da Rocha Galvão," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 48, no. 2 (1885): 243–44.

56. Vianna to Silveira Mendonça, 2 Aug. 1824, *APEB*, vol. 675, fol. 142. On the Sabinada, see Paulo César Souza, *A Sabinada: A revolta separatista da Bahia* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1987); Hendrik Kraay, "As Terrifying as Unexpected: The Bahian Sabinada, 1837–1838," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 4 (Nov. 1992): 501–27; and Douglas G. Leite, *Sabinos e diversos: Emergências políticas e projetos de poder na revolta baiana de 1837* (Salvador: EGBA / Fundação Pedro Calmon, 2007).

president, and other authorities; "the plan was to send the authorities under arrest to Rio de Janeiro and to send four hundred men to Pernambuco, along with artillerymen, to help Carvalho's party because of the repeated letters that the clubs received from them."⁵⁷

The June plot is the last known effort of Bahians to support Pernambuco's resistance to Rio de Janeiro. Caldeira's timely intervention and the arrest of a few scapegoats, as well as the blockade of Recife, secured Bahia's loyalty to Rio de Janeiro. Recife's fall on September 17 eliminated the direct Pernambucan influence from Bahia, but sympathy for the Confederação do Equador's liberal ideals persisted in Bahia, as did Caldeira's desire to rid himself of insubordinate officers.

The October Conspiracy and the Death of the Governor of Arms

On October 21, 1824, Bahian authorities published orders from Rio de Janeiro to transfer the Third Battalion, the Periquitos, to Pernambuco and to send its beloved commander, Major José Antônio da Silva Castro, to the imperial capital. The conservative Major Manoel Joaquim Pinto Paca, who had denounced the April conspiracy when invited to join it,⁵⁸ was named to replace Castro. These measures had long been in the works. Back in February, Brant had recommended the Periquitos' dissolution, and in August, Caldeira reported cryptically that he would soon implement the war minister's orders regarding Castro.⁵⁹

The government's attempt to rid itself of the Periquitos set off a flurry of conspiring: "Incendiary handbills, written in a language that soldiers could understand, consisting of incoherent sentences presenting the homeland in great danger because of José Antônio's departure, and threatening the governor of arms with death," appeared around the barracks.⁶⁰ Paca later testified that, after he took command, some officers denounced a plot on Castro's behalf. Meeting at the homes of Galvão and Castro, the conspirators had determined to kill Caldeira; the ringleaders included Captain Francisco Macário Leopoldo, Major Joaquim José Rodrigues, and Major Joaquim Sátiro da Cunha, the artillery commander, whom Paca described as the most eager to see Caldeira dead. Castro, however, "manipulated everything, for he had complete control over the

57. "A Justiça de Francisco Peixoto Miranda Veras," fols. 34–35, 36, APEB, maço 2773.

58. Costa Branco to Caldeira, 12 Apr. 1824, APEB, maço 3465.

59. Caldeira to Villela Barboza, 3 Aug. 1824, AN/SPE, IG¹, maço 249, fol. 426.

Unfortunately, we do not know the nature of these orders, dated 28 May.

60. "Memoria descritiva," 249.

Third Battalion."⁶¹ One alferes described a lively gathering at the Forte do Mar, where Castro was awaiting passage to Rio de Janeiro. There, Captains Vitor José Topázio, Manoel José Alves, and Macário, along with Alferes João Pio de Aguiar Gurgel, "toasted [the fact] that in a few days, [even if] at the costs of their goods and blood, they would restore Major Castro to command of the battalion," a toast which Castro graciously thanked.⁶² Little is clear about the plotters' political goals, save that they sought some sort of change in government and sympathized with the aims of the Confederação do Equador. Removing Castro and the Periquitos from Bahia would have severely undermined the conspiracy, and the threat of this prompted them to take action.

The conspirators' hostility toward the governor of arms went far beyond what might be expected from rebel officers toward loyalist commanders. Well-connected to the Recôncavo planter class, Felisberto Gomes Caldeira had risen rapidly in the army hierarchy in the 1810s. During the independence war he had apparently aligned himself with liberal and constitutionalist elements from Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco; he had also played a major role in the coup against Pedro Labatut.⁶³ Many contemporaries blamed Caldeira for the barracks disorder between July and October 1823, and most shared an 1831 assessment that, immediately after his appointment as governor of arms, he became an "excessive and unjust persecutor of all military men in whom shone the ideals of liberty, and especially the Confederação do Equador's panegyrists."⁶⁴ To be sure, such assessments, as well as accusations of partiality in dealing with subordinates, smack of scapegoating. But one important observation dates from March 1824. In Recife, the editor of *O Liberal* (who may have been Padre Fonseca, Castro's friend, expelled earlier that year from Bahia) marveled at "the hypocrisy" of this "dangerous man": only recently, he had seen Caldeira "frequently . . . make the most energetic protests of patriotism and liberalism . . . before his closest friends . . . and now we see him clamping irons on his homeland."⁶⁵ In a sym-

61. "A Justiça de Francisco Peixoto Miranda Veras," fols. 28–29, 35v–36.

62. Ibid., fols. 37–37v.

63. For biographies of Caldeira, see Tavares, *Da sedição*, 214–22; João Joaquim da Silva Guimarães, *História abreviada da vida, e ações do Coronel Felisberto Gomes Caldeira* (Salvador: Typographia Nacional, 1825).

64. See Henrique Luiz de Niemeyer Bellegarde's revisions to Ferdinand Denis, *Resumo da história do Brasil até 1828, traduzido de M. Dénis, correcto e augmentado por H. L. de Niemeyer Bellegarde* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de Gueffier, 1831), 235; Silva, *Memorias*, 4:181; "Lembranças," BN/SM, II-33, 35, 11; William Odlin to Adams, 21 Nov. 1824, United States, National Archives and Records Service, T-432, roll 2.

65. *O Liberal* (Recife), 2 Mar. 1824, in Costa, *Pernambuco*, 294.

pathetic memoir, Caldeira's nephew (and protégé) explained his uncle's refusal to support the Confederação do Equador: "Even if he had adhered to the 1817 revolution, in favor of a republic, against absolutism, circumstances were different from today, when Brazil enjoys the system of constitutional monarchy, symbol and guarantee of order, liberty, and progress, whose moderate course he preferred."⁶⁶ Caldeira was not the only radical of the 1820s to make peace with the imperial regime, but unlike others, he paid dearly for his choice.

On October 24, 1824, the conspirators were ready. At dawn on the 25th, Captain Francisco Macário Leopoldo called the Periquitos Battalion to arms. Munitions were distributed to about one hundred soldiers and Macário ordered the arrest of officers who opposed the mutiny.⁶⁷ He entrusted the armed soldiers to Alferes Jacinto Soares de Melo and João Pio de Aguiar Gurgel and gave them orders to arrest Caldeira. One witness claimed that Macário recommended executing Caldeira if he resisted, to which Jacinto retorted: "Better to do it right away."⁶⁸ As the soldiers marched out, Macário turned to arming the rest of the battalion, after which he went to São Pedro Fort to join the artillery and the part of the Fourth Battalion that, under Alferes Gaspar Lopes Vilasboas, had joined the revolt. Officers from other battalions were already at the fort, as were the civilians João Primo and Inocência da Rocha Galvão.

At about 6:00 a.m., Jacinto and Gurgel's men surrounded Caldeira's residence and headquarters. The governor of arms initially refused to submit, offended at receiving orders from such low-ranking subordinates. What transpired next remains unclear, but shots rang out and Caldeira died on the stairs of his residence. Some witnesses blamed 16-year-old cadet Francisco Peixoto Miranda Veras for trying to fire the first shot; his gun misfired, but this prompted the soldiers to blaze away at the headquarters. Among those accused by name was a corporal from Pernambuco, Bento José da Costa, whose filed teeth indicated that he was an African or that he adhered to an African custom common along Brazil's coasts. One artillery officer, Second Lieutenant João

66. Andrade, "Cel. Felisberto Gomes Caldeira," 218. Tavares notes that there is no evidence that Caldeira had supported the 1817 movement, *Da sedição*, 214–15.

67. "A Justiça de Francisco Peixoto Miranda Veras," fol. 48v. In addition to this inquest, on which this account is based, there are five other accounts (on which Tavares based his narrative in *Da sedição*, 210–14): Silva, *Memorias*, 4:181–88; Agostinho Dias Lima to a friend, 28 Oct. 1824, *Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia* 5 (1895): 299–302; "Memoria descriptiva," 251–67; "Noticia sobre a morte," BN/SM, II-33, 35, 10; and *Grito da Razão*, 14 Nov. 1824. Despite disagreeing on details, they generally concur on the sequence of events.

68. "A Justiça de Francisco Peixoto Miranda Veras," fols. 33, 40v, 47v.

Victor da Silva Lobo, reportedly sought out the colonel's body and "stuck his fingers in the wounds [making] signs of happiness."⁶⁹

The soldiers then cheered the emperor and headed to São Pedro Fort, where they were received with applause at the news of Caldeira's death. Majors Sátiro (the artillery's acting commander) and Rodrigues led the revolt in that unit. Rodrigues broke into the Aflitos arms depot and distributed weaponry "to anyone who showed up," including civilians. From the fort's walls, he harangued the Second Battalion and its aristocratic commander, Major Argolo Ferrão, declaring that "true liberty was being proclaimed." When Argolo Ferrão disagreed, Rodrigues spoke directly to the soldiers "to turn them from obedience to their commander." He failed to convince them, but he was more successful with his own men. Invoking corporate loyalty, he argued that the artillery "should aid and support the dignity of the Third Battalion." Although most of the First and Second Battalions remained loyal to the authorities, many individual officers and soldiers joined the rebels at the fort on October 25 and 26.⁷⁰

The man at the center of the revolt, Major Castro, had not been involved in its outbreak. When he arrived at São Pedro Fort, cheers and shouts of "The tyrant is dead!" broke out among the troops. Several witnesses reported that Castro visibly paled, an indication that things had not gone as planned. Castro took the Periquitos to the presidential palace; before going in to explain himself to Viana, he led the men in cheers to the emperor, the president, and the constitution. After meeting the president, Castro ordered his battalion to return to their barracks, but the soldiers insisted on going to the fort.⁷¹

As the day wore on, the number of people gathered at the fort grew to as many as 1,300. "Many of the rabble [*população*]" joined the soldiers, and "the infamous Galvão, . . . playing the role of both advisor and general," busied himself preparing declarations to send to Viana and organizing his men for combat with the army and militia battalions still loyal to the provincial government. The presence of civilians indicated that the movement was expanding beyond its original barracks core. Worried that an accidental shot might result in "serious disorder," Castro requested that Viana order the loyalist battalions to stand down.⁷²

69. Ibid., fols. 7, 9–10, 47, 49v, 50, 75–76v, 85v, and passim. James Wetherell later noted that this custom was common among "coloured . . . men"; *Brazil: Stray Notes from Bahia*, ed. William Hadfield (Liverpool: Webb and Hunt, 1860), 135.

70. "A Justiça de Francisco Peixoto Miranda Veras," fols. 33v, 34, 36v–37, 47v, 88–93v.

71. Ibid., fols. 41ff, 46–46v, 96–97.

72. *Grito da Razão*, 11 and 29 Dec. 1824; Vianna to Vieira de Carvalho, 28 Oct. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 32, 1, doc. 20; José Antonio da Silva Castro to Vianna, 26 Oct. 1824, BN/SM, II-34, 1, 2, doc. 141.

The Movement's Political Meaning

Instead of seizing the moment, the rebels negotiated with Viana and a hastily assembled six-member provincial council. First on the agenda was replacing the deceased governor of arms. After much discussion, both parties settled on Brigadier Luiz Antônio da Fonseca Machado, the most senior officer present in the province, despite Viana's misgivings about Machado's competence. The rebels also convinced the new governor of arms to appoint Galvão as his secretary.⁷³ The council dispatched José Lino Coutinho to make a personal report to Pedro on the situation. Viana, who had doubted Coutinho's loyalty in April, described him as trustworthy and "fully informed about the events and their causes."⁷⁴ With a popular rebellion in the offing, members of the elite forgot past disagreements.

Apparently on Castro's suggestion, the council resolved that, on October 26, all of the city's battalions would meet on Piedade Square for a public act of reconciliation, a "ridiculous" measure, according to one observer. Rather than humiliating themselves by fraternizing with those whom they considered "freedmen and criminals," the commanders of the First and Second Battalions withdrew their men from Salvador, and part of the Fourth Battalion joined them.⁷⁵ They headed for Abrantes, a town north of the capital and the domain of the Baron of Torre de Garcia d'Ávila, where they dubbed themselves the "Divisão Pacificadora" (Pacifying Division). There they received extensive support from the Recôncavo sugar planters.⁷⁶

The departure of troops transformed Salvador's political context. On October 27, Majors Castro, Sátiro, and Rodrigues joined Viana, the members of his council, and what Viana described as "the most distinguished citizens" to deliberate on how best to control the soldiery. Only 4 of the 26 men who gathered at the presidential palace, however, were merchants or sugar planters. The majority of Salvador's "most distinguished citizens" had already left the city, and Viana appeared to have been abandoned by his own class. This expanded council resolved to restore Castro to his command of the Periquitos and to carry

73. Minutes of Conselho Provincial and Brigada de Artilharia, 25 Oct. 1824 (copies), BN/SM, II-33, 32, 1, doc. 17, nos. 1-2; minutes of Conselho Provincial, 26 Oct. 1824 (copy), BN/SM, II-33, 32, 1, doc. 19; Luiz Antonio da Fonseca Machado to Vianna, 29 Oct. 1824, BN/SM, II-34, 1, 2, doc. 153; *Grito da Razão*, 1 and 11 Dec. 1824.

74. Tavares, *Da sedição*, 226, 228.

75. "Memoria descriptiva," 271; Petition of Costa Branco et al. to Emperor, Abrantes, 4 Nov. 1824, BN/SM, I-31, 36, 8, doc. 49.

76. Tavares, *Da sedição*, 232-33, 252 n. 127.

out the orders to transfer them to Pernambuco. Castro astutely insisted that the minutes record that he would only accept the appointment if directly ordered by Viana to do so, but the council refused.⁷⁷ For their part, the Periquitos refused to contemplate leaving Bahia, while Viana insisted on the return of the battalions that had left Salvador and called on citizens to return to their homes. Francisco da Costa Branco, commander of the troops at Abrantes, responded that they had left the city to save the province from the "criminals" whose bayonets had placed the president under "complete coercion."⁷⁸

The decisions taken at the meeting on October 27 suggest that provincial leaders and rebel officers were seeking to put the movement behind them by downplaying its subversive nature and reiterating their loyalty to the emperor. On October 28, Viana explained to the war minister that, although it was too early to determine the causes of Caldeira's murder, there were three possible ones: the "idleness of a large number of the soldiers stationed in the city"; "the hatred that burned in the hearts" of Castro and "some officers, his friends" (presumably hatred of Caldeira); or "some plan from Pernambuco . . . that still lives in the minds of some radical officers." He doubted, however, that the movement represented a "counterstroke of the system embraced in Pernambuco," for the latter was "today entirely destroyed."⁷⁹ On October 30, Viana went further, explaining to the minister of empire that, at the meeting of the 27th, all those present had agreed that "some of the more rigorous decisions of the late governor of arms had made him odious to many officers, and because of this, there was the calamitous attack, which appears not to threaten the substance of the [political] system sworn and embraced in the Brazilian empire."⁸⁰

That same day, much the same argument appeared in a strongly worded "Manifesto of Officers, Sergeants, and Soldiers in the Garrison of Bahia," signed by more than one hundred military men. All of the principal rebel leaders—Macário, Topázio, Gurgel, Vilasboas, Sátiro, and Rodrigues—put their names to the document. Soldiers probably also signed the statement, for after the 109th name, a copy of the document notes that "more signatures follow." Castro did not sign, a further indication of his retreat from involvement in the movement. Apparently written by Galvão, the manifesto attempted to

77. Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 9 Nov. 1824, APEB, vol. 675, fol. 215; and *Grito da Razão*, 23 Dec. 1824; minutes of Conselho Provincial, 27 Oct. 1824 (copy), BN/SM, II-33, 32, 1, doc. 16; Petition of Castro to Conselho Provincial, n.d., BN/SM, II-34, 1, 2, doc. 142.

78. Proclamation of 27 Oct. 1824, BN/SM, I-31, 23, 8; Costa Branco to Vianna, Abrantes, 29 Oct. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 20, 6.

79. Vianna to Vieira de Carvalho, 28 Oct. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 32, 1, doc. 20.

80. Vianna to Maciel da Costa, 30 Oct. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 26, 9.

justify the murder of Caldeira, a “man lacking in enlightenment and even the most basic education, but clever by instinct and skilled at intriguing.” Despotic, prideful, and brutish, he “contributed to the last revolution in Pernambuco through the broad and highly certain promises of aid [that he] gave to [its] leaders.” When orders to remove Castro reached Bahia, the signatories planned to write a petition to the emperor, but, upon learning of this, Caldeira threatened to “destroy” them. Thus, the governor of arms had denied them the sacred Old Regime right of petition to the monarch. Their account of the murder underscored Caldeira’s despotism: the men who marched to his quarters merely constituted a “delegation” that intended to convince him to suspend the orders regarding Castro’s removal. Caldeira treated them “with the greatest of disdain,” and when the officers tried to arrest him, he pulled out two loaded pistols, which misfired. Only then did the soldiers open fire. The officers stressed that they had always been loyal and obedient to Viana and to the emperor, and that the troops at Abrantes had no legitimate reason for leaving the city. Such divisions in the “social body” would only open the way for a widely feared Portuguese invasion. They concluded with a radical liberal appeal to the population that nevertheless implied an acceptance of Pedro’s constitution as a check on absolutism: “Do not lend an ear to the poisonous suggestions of your internal enemies, vile idolaters of despotism, who impute the most sinister intentions to us, who want to throw the apple of discord among us, so that the holy ark of the constitution founders amid the waves of civic dissent, and the horrid monster of absolute power rises to take its place.”⁸¹

Few believed the rebels’ protests of loyalty to the emperor. Already on October 27, Follett explained that, while “all act as yet in the emperor’s name,” many now judged the conflict to be “a contest between the imperial and republican parties.”⁸² Nevertheless, we should not dismiss too quickly the rebels’ stated loyalty to the monarch. As Iara Lis Carvalho Souza has suggested, the image of Pedro (and the monarchy more generally) was a powerful symbol. Monarchy was deeply rooted in Brazilian society, including the nonwhite population, which annually crowned African kings and queens during the festival of Our Lady of the Rosary. The concept of the monarch as a font of justice, typical of the Old Regime, permeated the young Brazilian empire.⁸³ Moreover, Pedro

81. “A Justiça de Francisco Peixoto Miranda Veras,” fols. 20–25. The manifesto’s published version lacks the signatures; Silva, *Memórias*, 4:196–98.

82. Follett to Canning, 27 Oct. 1824, BNA/FO 63, vol. 281, fol. 117.

83. Souza, *Pátria coroada*, 91–281. See also Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *As barbas do imperador: D. Pedro II, um monarca nos trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1999), 247–94; and João José Reis, “Quilombos e revoltas escravas no Brasil,” *Revista USP* 28 (1995–96): 32–33.

had begun his reign with the promise of a constituent assembly. To be sure, he had closed it, but he had granted another constitution, and many hoped that he would return to ruling as a constitutional monarch. Like the defeated Pernambucans, those who supported the Periquitos' revolt sought a more liberal regime than the one that was emerging in late 1824, which did not necessarily make them republicans.

Indeed, even critics of the movement could find few confirmed republicans among the rebels. According to Moreira's *Grito da Razão*, Galvão and his "partisans" met in a "great council" in early November, in which Galvão stood alone in his call for a republic: "Our situation is desperate," he allegedly declared. "There can be no middle position, let blood flow, proclaim the republic!" At about this time, Galvão began publishing a newspaper, the *Correio da Bahia*, in which, according to the *Grito*, he showed his republican colors and "how evil his heart was." Viana sent three issues of the *Correio* to Rio de Janeiro with the observation that its "ideas . . . do not please . . . sensible citizens." Unfortunately, no copies of this newspaper are known to exist, which means that we can say no more about its editor's political views.⁸⁴

Collapse and Defeat

With the retreat of the loyalist forces to Abrantes, the rebels effectively controlled Salvador and the provincial government. On the whole, the soldiers remained under discipline as their officers abandoned the more radical goals that some of them had expressed. On November 12, the Minas Gerais militia battalion quit Salvador, as did a large part of the cavalry and many artillery officers who sought to distance themselves from Sátiro. Follett observed that Viana's policy was "inexplicable to all" and judged that he only exercised authority to the extent that he made no move against those involved in the murder. Castro, meanwhile, busied himself with organizing the Periquitos' expedition to Pernambuco, but he refused to leave until those guilty of the murder were under arrest.⁸⁵

By mid-November, funds were being openly solicited to secure the escape of those most directly involved in the murder. "Some friends of order," reportedly including Viana, offered Captain Macário, Alferes Jacinto and Gurgel, and Cadet Peixoto hefty sums of 800 to 1,000 milreis (US\$816 to \$1020) each so that they could go abroad. Macário, "the only rascal with character" according to one contemporary, refused the money, but the other three, who had been pres-

84. *Grito da Razão*, 25 Dec. 1824; Vianna to Resende, 23 Nov. 1824, in Renato Berbert de Castro, *A Tipografia Imperial e Nacional da Bahia* (São Paulo: Ática, 1984), 241.

85. Follett to Canning, 20 Nov. 1824, BNA/FO 63, vol. 281, fol. 118; Vianna to Resende, 20 Nov. 1824, APEB, vol. 675, fol. 219v.

ent at the murder, disappeared at this time. Other rebel leaders also fled the city, but Sátiro and a few others remained at their posts, counting on Viana's promises of protection.⁸⁶ By the end of November, rural authorities were reporting the presence of deserting soldiers from the rebel battalions. Some reportedly sought "to contaminate the good [men], turning them away from the system adopted, and to enlist the slaves," the only hint that some rebels belatedly considered including slaves in their movement.⁸⁷

Finally, on November 28, President Viana moved his government to the safety of a navy ship, from which he sought to bring the city back under control. He appointed Colonel Antero José Ferreira de Brito, who had arrived from Pernambuco on orders of the commander of imperial troops there, to lead the loyalist forces at Abrantes closer to Salvador, where they could cut off the main road to the Recôncavo.⁸⁸ Rumors that Macário was planning a sack of the city lent urgency to Viana's orders that militia battalions police Salvador and that the Abrantes troops hasten their return, but Castro assured Viana that he had calmed the troops. Castro, however, refused to arrest Macário, which almost certainly allowed the captain to escape.⁸⁹

The militia, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Joaquim de Santana Neves, mounted guards throughout Salvador on the night of November 30. Neves, an officer in the First Militia Battalion, the all-black troops known as the "Henriques," was then the most senior officer left in the city, for Brigadier Machado (the acting governor of arms) had accompanied Viana to the ship. Subsequently, Viana effusively praised the "black man [*preto*]," Neves, for his "courage" and "effective measures" to protect the bank and other government offices, which ensured "that all was saved from the violence of the disorderly soldiery." At this critical moment, Salvador was saved from the feared depredations of a primarily black and mulatto battalion by a black commander and his black militiamen.⁹⁰

86. Follett to Canning, 20 Nov. 1824, BNA/FO 63, vol. 281, fols. 118v–19; "Notícia sobre a morte," BN/SM, II-33, 35, 10; "Memoria descriptiva," 303; Castro to Vianna, 23 Nov. 1824, BN/SM, II-34, 1, 3, doc. 205; Silva, *Memórias*, 4:210.

87. Manoel José d'Antonio Borges to Antero José Ferreira de Brito, Engenho São Miguel, 3 Dec. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 32, 1, doc. 3.

88. Vianna to Resende, 2 Dec. 1824, APEB, vol. 675, fols. 221, 224.

89. See Vianna's two letters to Brito, 30 Nov. 1824, BN/SM, I-31, 23, 8, fols. 189, 191; and Brito to Vianna, Pirajá, 11:30 pm, 30 Nov. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 20, 7; Castro to Vianna, 30 Nov. and 2 Dec. 1824, BN/SM, I-31, 36, 8, docs. 50, 52.

90. Vianna to Resende, 2 Dec. 1824, APEB, vol. 675, fol. 224v; Hendrik Kraay, "Identidade racial na política, Bahia, 1790–1840: O caso dos Henriques," in Jancsó, *Brasil*, 534–35.

On December 1, three hundred Periquitos, under Castro's command, began boarding transports, and Colonel Antero's forces moved into the city. Viana judged that he had "dismantled the anarchist party," but, ever cautious, he waited two days before landing to an enthusiastic reception by troops and the populace.⁹¹ On December 6, the expeditionary force, numbering 488 men, sailed for Pernambuco. In Salvador, Antero replaced Machado as acting governor of arms.⁹²

Punishment

Arrests began immediately after the occupation of Salvador, but Viana promised to pardon all soldiers who had merely deserted, provided that they return to the barracks within 30 days.⁹³ On December 22, Caldeira's body (which had been hastily buried in October after lying untended for 24 hours), received a "magnificent funeral," followed by a "grand review of all the troops," who "demonstrated their enthusiasm for His Majesty the Emperor."⁹⁴ A week later, the government began to organize a police force for Salvador, under the command of Manoel Joaquim Pinto Paca, the major who had been slated to replace Castro.⁹⁵

The main instrument of repression, however, was a special military commission to try the rebels. Instituted on direct orders from Pedro, its terms mandated the suspension of legal formalities in favor of summary punishment. The accused faced charges under articles 1, 8, 15, and 16 of the Articles of War, which dealt with the crimes of mutiny, disobedience, injuring or killing a comrade, and defamation of superior officers; the charges carried, among other punishments, the death penalty.⁹⁶ The tough-minded brigadier José Egídio Gordilho

91. Vianna to Resende, 2 Dec. 1824, APEB, vol. 675, fol. 224.

92. Vianna to President of Pernambuco, 6 Dec. 1824 (copy), BN/SM, II-31, 36, 8, doc. 69; Vianna to Resende, 7 Dec. 1824, APEB, vol. 675, fol. 225v.

93. *Bando*, 10 Dec. 1824 (copy), BN/SM, II-31, 36, 8, doc. 70.

94. Follett to Canning, 26 Oct. 1824, BNA/FO 63, vol. 281, fol. 117; *O Spectador Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro), 3 Jan. 1825. On Caldeira's funeral, see also *Grito da Razão*, 23 Dec. 1824; Silva, *Memorias*, 4:206; Joaquim das Mercês, *Elogio funebre pela trasladação dos ossos do benemerito coronel do Estado Maior o Ex.^{mo} Senhor Felisberto Gomes Caldeira . . .* (Salvador: Typographia Nacional, 1825).

95. Manoel Joaquim Pinto Paca to José Egídio Gordilho de Barbuda, 29 Dec. 1824, BN/SM, II-33, 23, 3.

96. *Ordem*, 16 Nov. 1824 (copy), BN/SM, II-31, 36, 4; Wenceslao Freire de Carvalho, *Promptuario dos processos militares*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1887), 302, 303, 305.

de Barbuda (the future viscount of Camamu) arrived on December 11 to take the post of governor of arms and to preside over the military commission. Barbuda dedicated himself to rooting out all vestiges of the “Carvalhine party”—supporters of Manoel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade and the defeated Confederação do Equador—that he detected in Salvador.⁹⁷ The commission began hearings on January 3, 1825, and took ten days to condemn the artillery major Joaquim Sátiro da Cunha to death, a sentence carried out three days later.⁹⁸

In February, ten men who had escaped were indicted in absentia. They included Inocência da Rocha Galvão, Major José Joaquim Rodrigues, Captain Francisco Macário Leopoldo, and two alferes, Jacinto Soares de Melo and João Pio de Aguiar Gurgel. Surgeon José Políbio Paraguassu, Cadet Francisco Peixoto Miranda Veras, and Corporal Bento José da Costa (all from the Periquitos), along with a cadet and an alferes from the Fourth Battalion, rounded out the list. Their lawyer did not deny their guilt, but argued that they had not been leaders and therefore did not deserve the death penalty. Some were very young, notably the teenaged Cadet Peixoto, “subject therefore to the thoughtlessness” of youth and worthy of compassion. Finally, he argued that the death penalty was illogical, for it amounted to “approving with a public execution that which it condemns,” the classic humanist argument against capital punishment.⁹⁹ Notwithstanding these arguments, the absent accused were found guilty as leaders of a revolt and sentenced to be hanged. None of them was actually executed, however. Cadet Peixoto, for one, escaped to Gibraltar (how he did so is not known). Ten years later, he was back in Bahia, where he cleared his name.¹⁰⁰

The commission dispensed harsh justice, but it also faced challenges from several quarters. On the eve of Sátiro’s execution, Barbuda received advice to pardon the officer, but attributed it to the “fear [that] has gripped many good people.”¹⁰¹ While the commission was handing out death sentences, Viana sought an amnesty for all the secondary figures in the revolt, particularly because many were considered independence war heroes, and proposed exiling the ringleaders to the remote island of Fernando de Noronha.¹⁰² The disagreement between

97. Follett to Canning, 23 Dec. 1824, BNA/FO 63, vol. 281, fol. 135; Barbuda to Vieira de Carvalho, 12 Dec. 1824, AN/SPE, IG¹, maço 249, fol. 396v.

98. Barbuda to Vianna, 10 Jan. 1825, BN/SM, II-33, 19, 17; Vianna to Resende, 26 Jan. 1825, APEB, vol. 675, fol. 260v.

99. “A Justiça de Francisco Peixoto Miranda Veras,” fols. 55–68.

100. Ibid., fols. 101v–36.

101. Barbuda to Pedro, 27 Jan. 1825, AHMI, II-POB-27.01.1825, Bar.c 1–8.

102. Vianna to Resende, 26 Jan. 1825, in Castro, *Tipografia*, 30–31.

Viana and Barbuda over the correct policy toward the rebels reflected different views of government. The officer belonged to a group of hard-line military men, absolutely loyal to Pedro, who brooked no opposition to imperial orders. Viana, by contrast, was not a courtier; rather, he was a wealthy Bahian landowner with liberal, nationalist, and regionalist tendencies. Under other circumstances, he might even have joined the "Carvalhine party." As far as Viana was concerned, more could be accomplished through conciliation than through repression, and in any case, the suspension of legal guarantees undermined Pedro's reputation as a constitutional monarch.

The debate heated up in early March 1825 when Alferes Gaspar Lopes Vilasboas, who had gone to Pernambuco with the Periquitos, returned in chains to Bahia. Barbuda sought to make an example of him because of his links to "many prominent families." Vilasboas was hardly the most guilty of the officers; at most, witnesses accused him of "making common cause" with the rebels.¹⁰³ He had led troops from the Fourth Battalion in revolt on October 25, had signed the October 30 manifesto, and had been involved in earlier incidents, but he was not among those who had murdered Caldeira, and he had obeyed orders to go to Pernambuco. Vilasboas was no more guilty than Castro and many other imprisoned officers, yet Barbuda's commission sentenced him to death and executed him as a warning to the Bahian elite.

While Vilasboas was being tried, an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Reflexões sobre a comissão militar* (Reflections on the Military Commission) appeared in Salvador. Its content was well known to Barbuda, for it had been presented in manuscript form to the commission two days before Sátiro's execution. Its argument was simple: The military commission was illegitimate, for the decree that had authorized it back in November 1824 justified the suspension of legal guarantees on the grounds of an imminent "danger to the state," a danger which had obviously ceased to exist. Hence, the commission's mandate should have lapsed. Moreover, its procedures failed to conform to the principles of natural justice. Judge and accuser were one and the same, and there was no adequate opportunity for defense. The author had promised to keep the original document confidential until after the commission had completed its work, but Vilasboas's looming execution prompted him to break this promise.¹⁰⁴

103. Barbuda to Silveira Mendonça, 23 Mar. 1825, in Castro, *Tipografia*, 46; "A Justiça de Francisco Peixoto Miranda Veras," fols. 30v, 51.

104. B*** B***, *Reflexões sobre a comissão militar* (Salvador: Typographia Nacional, 1825).

As far as Barbuda was concerned, *Reflexões* was an “execrable abortion of treacherous plans [that] frontally attacks the principal theses of Your Imperial Majesty’s supreme authority.”¹⁰⁵ Using his extraordinary powers, Barbuda arrested the manager of the press that had published the pamphlet, Francisco José Corte Imperial, for he refused to identify its authors. The arrest of this well-known journalist “caused a great uproar” in Salvador. A civilian court quickly acquitted Corte Imperial, for it could find no “subversive doctrines” in the pamphlet, nor any abuse of press freedom. Barbuda, however, kept the journalist behind bars, which, according to Viana, amounted to “terrorism” and grave disrespect for “the civil and political rights guaranteed to Brazilian citizens.”¹⁰⁶

Corte Imperial apparently gained his freedom in late April and the pamphlet did not prevent Vilasboas’s execution, but the incident reveals the extent to which the Bahian planter class would go to protect one of its own. Barbuda identified leading figures as the authors of the pamphlet, among them Antônio Calmon du Pin e Almeida (“a relative of Gaspar [Lopes Vilasboas]”), along with the “perverse” Antônio Policarpo Cabral, “all protected from behind the curtain by the president.”¹⁰⁷ If Barbuda was right, then *Reflexões* reveals an interesting alliance. Antônio Calmon, the conservative former deputy and planter who had tried to calm the agitation in December 1823, now collaborated with Cabral, a radical during those events, silenced in February 1824, but active in opposition to Viana in April. The two had found common cause in their opposition to Barbuda’s despotism, one out of family connections, the other out of sympathy for the young alferes’s political position.

Barbuda continued to complain to the emperor about Viana, who “does not stop conspiring against me.” Even before this complaint reached Rio de Janeiro, however, Pedro had accepted Viana’s “earnest request” to be replaced. The “real truth” behind this was, according to the British representative in the capital, that it had become “necessary to name another person to the office, who is not native of, or connected to, the province.”¹⁰⁸ João Severiano Maciel da Costa (the future viscount and marquis of Queluz) arrived in Bahia in June to take control of the provincial administration. Like Barbuda, he was closely connected to the

105. Barbuda to Pedro, 14 Mar. 1825, in Castro, *Tipografia*, 41.

106. Vianna to Resende, 26 Mar. 1824, APEB, vol. 675, fol. 302; and 9 Apr. 1824, AN/IJJ^o, vol. 1, fol. 132.

107. Barbuda to Pedro, 14 Mar. 1825; Barbuda to Vieira de Carvalho, 23 Mar. 1825, in Castro, *Tipografia*, 43, 45.

108. Barbuda to Vieira de Carvalho, 17 Apr. 1825, AN/SPE, IG¹, maço 249, fol. 530; Chamberlain to Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 15 Apr. 1825, BNA/FO 13, vol. 9, fol. 41v.

emperor. Barbuda remained in his post until October, an indication of Pedro's confidence in his harsh methods for dealing with political dissidents.¹⁰⁹

José Antônio da Silva Castro enjoyed a fate very different from that of Sátiro and Vilasboas. Barbuda's instructions explicitly declared that, if the major had not committed any crimes after November 3, 1824, then he should not be tried and merely be sent to Rio de Janeiro.¹¹⁰ On February 12, 1825, "without the slightest hesitation," the commission judged him innocent, but this judgment was only published on May 30.¹¹¹ When Castro returned to Salvador on the same ship that brought Vilasboas, Barbuda had him incarcerated for his own protection, for he had many "enemies, especially among the troops."¹¹² In early June, Castro was sent back to Rio de Janeiro, where he spent the next years in limbo, repeatedly requesting permission to return to Bahia. In late 1827, Barbuda (now Bahia's president) accepted him back in the province and sent him to combat bandits in the interior, where he settled and eventually turned himself into a wealthy landowner.¹¹³

Castro's contemporaries marveled at his escape from justice. Three days after the announcement of his acquittal, the major published the sentence as an appendix to a justification of his conduct. In this pamphlet, he blamed Captain Macário for Caldeira's murder and insisted on his services on behalf of order during all of the incidents in the second half of 1823 and in October 1824. The *Grito da Razão* did not let this justification go uncontested and pointed out that Castro had omitted any mention of the incidents of April 1 and June 29, 1824. It concluded that Castro "only changed his colors, or began to do services after October 27, when the two battalions retreated to Abrantes."¹¹⁴ Much of the "Memória descritiva" is likewise devoted to proving Castro's complicity in

109. Visconde de Queluz (Maciel da Costa) to Barão de Lages (Vieira de Carvalho), 29 Oct. 1825, AN/SPE, IG¹, maço 114, fol. 478.

110. "Instruções dadas ao Governador das Armas," Rio de Janeiro, 18 Nov. 1824 (copy), BN/SM, II-31, 36, 4.

111. Barbuda to Pedro, 31 May 1825, AHMI-POB-27-01.1825, Bar.c 1-8.

112. Barbuda to Vieira de Carvalho, 6 June 1825, AN/SPE, IG¹, maço 114, fol. 535r.

113. Barbuda to Minister of War Bento Barroso Pereira, 22 Dec. 1827 (copy), Arquivo Histórico do Exército, Requerimentos, JJ-187-4516; inventário of José Antonio da Silva Castro and Joana de S. João Castro, APEB, Seção Judiciária, Inventários e Testamentos, 03/1021/1490/01.

114. José Antonio da Silva Castro, *Justificação do sargento-mor . . .* (Salvador: Typographia Nacional, 1825), 5-6, 14-24 (we thank Karen Racine for providing a copy of this pamphlet); Philo Patricio, Correspondência, *Suplemento ao Grito da Razão*, 29 June 1825.

Caldeira's murder.¹¹⁵ Some defended the major by noting that he had at least kept the Periquitos under a semblance of discipline after the murder and that he had secured their embarkation in December.¹¹⁶ Regardless of their reasons, authorities came to accept the plausible, if far from certain view that Castro had not been directly involved in the murder.

The military commission wound up its work on May 30; constitutional guarantees were restored and a permanent court-martial took over the cases against 37 army officers, 3 militia officers, and 3 cadets.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, court-martial records are still not available to researchers, so we can say nothing about the course of these prosecutions. These 43 men also faced civilian charges once their military trials were over. In September, 4 alferes were acquitted by the civilian Tribunal da Relação (High Court); 3 of them were immediately discharged from the army on grounds of ill health, which may have resulted from poor prison conditions.¹¹⁸ Others languished longer in jail, winning release only late in the 1820s. Most resumed their military careers, and some played active roles in politics in the federalist and military revolts and conspiracies of the 1830s.¹¹⁹

Unlike their officers, the soldiers involved in the revolt were not tried. "Incorrigible enlisted men" were summarily dismissed.¹²⁰ The repression took on racial connotations with the removal from Salvador of the remaining freed soldiers. On the grounds that such black men were less dangerous at sea than on land, many were sent to the navy.¹²¹ The Periquitos on the expedition to Pernambuco were not allowed to land at Recife; some prisoners from the Confederação do Equador were put aboard, and the transport sailed for Rio de Janeiro (the two groups no doubt had much to discuss during the voyage). Nor were they allowed to disembark at the capital. Their ship anchored under the guns of a fort and, within three weeks, the majority of these soldiers were on their way to Montevideo. Not long thereafter, worries about the loyalty of the "blacks

115. "Memoria descritiva," 305–20.

116. *O Grito da Razão na Corte do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro), 23 Feb. 1825.

117. "Relação dos reos militares," 6 July 1825, AN/SPE, IG¹, maço 114, fols. 537v–38r.

118. "Relação dos officiaes do extincto B.^{am} N.^o 3 . . . que . . . forão absolvidos . . .,"

27 Sep. 1825, AN/SPE, IG¹, maço 250, fol. 845.

119. Kraay, *Race*, 125, 159–60.

120. Brito to Vianna, 14 Dec. 1824, BN/SM, II-31, 36, 15; "Esquadrão. Relação das praças incorregiveis . . .," BN/SM, II-34, 1, 3, doc. 267.

121. Barbuda to Vianna, 9 Feb. 1825, APEB, maço 3365; and 24 Nov. 1824, BN/SM, II-34, 1, 3, doc. 208.

and Pernambucans" sent to defend the empire's beleaguered southern outpost reached Rio de Janeiro.¹²²

Epilogue

Unlike the *Confederação do Equador*, the Periquitos' revolt and the conspiracies that preceded it failed to produce a clear statement of their underlying political goals. Nevertheless, the Bahian movement must be seen as part of the North's challenge to Pedro's increasingly authoritarian government. Sympathy for the *Confederação* and solidarity with the "Carvalhine party" did not necessarily mean a desire to separate from Brazil, nor did it imply a republican rejection of the monarchy, accusations frequently leveled at the emperor's opponents. On the contrary, these positions expressed a liberal view of Brazil, in which the monarch would be subject to the constitution, preferably one better than the charter that he had granted. Under such a regime, local autonomy and individual rights would be respected and meaningful citizenship granted to a larger part of the free population. This liberal project largely ignored slaves and certainly did not contemplate abolition.

In 1824, lacking ideologues of the caliber and talent of a Friar Caneca or a Cipriano Barata and facing a hostile governor of arms (but an indulgent president), Bahia's defenders of a liberal regime were reduced to barracks conspiracy. The circulation in Bahia of newspapers, manifestos, and other "seditious" documents from Pernambuco, in addition to emissaries, meant that Bahians were well informed about events outside of their province. In this light, the Bahian rebels were not original thinkers, but they certainly embraced the cause of liberalism, clearly expressed by their October 30 manifesto against Caldeira and in the many radical liberal statements recorded by their opponents.

The movement's unraveling in the last days of October 1824 reveals both the limits of this liberal project and the different interests of the revolt's leadership. Some rebel leaders apparently sought only a readjustment of the local political order, while others were more committed to radical change. All sought to advance their goals by mobilizing the soldiers, but this leadership splintered when the violence got out of hand with Caldeira's murder. Castro, for one, hastened to distance himself from those involved in the murder and later cast the

122. Raguet to Adams, Rio de Janeiro, 31 Jan., 17 Feb., and 11 Mar. 1825, United States, National Archives and Records Service, T-172, roll 3; Chamberlain to Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 31 Jan. 1825, BNA/FO 13, vol. 8, fol. 115v; Mr. Hood to Chamberlain, Montevideo, 5 May 1825 (copy), BNA/FO 13, vol. 9, fol. 105.

blame on Macário, even as he helped the captain escape (likely to prevent him from offering incriminating testimony). Castro's trajectory parallels those of both Caldeira and Viana; whether out of ideological conviction, personal preference, or fears for their class position, all three abandoned their longer or shorter flirtations with radical liberalism (or, in Viana's case, indulgence toward it) and cast their lot with the imperial regime. Even so, Viana continued to seek compromise between the Bahian oligarchy and the monarchy as he tried to mitigate the repression.

Whether the Periquitos' revolt can be considered a "popular" movement remains a difficult question to answer. The more ideologically committed or radical of the revolt's leadership—men such as Galvão, Macário, and other mostly junior officers—were not afraid to mobilize lower-class soldiers and civilians under the banners of Lusophobia and antiabsolutism, appeals that spoke to their economic and political oppression. For Viana and others of his class, and indeed even for men like Castro, such appeals to the popular classes amounted to playing with fire, as they ultimately threatened the entire social order. To present the issue in this way, however, reduces the lower classes to mere instruments of rabble-rousers, much as the authorities did when they tried only rebel leaders. The lowest-ranking military man tried was the corporal from Pernambuco, Bento José da Costa. Still, on occasion, we can see soldiers' active and autonomous participation. The October 30 manifesto was also written in their name, and we suspect that literate soldiers signed it. While the Periquitos soldiers generally followed their officers, at key moments they pushed them forward or exceeded them in their radicalism. They rejected the orders to dismiss Castro—after he himself had decided to obey—and opposed their unit's departure from Bahia. Indeed, Castro had great difficulty controlling his men in the days immediately after the murder. And it is possible that some soldiers put their ideas in writing through the "incoherent sentences" that the author of the "Memória descritiva" attributed to outside agitators who wrote to make themselves understood among uneducated soldiers. Castro's success in preventing an independent (popular?) revolt of the soldiery may well have been the main reason for his lenient treatment.

The civilian popular classes are almost entirely absent from the Periquitos' revolt. There is little indication of their involvement in the protests, conspiracies, and revolts of 1824. To be sure, there are several references to the populace's presence at São Pedro Fort during the first hours of the revolt, and the president received word of 1,300 "military men and civilians" gathered there. But the latter quickly disappeared from the movement, perhaps under pressure from officers. Civilians are much more visible in the accounts of the anti-

Portuguese violence and of the altercations among soldiers in the second half of 1823, and in the protests of December 13. It appears that the December 17 act and the imposition of the constitution in February 1824 initiated a closing of political space to popular and civilian groups. Viana's conciliatory policy and Caldeira's reluctance to move at once against Castro and the Periquitos allowed the military conspiracy to continue, but with few popular repercussions. Caldeira likely felt too weak to act decisively, and Viana sought to keep his options open. Such caution made sense so long as Pernambuco's resistance to Rio de Janeiro continued.

It is likewise difficult to assess the role of race in the Periquitos' revolt. A relatively small number of sources, particularly French consul Guinebaud's reports, stress that it was a rebellion of black and mulatto battalions, opposed by "white" troops who withdrew to Abrantes.¹²³ This is certainly an overly simplistic view, if taken literally. No formal segregation existed in the army, in contrast to the militia, and what impressed well-informed observers like Brant and Viana about all the soldiers in 1824 was the fact that there were far more nonwhite men among them than there had been before independence. Moreover, in his warnings against the "extreme danger of admitting blacks [*Nègres*]" into the army, Guinebaud ignored the loyalty of the black militia, the Henriques.¹²⁴

Yet racial questions certainly underlay the movement and especially the reaction to it. The commander of the loyalist battalions justified his men's refusal to fraternize with the Periquitos on the grounds that they were "freedmen and criminals," which implied their racial as well as their social origins. The efforts to remove black and freed soldiers from the garrison amounted to an attempt to whiten the soldiery. Here, race and politics merged. In the same way, Brant conflated race, class, and politics when he grumbled about the politicized "rabble of all colors" in the campaign against the constitution. He likely would have agreed with Follett's mid-1824 assessment that "the mulattoes and blacks . . . have in the past contentions acquired confidence and strength."¹²⁵ While there was no formal racial segregation among the troops, civil and mili-

123. Guinebaud's observations have been widely cited: Ubiratan Castro de Araujo, "Sans gloire: Le soldat noire sous le drapeau brésilien, 1798–1838," in *Pour l'histoire du Brésil: Mélanges offerts à Kátia de Queirós Mattoso*, ed. François Crouzet et al. (Paris: Harmattan, 2000), 538; Kraay, *Race*, 132; Kraay, "Identidade," 534; João José Reis, *Rebelião escrava no Brasil: A história do levante dos malês em 1835* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003), 53–55.

124. Guinebaud to Ministre de Marines, 5 Dec. 1824, *AAPEB* 39 (1970): 172.

125. Follett to Canning, 2 Aug. 1824, BNA/FO 63, vol. 281, fol. 85v.

tary authorities perceived the greatest danger among a battalion composed of mostly dark-skinned, lower-class soldiers.

No doubt Caldeira's murder and the subsequent dangerous impasse between rebel and legalist forces convinced many that liberal ideals and regional autonomy should be sacrificed on the altar of order. Nevertheless, the lack of actual violence and disorder while Salvador was controlled by rebel troops is surprising. If Macário was really planning to sack the city, he managed to convince no one to follow him. In the end, Viana's policy of compromise and conciliation, shared by most officers, proved to be highly effective, if not appreciated in Rio de Janeiro. Viana was, moreover, not the only one in Bahia to reject the violent repression led by Barbuda and the military commission. Nevertheless, the first months of 1825 marked a fundamental change in the terms of the relationship between Rio de Janeiro and Bahia. Viana's immediate successors in the presidency were men closely tied to the court, for Pedro now refused to govern the province through representatives of the local ruling class with their own views of how best to rule.

The Race to Progress: Census Taking and Nation Making in Brazil (1870–1920)

Mara Loveman

The “glorious mission” of the population census, wrote the interim director of Brazil’s General Directorate of Statistics in 1875, is “so noble that census agents should be considered apostles of civilization, of justice and of the happiness of peoples.”¹ The idea that census taking was crucial to states’ pursuit of progress was still relatively new in the 1870s. Brazilians adopted the idea from leading European practitioners of the new science of statistics. In 1853, a select group of statisticians led by the Belgian Adolph Quetelet created the International Statistical Congress (ISC) and began to issue standardized recommendations for how, when, and toward what ends states should enumerate their populations. Within a few decades, national censuses became recognized internationally as a basic, even defining, activity of a modern nation-state. By the beginning of the twentieth century, nearly all European states and most in the Americas had attempted at least one national demographic census.²

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1. Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Recenseamento da população do Imperio do Brazil a que se procedeu no dia 1 de agosto de 1872* (Rio de Janeiro: A Directoria, 1873–76), “Quadros Geraes,” vol. 19, pp. 1–2.

2. Theodore M. Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820–1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986); Alain Desrosières, *The Politics of Large Numbers: A History of Statistical Reasoning* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1998); Marc J. Ventresca, “When States Count: Institutional and Political Dynamics in Modern Census

Brazil was among the first Latin American countries to create a central statistics agency to take regular demographic censuses of its population.³ Created in 1870, the official mission of Brazil's *Directoria Geral de Estatística* (DGE) was to facilitate national progress through the collection and publication of statistics that revealed crucial facts about the condition of the population.⁴ Like the central statistics agencies of other states, the DGE would combine the authorities of science and the state as it worked to produce statistical knowledge to guide government action. The DGE would combine its preeminently descriptive mission with explicit and implicit policy prescriptions for the advancement of the nation.⁵

This article examines the DGE's efforts to simultaneously document and promote Brazil's progress as a nation from 1870 to 1920. In this period, the agency's vision of the qualities of the population essential for Brazilian progress underwent a dramatic shift. From Brazil's first census in 1872 to the fourth

Establishment, 1800–1993" (PhD diss., Stanford Univ., 1995); John Meyer, "The World Polity and the Authority of the Nation-State," in *Institutional Structure: Constituting State, Society, and the Individual*, ed. George M. Thomas, John W. Meyer, Francisco O. Ramirez, and John Boli (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1987), chap. 2.

3. Most Latin American states created a central statistics agency and attempted at least one national census before the end of the nineteenth century. By 1930 every Latin American state but one (Ecuador) had done so. Mara Loveman, "Nation-State Building, 'Race' and the Production of Official Statistics: Brazil in Comparative Perspective" (PhD diss., UCLA, 2001).

4. Laws pertaining to the DGE are collected in *Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Legislação básica dos recenseamentos de 1872 e 1890* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1951), *Documentos censitários*, Serie A, Número 1; Aloysio Villela de Azevedo, *Os recenseamentos no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1990). The present study does not aim to provide a comprehensive institutional history of the DGE or to trace its antecedents; for such an account, see Nelson Senra's insightful and encyclopedic *História das Estatísticas Brasileiras*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 2006); Joaquim Norberto de Souza e Silva, *Investigações sobre os recenseamentos da população geral do Império e de cada provincia de per si tentados desde os tempos coloniais até hoje* (1870; São Paulo: Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas, 1980); Maria Luiza Marcílio, "Levantamentos censitários da fase proto-estatística do Brasil," *Anais da Historia* 9 (1977): 63–75; Tarcísio Rodrigues Botelho, *População e nação no Brasil do século XIX* (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1998).

5. Desrosières, *Politics of Large Numbers*. Desrosières notes how statistical agencies created by nineteenth-century modernizing states were ambiguously positioned within the field of science and the only partially overlapping field of public administration. This dual positioning was reflected in their mission, which was simultaneously descriptive (science) and prescriptive (public administration). See also Silvana Patriarca, *Numbers and Nationhood: Writing Statistics in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996).

in 1920, the DGE produced increasingly racist descriptions of the Brazilian population and increasingly racist prescriptions for national progress.⁶ From 1870 to 1920, the idea of progress itself became racialized within the bureaucratic agency whose mission was to produce objective statistical knowledge to inform enlightened governance.

Previous scholarship has drawn attention to the production of racial statistics by Brazil's DGE, focusing especially on the use of census data to bolster claims that the Brazilian population was gradually becoming whiter.⁷ But prior accounts have missed the significant shift that occurred in the DGE's vision of national progress. This oversight most likely stems from heavy reliance on limited published sources. By supplementing analysis of published census documents with a broad range of archival sources, including interagency reports, internal memos, personnel records, official correspondence, and media coverage, the gradual but unmistakable racialization of the DGE's working definition of progress over this period comes into clear view.

The analysis of official census categories may offer clues to elite racial ideologies.⁸ Yet the DGE's increasing concern with the racial makeup of the population is not directly evident from the questions or categories that appeared on census questionnaires. The first general census of Brazil, in 1872, included a "color" query. But "color" was omitted from census forms in 1900 and 1920. Prior accounts of the history of racial classification in Brazil's censuses have speculated that this omission "was probably due to the elite's intent to downplay Brazil's racial composition."⁹ However, the racial makeup of the Brazilian popu-

6. Racism refers to "the conviction that human beings . . . can be partitioned into discrete kinds whose reproduction turns on natural processes such as inheritance." Racism refers to the "belief that the value and potential of individuals follows from their membership in the various races of humankind." Lawrence A. Hirschfeld, *Race in the Making: Cognition, Culture and the Child's Construction of Human Kinds* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 3. See also Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Racisms," in *Anatomy of Racism*, ed. David Theo Goldberg (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1990), 4–5.

7. Edith Piza and Fúlvvia Rosenberg, "Color in the Brazilian Census," in *Race in Contemporary Brazil*, ed. Rebecca Reichmann (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1999); Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2000); Edward E. Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press 2004).

8. Sharon M. Lee, "Racial Classifications in the US Census: 1890–1990," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16, no. 1 (1993): 75–94; Charles Hirschman, "The Meaning and Measurement of Ethnicity in Malaysia: An Analysis of Census Classifications," *Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 3 (1987): 555–82.

9. Telles, *Race in Another America*, 31.

lation featured much more prominently in the publication and discussion of the 1920 census results than it did in 1872.

The mismatch between the years when color questions were included in the Brazilian census and the years when the DGE focused attention on the racial composition of the Brazilian population suggests that the cultural and political significance of census categories (or their absence) may be misinterpreted when these categories are detached from the conditions of their production and the contexts of their use. Despite the removal of the "color" question from the 1900 and 1920 censuses, Brazil's central statistics agency concerned itself much more with the racial composition of the Brazilian population in the first two decades of the twentieth century than in the final decades of the nineteenth.

Analysis of the work undertaken by the DGE in this period offers new evidence in support of Thomas Skidmore's argument that, prior to the definitive abolition of Brazilian slavery in 1888, prominent Brazilian thinkers did not show much concern about race per se as an obstacle to national development.¹⁰ This study also illuminates how transformations in Brazilian social thought during the transitions from monarchy to republic, and from slavery to abolition, translated into the practical activities of statesmen and bureaucrats whose job it was to produce objective statistical portraits of the modernizing Brazilian nation. Moving from intellectual history to the history of the political and cultural construction of the nation-state, this study contributes to a growing body of research that investigates how ideas about race shaped the development of core state institutions in Latin America.¹¹ National statistics agencies are especially rich sites for this line of inquiry because of their position, from the mid-nineteenth century, at the intersection of three driving projects of modernization: the political project of developing the administrative infrastructure and authority of a modern state, the cultural project of constructing the communal

10. Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought*, 2nd ed. (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1994). Debates in the 1870s over Chinese immigration as a temporary alternative to slave labor were an important exception to this generalization. Opponents invoked biological metaphors suggesting the "unassimilability" of the Chinese and their "degenerative" influence. Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1999), 14–39.

11. Nancy Appelbaum, "Post-Revisionist Scholarship on Race," *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 3 (October 2005): 206–17; Peter M. Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864–1945* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2001); Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2003); Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*.

bonds (the imagined community) of a modern nation, and the scientific project of producing useful knowledge about the population in whose name the nation-state claimed its legitimacy to govern.¹²

Existing studies in the social history of statistics highlight how official numbers, backed by the authority of science and the state, do not merely describe social reality, but help to constitute it. Censuses reify nations as abstract “things,” as collective entities that are more than the sum of their parts. Beyond the projection of a particular “face of the nation,” the multiple uses of census data create tremendous potential for influence on the categories and concepts through which society is represented and understood. The constitutive work done by official statistics is well illustrated in studies such as Silvana Patriarca’s account of the statistical construction of regions in nineteenth-century Italy, George Reid Andrews’s account of the demographic disappearance of Afro-Argentines, and Margo Anderson’s account of the gendered definition of productive labor in early U.S. censuses.¹³ The power of official statistics to shape national self-understandings and guide the distribution of resources within populations is also clearly understood by members of minority groups who have struggled, and in many contexts continue to struggle, to be named and counted in national censuses.

The present study underscores why questions and categories on census forms have become such high-stakes political and symbolic struggles in the contemporary world. At the same time, analysis of the DGE’s evolving description of Brazil’s population and prescription for national progress suggests the need to look beyond official census categories to understand how statistics, and those who produce them, may alter the social reality they describe.

12. On censuses and state formation, see e.g. Stuart Woolf, “Statistics and the Modern State,” *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 31 (1989): 588–604. On censuses and nation making, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), chap. 10; on censuses as instruments (and displays) of science, see Desrosières, *Politics of Large Numbers*. The fascination of the Brazilian elite with Comtean positivism and the associated rationalist project of state-directed development based on scientific knowledge manifested itself in public health, military, educational, and various other state initiatives during the First Republic. The DGE was one project within a much bigger and multifaceted nation- and state-building endeavor aimed at “order and progress”—the slogan on the Brazilian flag, which was lifted directly out of Comte’s writing.

13. Patriarca, *Numbers and Nationhood*; George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Wisconsin: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Margo J. Anderson, “The History of Women and the History of Statistics,” *Journal of Women’s History* 4, no. 1 (1992): 14–36.

Nation Making via Education: Measuring Progress in the 1870s

The 1870 law creating the General Directorate of Statistics and calling for the first general census of Brazil coincided with two momentous events in Brazilian history: the end of the Paraguayan War (also known as the War of the Triple Alliance), and the so-called Law of the Free Womb. The costly and ill-managed victory in war, enabled in part by the participation in the army of freed slaves and convicts, underscored the Brazilian state's incomplete consolidation of authority and its lack of effective administrative control over its territory. The Law of the Free Womb granted freedom to children born of slave mothers, thus marking the onset of the gradual abolition of slavery and sparking debates over the future course of the Brazilian economy. For Brazil, the early 1870s were years of transition—from war to a period of peace, and from a society still firmly rooted in slave labor to one where slavery was gradually on its way out. It was not a coincidence that the project for a general census of Brazil emerged at this time, when the Brazilian political elite was busy “thinking the state and the nation.”¹⁴

Creation of the DGE was part of the postwar effort to strengthen and transform the Brazilian state and remake the image of the Brazilian nation. Due in part to the efforts and prestige of the International Statistical Congresses, by the 1870s official statistics were seen as an indispensable tool of enlightened governance. Brazilian political elites increasingly cited the absence of accurate population counts as a major obstacle to the formulation of rational public policy. A successful general census would provide the numbers needed to make (and to legitimate) enlightened policy decisions. At the same time, the act of taking the census would in itself bolster Brazil's claims to membership in the international club of “civilized nations.”

Not all of Brazil's imperial politicians supported the minister of empire's call to create a Directorate of Statistics to undertake a national census. But even the detractors—who complained of high cost, lack of adequate preparations, and overextension of central government authority—waxed eloquent about the

14. Botelho, *População e nação no Brasil do século XIX*, 7. This was actually Brazil's second attempt at a general census. The first, two decades earlier, was frustrated by a popular revolt against the civil registration decree that accompanied the census law. See Mara Loveman, “Blinded like a State: The Revolt against Civil Registration in Nineteenth-Century Brazil,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 1 (2007): 5–39; Guillermo Palacios, “A ‘Guerra dos Maribondos’: Uma revolta camponesa no Brasil escravista (Pernambuco, 1851–1852)—Primeira Leitura,” *História: Questões e Debates* 10 (1989): 7–75.

indisputable necessity of reliable statistics for any modern government.¹⁵ Those in favor of creating the DGE won the day; funds for the new directorate were allocated in 1871 and preparations for the 1872 census began.

A prominent member of the imperial political elite, Manuel Francisco Correia, was named the first general director of the DGE. Correia was an elected member of the Chamber of Deputies and subsequently a senator and councilor of state. When the legislature was in session, Correia took a leave of absence from the DGE, leaving the post to two (nonconsecutive) interim replacements, also prominent political appointees. The DGE was staffed by civil servants siphoned off from other offices within the government. Their lack of specific training or knowledge of statistics became a perennial concern in the reports of DGE directors.

The men in charge of the DGE during its first years recognized the symbolic import of their mission. Tellingly, in the annual report to the minister of empire in 1873, the interim director of the DGE, Dr. José Maria do Coutto, lamented that “the importance of statistics, recognized by almost all the civilized countries of Europe, unfortunately is still underappreciated among us.” It is through statistics, he continued, “that the great interests of the state are clarified and deepened [*aprofundados*]. The absence of this instrument of government characterizes the ignorance and barbarism of an epoch, of a country, and of an administration.”¹⁶

To leave no doubt that Brazil’s first general census conformed to the standards of a truly modern census, the decree stipulating the queries to be made in the census closely followed the recommendations of the International Statistical Congress (ISC). Certain queries, however, were tailored to the specific conditions of Brazilian society and concerns of the Brazilian state.¹⁷ Beyond the basic inquiries recommended by the ISC, the Brazilian census of 1872 included questions pertaining to individuals’ “condition” (*condição*) as slave, free, or freed; color; nationality; and school attendance.

15. José de Alencar argued forcefully against the creation of the DGE. José Martiniano de Alencar, *Discursos Parlamentares: Obra comemorativa do centenário de morte de José de Alencar*, *Perfis Parlamentares* 1 (Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados, 1977), 591–611.

16. Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Relatorio, Trabalhos estatísticos, Apresentado ao Illm e Exm. Sr. Conselheiro Dr. João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira, Ministro e Secretario d’Estado dos Negocios do Imperio pelo Director Geral Interino Dr. José Maria do Coutto* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Hypolito José Pinto, 1873), 43.

17. The ISC explicitly recognized the propriety of fitting the content of the census to national conditions.

The DGE prioritized “condition” above any other attribute in the organization and analysis of the results of the 1872 census. The first and most prominent table in the DGE’s report described the aggregate numbers and characteristics of the entire free population of the Brazilian Empire. The second table described the numbers and characteristics of the slave population. Thus the DGE depicted a Brazil composed of two fundamentally different populations—so different as to warrant segregating their statistical description into separate tables on separate pages.¹⁸

Information about the color of the population was subordinated to information on condition in all of the statistical tables in which it appeared. This suggests the DGE’s cognitive and pragmatic prioritization of distinctions based on condition over those of color in the production and interpretation of the 1872 census. The DGE used the terms “color” (*côr*) and “race” (*raça*) interchangeably in this period; while the 1872 census questionnaire referenced “*côr*,” the results were reported in columns labeled “*raça*.”¹⁹ The tables divided Brazil’s free population into four color/race categories: *branco* (white), *pardo* (brown or mixed black and white), *preto* (black), and *caboclo* (of indigenous race, “*de raça indigena*”). The slave population, meanwhile, was divided into *pardo* and *preto*, underlining the conceptual incompatibility of whiteness or indigenosity and slave status. Significantly, the DGE did not draw attention to the race/color of Brazilians as an indicator of the country’s present status or future prospects. This does not mean, of course, that these data were considered irrelevant, but it does indicate that other population characteristics were seen as more consequential.

Statistics on nationality, for example, garnered more interest as clues to Brazil’s prospects for development in 1872 than did statistics on race/color. In anticipation of the end of slavery, many Brazilian landowners and political elites looked to European immigration as a substitute source of rural labor.²⁰ The DGE evidently shared the view that European immigrants might replenish and revitalize a native Brazilian workforce “demoralized” by the institution of slavery. In a report to the minister of empire in 1873, the DGE lamented the low numbers of immigrant arrivals in relation to private and public expenditures in trying to attract them. The DGE looked forward with optimism to a not-too-

18. Brazil, DGE, *Recenseamento da população do Imperio do Brazil a que se procedeu no dia 1 de agosto de 1872*, “Quadros geraes.”

19. In 1890 “race or color” was listed as a single item in the list of mandated DGE queries. Decree no. 331 of April 12, 1890, Art. 2, Section 4, reproduced in Albino Esteves, *Directoria Geral de Estatística: Apontamentos históricos e extratos* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Comissão Censitária Nacional, 1941), 15.

20. Skidmore, *Black into White*; Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*.

remote future when “a robust, hard-working, moralized population will flow into our country, bringing with them new germs of life.”²¹

Much more than statistics on either nationality or race/color, the DGE treated statistics on education as the single most important indicator of national progress. In addition to the ISC’s recommended query on literacy, Brazil’s 1872 census included a question on school attendance. The DGE reports to the minister of empire stressed the importance of education for national progress: “The education of a people is the true thermometer that marks the degree of its civilization.” Bolstering this assertion with an appeal to French expertise, the report continued: “Education is the path to civilization [L’instruction c’est le droit à la civilisation], says Girardin.” Education, the report added, is “the great motor of national advancement,” propelling society “towards the highest and most noble patriotic aspirations.”²² The DGE director lamented that while “in all parts of the civilized world” the expansion of education had become a government priority, “it is painful to see that in Brazil, which already occupies a distinctive place among the nations, the level of education is still so disappointing [*ainda seja pouco lisongeiro*].” Comparing the number of schools in relation to the number of inhabitants in Brazil to the ratios of nine European countries plus the United States, the DGE reported that Brazil’s one school for every 1,738 free inhabitants fell far short of even the laggard Portuguese (with one school for every 1,100 inhabitants). Related to the shortage of educational facilities, the number of students in relation to the (free) population of Brazil (1/56) was also much lower than in the United States (1/4), France (1/8), Italy (1/15), or again, Portugal (1/32).²³ Slaves were excluded from the denominator in the calculation of Brazil’s comparative statistics. Had slaves been included, Brazil’s ranking would of course have looked much worse. While pointing out that much work needed to be done, the DGE was optimistic regarding the will and capacity of the government to put Brazil on the right path. The DGE’s interim director observed that any government so enlightened as to free the newborn children of slaves could be trusted to incorporate the “ignorant mass of the free population” into the nation in order to lead Brazil into the era of progress.

The DGE warned the minister of empire that a rapid increase in the number of schools was more important than ever in the wake of the Free Womb law. This argument was made, ironically, using the United States as an example: “In

21. Brazil, DGE, *Relatorio, Trabalhos estatísticos, Apresentado ao Illm e Exm. Sr. Conselheiro Dr. João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira* . . . (1873), 37.

22. *Ibid.*, 23–24.

23. *Ibid.*, 24, 27.

the United States, after the emancipation of the slaves in 1863, [the increase of schools] was one of the first concerns of Lincoln. . . . 'the citizen Peabody, alone, gave [great sums of money] to found primary schools for the blacks, and 6,000 schools were then started, and the black race,' says D. Antonio da Costa, 'the day before a race of animals, caught up almost instantly with the white race, becoming part of the nation.'²⁴ Through major investment in primary education, the DGE implied, Brazil's former slave population could be rapidly "civilized." Brazil's pursuit of progress could then proceed unfettered by the accumulated burdens of centuries of African slavery.

Subsequent annual reports of the DGE reiterated the call for government action to remedy the deplorable state of education in the Empire. While emphasizing the integrative and civilizing role of primary education for the masses, the DGE also warned of the dangers that could result from inaction, tapping into perennial fears of popular revolts, crime, and other threats to public order:

We are profoundly regretful that in a nation as rich and important as Brazil the education of the people is in such arrears, especially in the backlands [*sertões*], where the majority of the population is illiterate. You must understand the dangers that result from this and the evils that this state of affairs must bring about, the facility with which the ignorant mass of the population can be easily compelled to commit mad acts [*desatinos*] and disrespect the laws and institutions when they are guided by those who desire the realization of absurd, criminal and subversive ideas, who use [the people] as brute and powerful instruments to put their plans into effect.²⁵

In addition to issuing warnings in annual reports, DGE directors used official correspondence to press the imperial government to improve education. In a letter to the counselor of state, Visconde do Rio Branco, on the status of census results, Manuel Francisco Correia interjected that "the algorithms show that there is much to be done to improve popular education, on which so greatly depends the elevation [*engrandecimento*] of the country." A month later, Correia sent a letter to the minister of empire, Dr. João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira, with census results on education: "These algorithms tellingly reveal the intellectual

24. Ibid., 24, 28.

25. Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Relatorio e trabalhos estatísticos apresentado ao Illm e Exm. Sr. Conselheiro Dr. João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira, Ministro e Secretário do Estado dos Negocios do Imperio pelo Director Geral Interino Dr. José Maria do Coutto em 30 de abril de 1875* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de Pinto Brandão e Comp, 1875), "Instrução," 1.

backwardness of the country and they vividly indicate the indispensable need to improve a situation whose deplorable consequences cannot escape the enlightened judgment of Your Excellency. I am animated by the hope that, with the impulse that public instruction has been having among us, the next census will show noticeable improvement on this subject of such great public interest.”²⁶ Clearly, Correia linked the DGE’s work of statistical description in the 1872 census to explicit policy prescriptions for national progress: public education had to be expanded to elevate the mass of the free population and to ensure the integration of ex-slaves into the nation; to ignore this call was to undercut Brazil’s prospects for progress.

Correia’s concern with the integration of ex-slaves likely stemmed in part from his own participation in debates over abolition (he was a gradualist but in the end came down firmly on the side of abolition).²⁷ As director of the DGE, Correia and his interim substitutes also oversaw the creation and maintenance of a national slave registry.²⁸ The archived DGE correspondence from this period reveals a steady stream of letters to local officials inquiring about slave records and requesting that information be sent to the DGE.²⁹ The DGE reported in 1875 that the data collected were still incomplete but that once finished, the registry would enable the agency to use statistics on rates of death and manumission to “calculate the number of years necessary for the complete extinction of slaves [slavery] in the Empire.”³⁰

The slave registry (*matrícula*) was important for projecting the end of slavery and for stepping up government regulation of slaveholding in its final decades of legal existence. In principle, the obligatory slave registry helped protect the rights of the free colored and *libertos* (ex-slaves) against false claims that they were actually slaves. As Judy Freitas found, illicit trade in free persons in

26. Manuel Francisco Correia to Visconde do Rio Branco, 30 Nov. 1874; and Manuel Francisco Correia to Dr. João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira, 28 Dec. 1874, DGE *Minutas* 1874, Arquivo Nacional, Grupo de Identificação de Fundos Internos (hereafter GIF) 5C 266.

27. Waldemar de Almeida Barbosa, *A Câmara dos Deputados como fator de unidade nacional* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1977), 90.

28. Decree no. 4.835 of 1 Dec. 1871, cited in Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Relatorio, Trabalhos estatísticos, Apresentado ao Illm e Exm. Sr. Conselheiro Dr. João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira, Ministro e Secretario d’Estado dos Negocios do Imperio pelo Director Geral Conselheiro Manoel Francisco Correia* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Franco-Americana, 1874), 57.

29. See for example the DGE *Minutas* 1873, Arquivo Nacional, GIF 5C 264.

30. Brazil, DGE, *Relatorio e trabalhos estatísticos apresentado ao Illm e Exm. Sr. Conselheiro Dr. João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira . . .* (1875), “Escravos existentes no Imperio,” 1–2.

nineteenth-century Minas Gerais came to an end in the early 1870s, “when mandatory slave matriculation made illicit transactions more detectable.”³¹ In court battles to win or protect their freedom, the burden of proof traditionally fell on the individual claiming free status.³² The national matrícula helped to sharpen the distinction between free and slave and secure the position of libertos on the free side of the status divide.³³

During the 1870s, DGE directors emphasized how the transition from slavery would disrupt Brazilian progress in the absence of major government investment in the “civilizing” mechanism of primary education. The DGE also called for more schools to “elevate” the mass of the free population. Though its policy prescriptions would soon change, during the 1870s the DGE focused on education, not “whitening,” as the key to Brazil’s future as a nation.

The DGE’s calls for expanded education fell on deaf ears. Indeed, the education statistics that preoccupied the DGE were among the least of the monarchy’s concerns during this turbulent decade. Fierce intra- and inter-party debates over abolition, the role of the military in politics, and church-state relations dominated politics after the War of the Triple Alliance. Social and financial legacies of the war, including questions of resettlement of veterans, freedom for slaves who had soldiered in Paraguay, and the accumulated debt, also challenged the government.

In this context, the DGE fell prey to more pressing priorities. The government first suspended then cancelled the census planned for 1880.³⁴ The DGE’s subunits were eliminated and the remaining core was demoted to a section (*seção*) and shuffled from one ministry to another throughout the 1880s.³⁵ In the midst of the social turmoil and administrative disorganization that preceded the final abolition of slavery in 1888 and the transition from monarchy to republic in 1889, the remnant division of the DGE had its budget gutted further and its

31. Judy Bieber Freitas, “Slavery and Social Life: Attempts to Reduce Free People to Slavery in the Sertão Mineiro, Brazil, 1850–1871,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26 (1994): 597.

32. Sidney Chalhoub, *Visões da Liberdade: Uma história das últimas décadas da escravidão na corte* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998).

33. Freitas, “Slavery and Social Life,” 610.

34. The cancellation of the 1880 census may have owed in part to popular revolts in the northeast. Roderick J. Barman, “The Brazilian Peasantry Reexamined: The Implications of the Quebra-quilo Revolt, 1874–1875,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 2 (1977): 401–24.

35. The DGE was disassembled in accordance with Law 2792 of 20 Oct. 1879. Brazil, Ministério do Interior, *Relatório* 1891, 49.

staff virtually eliminated. Not until 1890, after the fall of the monarchy and the “rebirth” of Brazil as a federal republic, would the DGE be resurrected and its mission revived.

Nation Making via Immigration: Measuring Progress in the 1890s

The years following the transition from monarchy to republic entailed intense efforts to reconstruct the Brazilian state, define or redefine the Brazilian nation, and remake Brazil’s reputation abroad. Among its first acts, the republican government restored the General Directorate of Statistics, charged with undertaking the second general census of Brazil (Decree no. 113D of January 2, 1890). The census would provide a portrait of the Brazilian population at the onset of this new era in Brazilian history.

At least that was the idea. In practice, the DGE’s attempt to take the second census of Brazil turned out to be a sorry sequel to the first. Branded a “fiasco” by the *Jornal do Comercio* before the enumeration had even begun, the DGE was faulted for the lengthy and complicated questionnaire, delayed distribution of necessary forms, and last-minute preparation of the official census schedule (precluding any opportunity to make much-needed improvements). The acting DGE director, Timotheo da Costa, responded with a vigorous defense of the integrity of the census operations.³⁶ Later, however, a successor at the helm of the DGE conceded that the 1890 census had failed in many respects. In a “Synopsis” of the 1890 census published in 1898, DGE director T. Mendes da Rocha warned those who would use the results that “the second census operation of the Republic should not be considered more than a second rehearsal of a census,” so serious were the omissions and errors of method.³⁷

At the core, the failure of the 1890 census reflected the structural frailty of the central government vis-à-vis the states (former provinces), which had been codified in the federalist constitution of 1891. Like other reform projects during the First Republic, the success of the 1890 census hinged on the voluntary cooperation of state governments and their subordinates. Where this was forthcoming, the DGE could gather statistical information (of widely variable reliability); where it was not—whether due to countervailing interests or simple disinterest—the DGE had no means whatsoever to elicit compliance. In sum,

36. *Jornal do Comércio*, 22 Dec. 1890, p. 1; 25 Dec. 1890, pp. 1–2; 29 Dec. 1890, p. 1.

37. Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Synopse do recenseamento de 31 de dezembro de 1890* (Rio de Janeiro: Officina da Estadística, 1898).

like the central government more generally during the First Republic, the DGE suffered from lack of effective authority and administrative capacity.

Despite its defects, the 1890 census still illuminates how the DGE sought to measure Brazilian progress. By decree, the 1890 census was to follow the same regulations that applied to the 1872 census.³⁸ But the DGE ended up making several modifications to the 1872 census design. The DGE's gaze shifted away from statistics on education as a barometer of national progress and focused more intently on the national origins of the human beings who made up Brazil's population.

An official letter sent from DGE director Timotheo da Costa to the minister of interior on July 12, 1890, cataloged and justified changes to the 1890 census questionnaire.³⁹ Justification of some changes referred explicitly to the recommendations made by the International Statistical Congress at its 1872 meeting in St. Petersburg, Russia, citing the importance of international comparability of statistics. This was the case, for example, for the addition of the optional response "divorced" to the "civil status" inquiry. Deviations from ISC standards, such as the decision to stick with a family census form instead of switching to an individual one, and the exclusion of a question on language, were attributed to Brazil's differences from Europe.

The "condition" query, which had figured more prominently than any other in the organization and presentation of population statistics in 1872, was removed from the census schedule, yet this received no comment in the explanatory letter. In fact, a handwritten table comparing the queries included in the 1872 and 1890 censuses side by side did not list "condition" as a query in 1872. As if by magic (the magic of science), the shameful history of slavery had been erased from institutional memory.

Removal of another query that had figured centrally in the DGE's assessment of Brazil's prospects in 1872 did receive explicit attention. Da Costa explained that the question related to school attendance by children ages 6 to 15 was eliminated because "it was not the purpose of the census to conduct a statistical survey of schooling." The query that asked if an individual could read and write "would include minors who acquired this level of instruction in school as well as in the home [*no seio da familia*], a very reasonable method of instruction in many cases." Besides, da Costa continued, information on school attendance

38. Decree no. 113D of 2 Jan. 1890, article 3, cited in Azevedo, *Os recenseamentos no Brasil*, 92.

39. Officio no. 667, from DGE director Manoel Timotheo da Costa to the minister of interior, 12 July 1890, Arquivo Nacional, GIF1 5C 272.

could be acquired by filling in the column labeled “profession” with the word “student” in the case of minors who attend school.⁴⁰ Given the emphasis placed on school attendance by the DGE in the 1870s, da Costa’s decision to omit the query in 1890 is revealing of the DGE’s shifting vision of what facts about the population were worth knowing.

Meanwhile, three closely related additions to the census schedule in 1890 underlined the changing priorities of the DGE in taking stock of Brazil’s population: date of arrival of immigrants, adoption of Brazilian nationality, and country of birth of mother and father. As the DGE director explained, these additions “refer to facts of necessary statistical investigation in a country whose demographic state was, and for many years will continue to be, affected [*perturbados*] by two factors—slavery and immigration.”⁴¹ Date of arrival of immigrants was “information of great consequence . . . to find out about the immigrant’s fixity among us, his acclimatization in certain zones, longevity in our climate, etc.” The query on naturalization would “serve to correct the error . . . of confusing nationality [*nacionalidade*] with place of birth [*naturalidade*]” which could compromise the resulting picture of “actual reality.” And the question of paternal and maternal nationality was a means “to discover the proportions in which the coming of foreigners has contributed to the growth of the population.”⁴² In another context, da Costa elaborated that parental nationality was “an indispensable inquiry in censuses in the Americas” to “document the degree of homogeneity with which the national population was formed in a certain period” and to “show the coefficient of assimilation of the foreign element via the strongest of ties—those of domestic affections.”⁴³

In the years after abolition, Brazil’s government made concerted efforts to attract European immigrants while legally barring immigration by Asians and Africans. These efforts were promoted by powerful segments of Brazil’s political elite as a means to solve its (putative) post-abolition labor problem while simultaneously providing a eugenic boost to Brazil’s native-born population. An influx of Europeans would help Brazil buck the predictions of European and North American scientists that Brazil would never advance due to the racial makeup of its population.⁴⁴ Brazil’s policies supporting European immigra-

40. Ibid., 6.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., 5, 7.

43. Brazil, Ministerio do Interior, *Relatorio 1891*, Anexo E, “Relatorio da DGE,” 43.

44. This theme has received extensive treatment elsewhere. See especially Skidmore, *Black into White*; Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*; Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1991).

tion and opposing Asian and African immigration were also part of a broader regional trend; scientific racism influenced immigration policies throughout the Americas in this period. In this context, statistics on immigration began to garner much more attention as key indicators of the developmental trajectory of the Brazilian nation.

In the lead-up to the 1890 census, the DGE also expressed a new concern about the “accuracy” of statistics that described the racial composition of the population. The 1872 census had used the categories *white*, *black*, *parda*, and *cabocla* to describe the “raça” of the Brazilian population. In the 1890 census, the *white*, *black*, and *cabocla* categories remained unchanged, but the category *parda* was replaced with *mestiça*. Piza and Rosemberg suggest that this change reflected “concern about miscegenation” and that “*mestiça* referred exclusively to the union of blacks and whites.”⁴⁵ However, in the letter to the minister of interior in which he justified changes to the 1872 census schedule, the DGE director explained that *mestiça* was used because it was more “generic.” While *parda* included only the “the product of the mixture of white and black,” *mestiça* also included those resulting from mixtures involving “representatives of the indigenous race.”⁴⁶

The DGE director justified the terminological substitution on technical grounds: “As was proven by the census of 1872, a very well-known social prejudice frustrates the precise ascertainment of the ethnic fact [*facto étnico*] that results from the fusion of the African element.” Therefore, it was best to “include it together with [the fusion] that derives from *cabocla* origin, even though, in the interests of science, it would be more advantageous to distinguish them.”⁴⁷ The change would facilitate data collection in the face of Brazilians’ “social prejudice.” Since *mestiça* did not necessarily imply any African ancestry, it would avoid the intimation of lower social status that was connected to the term *parda* and thus encourage more “accurate” responses.

The switch from the category *parda* to *mestiça* to represent the “mixed” population may have been a response to international social prejudices as well.

45. Piza and Rosemberg, “Color in the Brazilian Census,” 41. Piza and Rosemberg also write that in comparison with the census of 1872, “in 1890, with the change from a monarchy to a republic and the end of slavery, the census was less concerned with race and more concerned with the nationalities represented in the population” (p. 39). In fact, the DGE became more concerned with both “nationality” and “race” between 1872 and 1890.

46. Offício no. 667, da Costa to the minister of interior, 12 July 1890, Arquivo Nacional, GIF 5C 272, p. 4.

47. Ibid., 4. The justification for substituting *mestiço* for *pardo* also appears in the DGE’s annual report in 1891 (Brazil, Ministerio do Interior, *Relatorio 1891*, Anexo E, 41).

Efforts to promote a positive image of Brazil overseas often entailed self-conscious attempts to obscure the sizable presence of Africans and their descendants.⁴⁸ Official statistical tables describing Brazil's population using the categories *whites*, *blacks*, *caboclos*, and *mestiços* made Brazil's racial composition appear more like its Spanish American neighbors. This impression was reinforced by the French translation of subheadings in the 1890 census tables. Underneath the Portuguese categories, in smaller font, were the words *blancs*, *noirs*, *indiens*, and *métis*. Few international readers were likely to be aware that the Brazilian Portuguese term *mestiço* was not used synonymously with the most common use of the Spanish *mestizo* or the French *métis*.

Whether intended or not, substitution of *mestiça* for *parda* in the Brazilian census of 1890 made it impossible to see the relative size of the mixed population with African ancestry. And since the reported proportion of blacks in the entire population had decreased from the 1872 census (from 19.7 percent to 14.6 percent), the overall image presented by the 1890 census was inevitably less "black" than it had been in 1872. The statistical tables published in the national census thus helped to downplay, for both national and international audiences, the demographic legacy of Brazil's long and ignoble affair with African slavery. Brazil was the single largest importer of African slaves in the New World and the last country in the region to abolish slavery—two facts that were barely discernible from the 1890 census.

The DGE's institutional mission did not change between 1870 and 1890. In the Empire, as in the First Republic, the DGE produced official statistics with an eye to tracking and promoting the progress of the nation. But by the 1890s, the operational definition of "progress" in the DGE's work had silently undergone a substantive shift. This shift was evident in the subtle change in the DGE's official color terminology and in the addition of new immigration queries and subtraction of the query on school attendance from the 1890 census schedule. Instead of continuing to highlight educational statistics as key measures of progress, the DGE of the 1890s looked instead to indicators of immigration to assess the prospects of the Brazilian nation. In the decades that followed, the DGE's implicit prescription for European immigration and concern to document a gradually whitening population would become more explicit.

48. Skidmore, *Black into White*.

Nation Making via Selective Immigration: Measuring Progress in the 1900s

The efforts to resuscitate the DGE after 1889 were all but lost in the series of political and economic crises that plagued the first years of republican government.⁴⁹ The same basic weakness that undermined countless political projects of Brazil's First Republic—the failure of efforts to strengthen the power of the central government and modernize the bureaucratic administration of the country—seriously debilitated the institutional mission of the DGE. The DGE warned the government that it neglected the state of official statistics to its own peril. Claiming a “universal” consensus that statistics were the “essential” and “indispensable” basis for governance, the DGE invoked the words of a respected English statesman to drive home its point: “In the actual state of the development of civilization, no government will be able to fulfill its administrative mission or make its nation prosper without the assistance of statistics and of the advice that results from the facts that statistics collects and demonstrates.”⁵⁰ Such pronouncements were useless. The DGE limped through the first decade of the twentieth century with a decreasing budget and insufficient personnel to fulfill its mandated tasks.⁵¹

Despite the administrative and political obstacles, and with fewer than 20 functionaries in the first years of the new century, DGE director José Luiz de Bulhões Carvalho was determined to fulfill the agency's institutional mission of producing usable official statistics to inform good government. A doctor turned bureaucrat and rising member of the political elite, Bulhões Carvalho was appointed to direct the DGE from his position in the General Directorate of Public Health. Though he would later gain recognition for his important contributions to Brazilian statistics, when Bulhões Carvalho first arrived at the DGE he failed to salvage the fiasco that was the 1900 census. The census had

49. In the words of the DGE director in 1907, “The reorganization of the General Directorate of Statistics in 1890, which gave it some hope of greater development in the more or less remote future, was followed by regressive modifications, making it nonviable as an organized institution and therefore without the compensatory fruits to justify its expense in the budget.” Brazil, *Directoria Geral de Estatística, Relatório apresentado ao Dr. Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, Ministro da Indústria, Viação e Obras Públicas, pelo Dr. José Luiz S. de Bulhões Carvalho* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia da Estatística, 1908), 16.

50. *Ibid.*, 15.

51. In the report for 1902, for example, the DGE director complained that the agency's obligations kept growing while personnel continued to shrink. Brazil, *Directoria Geral de Estatística, Relatório apresentado ao Ministro da Indústria, Viação e Obras Públicas, pelo Director Geral* (Rio de Janeiro: Officina da Estatística, 1902).

been a procedural disaster in many states. The DGE lacked the administrative authority or capacity to make local officials carry out the enumeration across the vast territory of the country. Tellingly, the DGE could not even pull off the census in Rio de Janeiro, where defects were grave enough to warrant canceling the enumeration altogether.⁵² The only official publication of the census results was a “Synopsis of the Census of 1900” that included data on the population by municipality and by sex.⁵³ Additional statistics from the census were included in annual reports and in a publication prepared for a national exhibition in Rio in 1908.

Replete with statistical tables (with titles translated into French and Esperanto) and photographs of prominent buildings (several of which were modeled after buildings found in Paris), the “Commemorative Bulletin of the National Exposition of 1908” showcased Brazil’s façade of material progress. The bulletin honored the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the Portuguese king in Brazil and allowed the DGE to publicize its ongoing efforts to “stimulate progress in Brazil to raise her reputation in the civilized world.”⁵⁴ In the introduction, Bulhões Carvalho summarized the volume’s contents and noted that “the nature of this publication does not permit any commentary other than the simple description of the algorithms.”⁵⁵

For the most part, Bulhões Carvalho delivered “simple description,” withholding any interpretation or analysis. This makes the paragraphs devoted to immigration statistics all the more striking:

In the space of 88 years, from 1820 to 1907, 2,561,482 immigrants entered Brazilian ports. . . . The Portuguese *colonos* occupy second place and represent a large number; although they are excellent from several points of view, they do not constitute ideal immigrant material. In this respect, we can repeat today, with general application to the whole country, what we wrote in 1895 in the *Annuário de estatística demographo-sanitária*:

“Only . . . the Portuguese are inclined to stay in the country, to which they feel connected by the identity of origin, of religion, of language, and of blood, as if forming a single family. These conditions, however, which make the Portuguese deserved of esteem and facilitate extraordinarily

52. A separate census of Rio de Janeiro was undertaken in 1906.

53. Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Synopse do Recenseamento de 31 de dezembro de 1900* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia da Estatística, 1905).

54. Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Boletim Commemorativo da Exposição Nacional de 1908* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia da Estatística, 1908), 7.

55. *Ibid.*, 41.

the union of the two *povos*, are very unfavorable for the development of the race, obstructing new elements from fortifying national vitality. Unfortunately, in the places where the Portuguese *colonias* predominate the other foreign elements are put off, and since today progress in industry, in commerce, in letters and in the arts is better represented by these other peoples [*povos*] than by the old Portugal with its grand historical traditions, our nationality is deprived of the progressive force that it needs for its development.”⁵⁶

No other statistics presented in the bulletin warranted such extensive editorial comment. Not even the data on Brazil's racial composition received a word of analysis. Pointing to “the algorithms calculated in the censuses of 1872 and 1890,” the bulletin reported: “The ethnographic coefficient of whites increased in 20 states. . . . That of blacks decreased in 19 states. . . . That of *caboclos* increased notably in almost all of the states, and declined appreciably in Amazonas (15,55%), Espirito Santo (0,35%) and Rio Grande do Sul (0,54%). Finally, that of *mestiços* or *pardos* increased in 7 states and decreased in 14.”⁵⁷ Given that the 1900 census did not include a query about race or color, it is noteworthy that the 1908 *Boletim* presented racial data at all.⁵⁸ The fact was not noted that the statistics from these two censuses were not directly comparable due to the substitution for *parda* of the more expansively defined *mestiça* category. The presentation of these outdated racial statistics in the 1908 publication, together with the evaluation of immigration statistics, points to the DGE's acceptance of the notion that prospects for national development lay in the ethnoracial “vitality” of the population.

As in the 1890s, the attention to immigration statistics overshadowed the presentation of statistics on education, which had been highlighted in the 1870s. Indeed, while the 1908 *Boletim* included detailed statistics on the numbers of male and female students in school, the overall state of education warranted only a succinct, semi-evaluative comment: “From the intellectual point of view, progress in public instruction in Brazil is still not notable.”⁵⁹

56. Ibid., 23–24.

57. Ibid., 23.

58. The DGE justified the omission in an official report, but only much later, after the 1920 census. Decree no. 2768 of 27 Dec. 1897 included “*raça ou cor*” among the facts to be investigated in the 1900 census. Brazil, Ministerio da Industria, Viação e Obras Publicas, *Relatorio apresentado ao presidente dos Estados Unidos do Brasil pelo ministro do estado dos negocios da industria, viação e obras publicas . . . em maio de 1898* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1898), 175.

59. Ibid., 34.

Like public education and other government services, the production of official statistics would continue to suffer from inadequate funding, lack of trained personnel, and the general failure of national bureaucratic integration during the First Republic. The DGE tried to overcome these problems. Leading up to the 1910 census, the DGE lobbied successfully for creation of a Conselho Nacional de Estatística, an advisory body of 50 distinguished members. Twenty of these represented state governments; they were charged with convincing authorities in their respective states to cooperate with the DGE's work.⁶⁰ By all indications, the initiative failed. Citing the inadequacy of resources, the DGE first postponed and then cancelled the census scheduled for 1910. The cancellation dramatized the frustration of the DGE's director with the failures of the republic's promises of state-directed modernization. Growing segments of Brazil's elite shared this frustration as it became increasingly clear that in the years since 1889, the ideals of the republic's creators had been overshadowed by the "reality of oligarchy, persistent backwardness, and increased regional disequilibrium."⁶¹

Discontent with the failings of republican rule heightened in the aftermath of World War I as the European models of civilization that Brazil's leaders had tried so hard to emulate were revealed to be fatally flawed. Brazilian nationalists decried the façade of modernity that had resulted from the mindless imitation of European ways.⁶² If Brazil hoped to become truly modern, the government's nationalist critics argued, uniquely Brazilian solutions would have to be found to overcome Brazilian obstacles to progress. In this context, the DGE looked ahead to preparations for the first reliable national census of the Brazilian population.

Nation Making via Racial Regeneration: Measuring Progress in the 1920s

As an event, the 1920 census was a far cry from the census of 1890. In 1890, publicity of census operations had taken a backseat to the constitutional conven-

60. Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Regimento interno do Conselho Superior de Estatística, aprovada em sessão de 7 de julho de 1909* (Rio de Janeiro: Oficina da Estatística, Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1909), IBGE Library, Obras Raras 331.3(81) B823r.

61. Jeffrey D. Needell, "History, Race, and the State in the Thought of Oliveira Viana," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 75, no. 1 (1995): 5.

62. Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987); José Murilo de Carvalho, *Os bestializados: O Rio de Janeiro e a República que não foi* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1987).

tion, political unrest, the flood of new decrees, debates over a new penal code, local and regional elections, economic downturn, and the ravages of recurring epidemics. Other than the obligatory reproduction of the laws and official instructions for the census, press coverage was mostly restricted to the publication of letters complaining about the disorganization and incompetence that threatened to undermine the entire statistics-gathering enterprise.

Things were different in 1920. For the first time, government backing for the DGE included resources for a commercial and agricultural census alongside the demographic census. It also included an extensive public relations campaign to enlist the cooperation of all sectors of the population. In the months leading up to the census, newspapers reported regularly on the preparations under way in this or that locale. Pledges of support to census operations from organizations like the Liga do Comércio do Rio de Janeiro (Commercial League), the Liga da Defesa Nacional (National Defense League), and the Agência Cinematographica Universal (Universal Cinematography Agency) proved newsworthy as well.⁶³ Under the headline "The Census: A Patriotic and Sympathetic Initiative," for example, the *Jornal do Comércio* reported that the Universal Cinematography Agency "on its own initiative" and "at its own cost" had decided to run advertisements for the census at the end of their films in order to combat the public's "ignorance," so that Brazil "can tell the world, upon celebrating the centenary anniversary of our independence, what is the true population of the country." The article concluded that this was "a noble and patriotic gesture that should be emulated by other businesses and should be applauded by us all."⁶⁴ Collaboration with the 1920 census became a rallying cry of nationalist boosters and proved a convenient outlet for patriotic energies. Emblematic of the patriotism surrounding the 1920 census, the weekly magazine *A Careta* published a series of political cartoons publicizing the event (figures 1 and 2).⁶⁵

The *Jornal do Comércio* meanwhile proclaimed that a successful modern census would deliver Brazil from the "embarrassing position" of being "the only country of European Civilization without official knowledge of its population."

63. The National Defense League, for example, offered to do "whatever it could" to help the census, making its headquarters, including "telephone lines, lights, etc.," available to the DGE "anytime, day or night" (*Jornal do Comércio*, 20 Mar. 1920, p. 4). The National Defense League also enlisted the support of religious authorities to help "educate" the population to cooperate with census takers ("O recenseamento: O concurso que a esse serviço vai prestar o clero," *Jornal do Comércio*, 17 Mar. 1920, p. 3).

64. *Jornal do Comércio*, 8 Apr. 1920, p. 5.

65. *A Careta* 13, no. 620 (8 May 1920); no. 622 (22 May 1920).

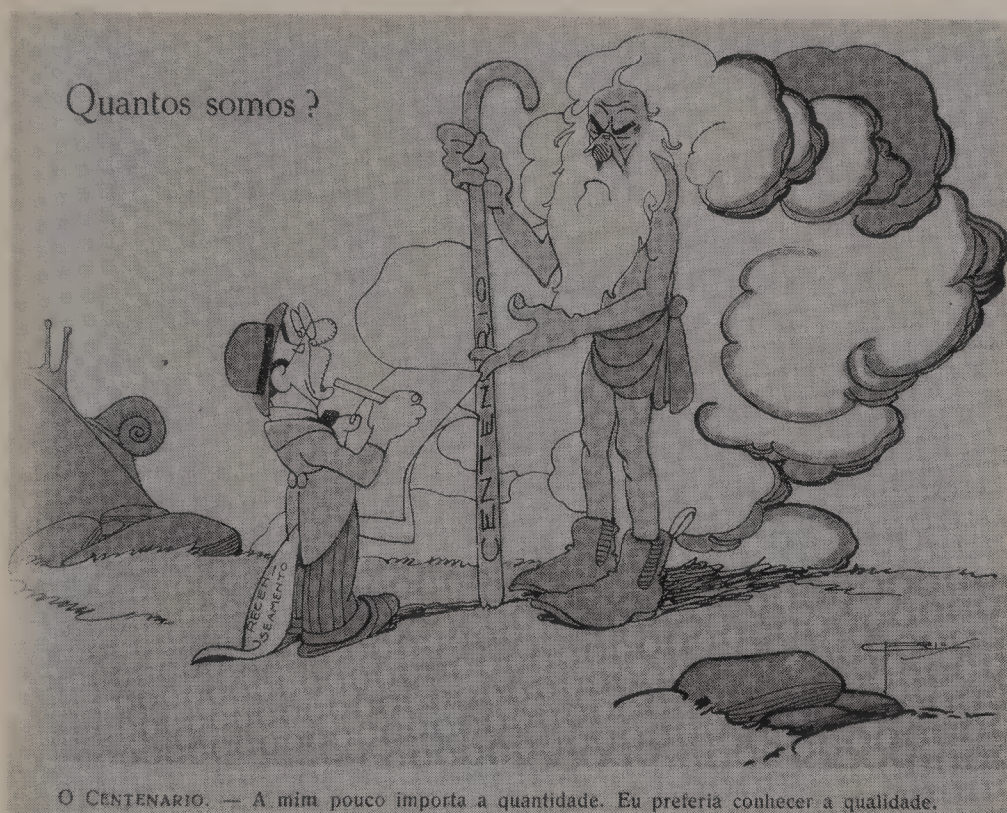


Figure 1. A *Careta* 13, no. 622 (May 22, 1920)

[The Census:] "How many are we?"

The Centenary:—"To me the quantity matters little. I prefer to know the quality."

With the disgraceful failure of the censuses of 1900 and 1910, the report continued, Brazil had gone "30 years without the slightest mathematical base for our demographic assessments."⁶⁶ Without a single adequate census of the population after three decades as a "modern, liberal republic," and with preparations under way for a major patriotic celebration of Brazil's centenary anniversary of independence from Portugal (1822–1922), the pressure was on to produce an accurate statistical portrait of the modern Brazilian nation.

The director of the 1920 census, Bulhões Carvalho, sought to impress upon his staff the vital importance of their work. Invoking a "beautiful speech" by an Argentine colleague, he told enumerators:

Many numbers, even the most brilliant, that will be used to celebrate the glorious date of the political emancipation of Brazil, will disappear with

66. *Jornal do Comércio*, 2 Feb. 1920, p. 3.



Figure 2. A Careta 13, no. 620 (May 8, 1920)

"Us!"

The Census: — "How many are you?"

— "One! Indivisible!"

the eternal passage of time. . . . The census, you can be sure, will not disappear. And when, one or two hundred years from now, the Brazilian people, reaping the great destiny that God has assured them, are a great nation . . . [and] the future historian wants to find out how, in 1922, the powerful nation of the future was constituted, the census that you took will be the most certain and precious source of information.

The work of census enumerators was not only timeless, it was akin to a sacred work of art: "The census is a mosaic portrait, like those that are exhibited for posterity in altars of St. Peter, in the great church of the Christian world. Formed of almost imperceptibly small fragments, with the collaboration of innumerable anonymous workers . . . the census of 1920, when it is done, will form the most beautiful portrait that has ever been created of the population and richness of the great Brazilian nation, on its first centennial anniversary."⁶⁷

Aware of the great symbolic and pragmatic significance of the 1920 census operations, and of an audience that spanned not only oceans but generations, Bulhões Carvalho made every effort to guarantee the undertaking's success. He approached the president of the republic, Epitacio Pessoa, to explain that all sorts of obstacles would confront the census if it could not count on the strong support and authority of the government to make sure the "true national interest" was always put above "petty personal interests." In his short preface to the 1920 census results, Bulhões Carvalho credited Pessoa with the great success of the census: "The illustrious President of the Republic did not limit himself to watching the work of the census with interest"; rather, he actively intervened over the three-year duration of census activities to "strengthen the authority of census functionaries, support them against disruptive actions by outside influences, and guarantee them complete autonomy to take necessary measures" to ensure the regularity and successful completion of the census.

Following on the heels of a post-WWI surge in state- and nation-building initiatives that aimed to assert the primacy of central authority and to elevate loyalty to nation above loyalty to individual states, cities, or towns, the 1920 census provided a golden opportunity for the nationalizing Brazilian state. Much like the public health campaign, major road and railway construction projects such as the Rondon Expedition, scientific expeditions undertaken by the Instituto Oswaldo Cruz, or the introduction of a national military draft, the

67. Brazil, Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Recenseamento do Brazil realizado em 1 de setembro de 1920* (Rio de Janeiro: Typografia da Estatística, 1922), first page, unnumbered.

execution of the census would bolster the infrastructural power of the central state.⁶⁸ By creating new bureaucratic chains of authority to coordinate the flow of information from the DGE's office in Rio de Janeiro to each of the state capitals, and from there to all of the smaller cities, towns, settlements, and isolated dwellings in the entire national territory *and back again*, the census project promised to expand and deepen the institutional capacity of the Brazilian state. At the same time, and perhaps even more significantly, the 1920 census would bolster the symbolic power of the state by documenting (and thus reifying) in the prestigious international language of statistics the incontrovertible existence of this entity called the Brazilian nation—the sovereign people in whose name the state claimed the legitimacy to exist.

Above all else, Bulhões Carvalho was determined that the final results of the 1920 census be recognized, at home and abroad, as a scientifically valid statistical portrait of the Brazilian nation.⁶⁹ Among the important decisions he made to improve the chances of producing reliable results was to reduce the number of questions on the census form to a bare minimum. As explained in a methodological essay included at the end of the first volume of the published census, the questionnaire included “very simple questions with simple answers, about the principal characteristics of each member of the family.”⁷⁰

Notably, “color” or “race” was not included among the “principal characteristics” of the Brazilian population in the 1920 census. The DGE justified this omission as follows: “the answers largely obscure the truth, especially with respect to *mestiços*, very numerous in almost all the states of Brazil and, ordinarily, the most uncooperative when it comes to making declarations related to the originating color of the race to which they belong.”⁷¹ This explanation was followed with a long footnote quoting an American expert on the subject, the author of a book titled *Statistics and Sociology*. The gist of this expert's argument, as quoted by the DGE, was that “since it is obvious that clearly defined

68. Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), 2:59. Mann defines infrastructural power as “the institutional capacity of a central state . . . to penetrate its territories and logistically implement decisions” (p. 59). Mann differentiates the state's infrastructural power—the power to rule *through* society via the administrative coordination of social life—from the state's despotic power, the power to rule *over* society via monopolization of the means of physical coercion.

69. In the preface to the 1920 census, Bulhões Carvalho confessed that he told President Epitácio Pessoa that if the census failed, he would have to go live abroad in shame for letting down his *patria*.

70. Brazil, DGE, *Recenseamento do Brazil realizado em 1 de setembro de 1920*, 488.

71. *Ibid.*, 488–89.

characteristics do not exist on which to base [our] statistical observations, the classifications and enumeration [of races and nationalities] are no more than mere conjecture.”⁷² Accepting the prevailing (and still prevalent) racist wisdom that each individual has a true race, the official rationalization for omitting a race question appealed to the difficulty, in the face of social stigma, of relying on individuals to be truthful about their origins.

The official justification for the removal of race from the 1920 census questionnaire has been met with skepticism by contemporary analysts, who tend to read the DGE’s professed concern with data quality as a thinly veiled cover for the desire to downplay the large number of persons of African descent in Brazil’s population. Though this is certainly a plausible hypothesis, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the DGE’s official explanation for eliminating the race question from the 1920 census was not merely a ruse.

First, there can be little doubt that Bulhões Carvalho was sincerely concerned about the scientific integrity of the 1920 census. Beyond any desire to protect his own reputation as a man of science, Bulhões Carvalho’s commitment to conducting a scientific count of Brazil’s 1920 population is plainly evident in the meticulous documentation of census preparations and procedures of the 1920 count. The lengthy DGE report on the 1920 census describes the methods employed from start to finish and justifies any potentially questionable methodological decisions with ample references to ISC recommendations and citations of respected European and American experts. The report is comprehensive; it even includes detailed drawings of the high-tech machinery used to collate census returns, including “the sorting machine” and “the verifying machine” purchased on credit from the same company that supplied the U.S. Census Bureau. In sum, under Bulhões Carvalho’s direction, the DGE made an extraordinary effort to conduct the 1920 census according to the scientific standards of the time and to document every step of this eminently scientific enterprise for the rest of the world to see.

The DGE’s decision to shorten the 1920 census questionnaire evinced both a strong orientation to international statistical conventions and an awareness of criticisms leveled at the DGE in the past. By eliminating some questions from the 1920 questionnaire—questions on religion and certain physical defects, for example, along with the race query—the DGE signaled its observance of the reigning scientific opinion, which held that census questionnaires should be as simple and as short as possible to maximize participation. The DGE had been attacked in the press for the ridiculous detail of the 1890 census ques-

72. *Ibid.*, 489 n. 1.

tionnaire. The acting DGE director in 1897, Mendes da Rocha, had publicly conceded that the lengthy questionnaire was an embarrassing blunder. France had included only nine questions in 1891, and "Italy and England shared in the general opinion that the accumulation of questions in decennial censuses was not evidence of progress, but of inexperience."⁷³

Finally, the possibility that the DGE's official justification for omitting a race question in 1920 was not simply a ruse is lent one additional bit of support by a revelation made by the prominent lawyer and historian Oliveira Viana in a newspaper article published in *Correio Paulistano* in 1926. Under the headline "Raça e pesquisas estatísticas" (Race and Statistical Research), Viana called on Brazil's scientists to overcome their hesitations about collecting racial statistics due to concerns about accuracy. Viana pointed to the absence of racial data from the 1920 census as a missed opportunity for the advancement of ethnological, anthropological, and biometric research in Brazil. He recounted how he had asked his "eminent friend, Dr. Bulhões Carvalho," why the "magisterially directed" 1920 census had this "great lacuna":

He replied that he had not included the ethnic question [*questionario ethnico*] because it seemed to him that the responses would surely be unreliable. First, he said to me, the enumerators would not be able to determine with certainty if an individual was really pure white or only a whitish mulatto [*mulato brancoide*], that is, in the advanced phase of the reversion to the ancestral Aryan type. Second, many mulattos [*mulatoides*] would declare themselves white [*dar-se-iam por brancos*] on the census forms. All this would have the end result of making the data collected precarious and downright false.⁷⁴

Viana rejected these concerns about accuracy as reason to avoid collecting racial data. Of central interest here, however, is the fact that Viana reported that Bulhões Carvalho believed racial data collected in the census would err systematically in the direction of whiteness. That is, the results would overreport the number of whites. If Viana's recounting of Bulhões Carvalho's argument is faithful (in spirit if not in precise terminology), it seems unlikely that the removal of the race question from the 1920 census was motivated primarily by the desire to downplay the African element in Brazil's population. In the DGE director's understanding, this goal would have been better served by including such a query.

73. Brazil, DGE, *Synopse do recenseamento de 31 de dezembro de 1890*, vii.

74. Oliveira Vianna, "Raça e pesquisas estatísticas," *Correio Paulistano*, 25 Sept. 1926.

Of course, none of these factors—the DGE’s commitment to produce a scientific census, the pressures to adopt a shortened census questionnaire, or the fear of false reporting—rules out the possibility that the race query was dropped by the DGE to avoid drawing any attention at all to the racial composition of Brazil’s population. But taken together, the evidence suggests that the sincerity of official concerns about the accuracy of racial data cannot be dismissed out of hand. Moreover, had the DGE wanted to downplay race in the 1920 census, it is hard to imagine why Oliveira Viana—instead of any number of other nationally recognized public intellectuals who by the 1920s had rejected racist interpretations of national development—was invited to pen the introductory essay to the published 1920 census results.

Viana’s essay “O povo brasileiro e sua evolução” is remarkable for its unabashedly racist elaboration of the thesis of Brazil’s inevitable whitening. Though the essay would later be published under Viana’s name, it was printed anonymously in the 1920 census volume. As the official introduction to the 1920 census, the essay was essentially sanctified by the DGE as objective, neutral, and descriptive “science.”

Viana’s arguments about the inevitable whitening of Brazil’s population have been analyzed in detail in other contexts.⁷⁵ Of particular relevance here is the fact that Viana relied heavily on the official statistics published by the DGE to build and bolster his arguments. He invoked official statistics throughout the essay, providing a seemingly firm scientific foundation to otherwise transparently ideological and racist claims. Immigration statistics, for example, buttressed claims that “white blood” would eventually overtake “black blood” in the Brazilian population. Citing data compiled by the DGE on the number of Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Russian, German, Austrian, French, English, and Dutch immigrants for the years 1908–12, Viana observed that in these years there was an average annual inflow of 100,000 immigrants of “the best European races, who distribute themselves among the mass of our population, influencing powerfully the reduction of the index of blackness of our people.”⁷⁶

Official statistics purportedly demonstrated that the “movement toward Aryanization” also operated through diverse mechanisms of “ethnic selection” among the “*mestiça* mass” throughout the country: “in our *mestiço* groups, the *quantum* of white blood increases all the time, in the direction of an increasing

75. See sources cited in Jeffrey D. Needell, “History, Race and the State in the Thought of Oliveira Viana,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 75, no. 1 (Feb. 1995): 1 n. 1.

76. Brazil, DGE, *Recenseamento do Brasil realizado em 1 de setembro de 1920*, 336.

refinement of the race.”⁷⁷ As evidence, Viana cited differential birth and death rates based on census data from 1872 and 1890; he claimed such demographic trends worked cumulatively to the disadvantage of “the inferior races.” Viana neglected to mention that the statistics upon which these tables were based could not be directly compared across censuses, due to changes in the classificatory scheme. Nor did he note that the DGE had publicly disavowed the statistics from the 1890 census, in particular, as unreliable and misleading.

Viana not only avoided any mention of known deficiencies of the official statistics, he made zealous and far-reaching claims about the indisputable objectivity of the official numbers:

It is through [statistics] that [societies] become conscious of the obscure transformations that operate in the intimacy of the economy. . . . Those mysterious operations that the many mechanisms of ethnic selection are realizing in the intimacy of our national mass, in the direction of lightening it and Aryanizing it, may be imperceptible to the naked eye, but they show themselves . . . as clear as can be . . . when they are revealed in the light of statistical data. It is [statistics] that will enable us to know . . . the amazing efficiency of that marvelous, if indeed obscure, selective labor, to which our *povo* is subject.⁷⁸

The demographic statistics produced by the DGE became the empirical foundation for Viana’s purportedly scientific propositions. Even as he misrepresented the official numbers to generate evidence for Brazil’s whiter future, he placed full faith in the power of statistics to “reveal” truths about society that were imperceptible to “the naked eye.”

Viana also wielded official statistics to discredit the view that Brazilians would never homogenize into a singular national type but would instead retain distinctive regional types. This alternative take on Brazil’s demographic evolution had been popularized by Euclides da Cunha’s *Os Sertões* and advanced as a scientific hypothesis in some anthropological and medical journals early in the 1900s. One proponent of this view was the military doctor Arthur Lobo da Silva, who argued in a 1911 article published in *A Medicina Militar* that there would never be a single “physical type of the national soldier.” Lobo da Silva was a rising star in military medicine, leading the campaign for the introduction of hygiene education in the army. By the time he authored “Hygiene Militar,” Lobo da Silva had served in Paraná, Matto Grosso, Amazonas, Rio Grande do Sul,

77. Ibid., 341. The term “quantum” appears in the original.

78. Ibid.

Paraíba, Pernambuco, Bahia, and the Federal Capital (Rio de Janeiro).⁷⁹ This experience likely contributed to his skepticism that Brazilian soldiers recruited from across the country would ever mold to a uniform physical type. Instead, he argued that “today, just like yesterday, and just like 100 years from now, there will not be one Brazilian type; there will be several Brazilian types.”⁸⁰ While in the south of the country, where European immigrants settled disproportionately, the Brazilian type might become “white,” in the north a new ethnic type, the “caboclo,” would stabilize.⁸¹

Although, in his essay introducing the 1920 census, Viana did not cite any specific proponent of the view that Brazilians would stabilize into regionally distinct types, he was clearly aware of such arguments and seemingly threatened by them. Summoning the authority and “objectivity” of official statistics, Viana attempted to silence the view that separate races would stabilize in different parts of Brazil:

No data worth any faith justifies . . . the affirmation . . . that in the northeastern zone, a *mestiça* sub-race is in formation. The crossed types, as we saw, do not have somatological stability; they are always subject to the regressive movements toward the anthropological type of the original races. . . . Given the direction that ethnic selections have been shown to have among us, everything leads us to believe that the regression of the *mameluco* type will come out in favor of the white man, by the progressive elimination of red blood [*pela progressive eliminação do sangue vermelho*]. In the *cabocla* mass of the northeast the types that will emerge in the end of this laborious process of selection . . . will have to be—as in the center, as in the south, as in the whole country—variations of the aryanoid [*arianoide*], dressed in the clothing [*libré*] of the tropical climates.⁸²

79. Biographical information comes from Lobo da Silva’s official *Fe do Offício*, Arquivo Histórico do Exército, Rio de Janeiro.

80. Arthur Lobo da Silva, “Hygiene Militar,” *Medicina Militar* 13 (1911): 731–32.

81. To corroborate this thesis, Loba da Silva called for the creation of a national anthropometric service in the Army Medical Corps, like those in many European countries. The call was heeded, and in 1928 Lobo da Silva published “Anthropology in the Brazilian Army,” which used the anthropometric data on soldiers to prove that his 1911 argument was correct. Notably, his results were published in the same issue of *Arquivos do Museu Nacional* as E. Roquette-Pinto’s famous essay “Notes about the Anthropological Types of Brazil.” Roquette-Pinto was a vocal critic of Viana’s racially determinist arguments. Lobo da Silva dedicated his 1928 article to Roquette-Pinto.

82. Brazil, DGE, *Recenseamento do Brazil realizado em 1 de setembro de 1920*, 344. Viana used an array of terms interchangeably to refer to an ‘unstable’ northeastern type (“*nossos sertanejos do nordeste*”), including *caboclo*, *mestiço*, *mestiço indo-arico*, and *mameluco*.

According to Viana, the “excellence” of the effects of the “delicate and complex mechanism of the ethnic selections” could be clearly seen in the aggregate statistics from 1872 and 1890. The statistics for the state of Rio Grande do Sul, where “Aryan immigration” had been especially intense, were even more promising of the “magnificent ascending movement of the Aryan type.” Pointing again to official numbers from 1872 and 1890, Viana enthused: “See how rapid is the destruction of the black population in the extreme south.” Although the process was unfolding more slowly in the North, Viana insisted that “given the greater fecundity of the white element . . . it is obvious that this Aryanization of our people is also occurring, however slowly, in the central and northern regions of the country.”⁸³

The introduction to Brazil’s 1920 census made the idea of national progress synonymous with racial progress, that is, whitening. Critics of Viana’s essay decried the outdated language and objected to certain points of racist “fact,” but they did not take issue with the essay’s overall conclusion—that Brazil was becoming whiter and that this was a definitive sign of national progress.⁸⁴ The absence of serious objections to this conclusion at the time is striking. By the 1920s, the crude racial determinism that informed Viana’s analysis had lost ground to an alternative scientific view that pointed to curable afflictions like disease, illiteracy, and government neglect of rural areas as the principal drags on Brazilian progress. Public health reformers charted a path to progress through national hygiene and literacy campaigns rather than through racial substitution and transformation of the Brazilian population.⁸⁵ Despite the waning legitimacy of theories of racial determinism, however, many Brazilian elites did not relinquish the vision of progress as presented in the 1920 census: national progress meant a “whiter” Brazilian future.

Divested of outdated racial terminology, the idea that Brazil’s progress could be measured by the whiteness of the population would appear again in the introduction to the next national census of Brazil in 1940. In the prefatory

83. Ibid.

84. Skidmore, *Black into White*, 200–201.

85. Nísia Trindade Lima and Gilberto Hochman, “Condenado pela raça, absolvido pela medicina: O Brasil descoberto pelo movimento sanitário da Primeira República,” in *Raça, Ciência e Sociedade*, ed. Marcos Chor Maio and Ricardo Ventura Santos (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fiocruz, 1996), 23–40. Frank McCann, “The Formative Period of Twentieth-Century Brazilian Army Thought, 1900–1922,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 4 (Nov. 1984): 737–65. Dain Borges, “‘Puffy, Ugly, Slothful and Inert’: Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880–1940,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25 (1993): 235–56. Skidmore, *Black into White*, 180–85.

essay, titled "Brazilian Culture," educational reformer Fernando de Azevedo observed:

If we admit that blacks and Indians are continuing to disappear, and that immigration, especially that of a Mediterranean origin, is not at a standstill, the white man will not only have in Brazil his major field of life and culture in the tropics, but be able to take from old Europe—citadel of the white race—before it passes to other hands, the torch of Western civilization to which the Brazilians will give a new and intense light—that of the atmosphere of their own civilization.⁸⁶

The Racialization of Progress

From its creation by imperial decree in 1870 through the first years of the Republic in the 1890s and into the first decades of the twentieth century, the basic institutional mission of the Brazilian General Directorate of Statistics remained the same: to provide accurate and objective statistical descriptions of the Brazilian population in order to inform the government's pursuit of progress for the Brazilian nation. Over the course of its existence, however, the DGE identified different characteristics of the Brazilian population as key indicators of the nation's present condition and future prospects. As the DGE's "objective" measures of progress changed, so did its prescriptions for government action.

The DGE's work in the 1870s reflected the cognitive, legal, and social prioritization of the distinction in Brazilian society between enslaved and free. Heading toward abolition, the DGE looked to education statistics as measures of Brazil's standing relative to other nations. The DGE warned of mass illiteracy and ignorance among the growing ex-slave population as the single greatest obstacle to Brazil's progress as a nation. With the end of slavery and of the monarchy, official DGE publications emphasized dimensions of heterogeneity that had previously figured less centrally. In the 1890s, official statistics began to emphasize immigration, highlighting the national origins and rates of naturalization of those who would contribute to the formation of the modern Brazilian nation. In these years, the DGE's prescribed path to progress was no longer by way of popular education but through immigration as a means of injecting new

86. Fernando de Azevedo, *Brazilian Culture: An Introduction to the Study of Culture in Brazil* (New York: MacMillan, 1950), 40–41, cited in Thomas E. Skidmore, "Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870–1940," in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1990), chap. 2, pp. 22–23.

life and new work habits into the nation. By the 1920s, the idea that the nation's future hinged on improving the racial composition of the population was no longer implicit. Sanctioned by its publication as the official introduction to the 1920 census, Viana's essay on Brazil's evolution explicitly measured the nation's progress in racial terms. Despite the absence of recent or reliable statistics on the "race" or "color" of the Brazilian population, official statistics were used to document and welcome rapid and inevitable "Aryanization." Thus, between 1870 and 1920, the state agency charged with producing objective assessments of Brazil's status in the race to national progress adopted an increasingly racialized definition of progress itself. By defining national progress in increasingly racial terms, the DGE helped to forge and stabilize the tight linkage between conceptions of race and nation in modernizing Brazil. The DGE's publications did not merely report what was known about the Brazilian population; they signaled what was worth knowing. And in opting to generate and disseminate particular kinds of demographic statistics and not others, the DGE simultaneously set constraints on what was knowable, for contemporaries and for future generations.

The first central statistics agencies in Brazil and other Latin American countries sat at the nexus of efforts aimed at modernization: the political project of building the administrative infrastructure and authority of a modern state, the cultural project of constructing bonds of loyalty to the modern nation (while making sure the modern nation would be recognized by Europeans and North Americans as such), and the scientific project of producing (putatively) objective knowledge about populations in whose name the nation-state project was legitimated. From their structurally analogous positions, central statistics agencies across the region labored to generate reliable statistical descriptions of national populations and empirically grounded prescriptions for national progress. The coupling of specific ways of portraying the nation in statistics with specific policy recommendations in pursuit of progress varied across countries and over time. Central statistics agencies are rich sites for future comparative historical research on how state builders' conceptions of population and progress melded race to nation in particular ways in different countries and at different points in time.

While illuminating how particular racist and racist ideas came to inform the bureaucratized production of putatively objective demographic knowledge, the foregoing analysis of the DGE's work also serves to caution, more generally, against the analytical tendency to assume that "race" is the most salient cognitive frame for historical actors whenever racial categories are invoked in histori-

cal records.⁸⁷ The disjunction between years when Brazil's censuses included questions about "color" and years when the DGE revealed an explicit interest in the racial makeup of the population suggests that the presence or absence of racial categories on census schedules, as in other kinds of bureaucratic records, may not indicate directly whether racial distinctions are politically or socially salient in a particular historical context. The Brazilian case underlines that the content and categories on census forms may owe to a variety of factors that have little to do with elite racial musings, such as international scientific conventions, professional norms, bureaucratic exigencies, or institutional memory.⁸⁸ Further, the specific queries included on census schedules may actually elide the pressing concerns of state officials; the absence of a particular query may in fact be a sign of its extreme salience in society.⁸⁹

The shifting significance of race in the work of the Brazilian DGE suggests that scholars can retain more leverage for analyzing the influence of racial ideas on the production of demographic knowledge by adopting a critical yet essentially agnostic perspective at the start of their research with regard to the relative influence of racist modes of thought and practice on their subject matter.⁹⁰ Treating the significance of race in the production of demographic statistics, as in other institutional domains, as an empirical question rather than an a priori assumption creates space for exploration and discovery of the relationship between race and other bases of distinction and discrimination. It provides analytical leverage to consider the relative significance of race as cognitive frame, interpretive schema, and motivation for action vis-à-vis the influence of other bases of categorical distinction.⁹¹ And it facilitates critical scrutiny of

87. See Barbara Fields, "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* 181 (May–June 1990): 95–118. I elaborate on this problem in Mara Loveman, "Is 'Race' Essential? A Comment on Bonilla-Silva," *American Sociological Review* 64, no. 6 (1999): 891–98.

88. Ventresca, "When States Count"; Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1988); Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship*.

89. David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel, *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002); Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1985), 194–96.

90. Such a perspective can be contrasted to approaches that begin with the universalizing assumption that "race is present everywhere." Howard Winant, *The World Is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy since World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 1.

91. For an elaboration of this point, see Rogers Brubaker, Mara Loveman, and Peter Stamatov, "Ethnicity as Cognition," *Theory and Society* 33, no. 1 (2004): 31–64.

how various categorical distinctions—along with the ideologies they support and the actions they inform—interact and intersect to produce particular social processes or historical outcomes.

The influence of race relative to other modes of distinction in a given moment is a contingent product of historical processes, not an inevitability given by the fact of human physical diversity. In the case of the Brazilian statistics agency, racialized ways of conceiving human difference and of envisioning possibilities for collective social progress vied historically with alternative cognitive and political frames. To recognize this is not to minimize the extraordinary significance of racism in the history of Brazil or elsewhere but rather to suggest an analytical strategy that will enable scholars to illuminate ever more clearly the specific influences and implications of racist ideas and racist practices in the historical development of the Americas.

The Creolization of the New World: Local Forms of Identification in Urban Colonial Peru, 1560–1640

Karen B. Graubart

At least since Magnus Mörner's 1967 study of what he termed "race mixture" in colonial Latin America, historians have acknowledged that modern jargon can appear anachronistic when applied to colonial subjects, and even contemporaneous terminology might have failed to be meaningful to them in their everyday life. For example, the lists Mörner constructed of eighteenth-century *casta* categories, ranging from commonly used terms like *mestizo* and *mulato* to the more unlikely *ahí te estás* (there you are) and *torna atrás* (throwback), represent attempts to categorize the plebeian population from above (and perhaps from a distant European perspective) rather than describing the language of everyday interactions.¹ At the level of the streets, a more compact vocabulary sufficed to locate individuals and groups and included locally useful terms that might have had little currency outside a certain sphere. For example, the "Indian dressed as a mestizo" (or vice versa) appears in certain administrative and legal documents, but the precise meaning of the phrase can be ambiguous today.²

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1. Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (New York: Little, Brown, 1967), see page 58 for the lists.

2. *Casta* was the word coined to describe people of mixed (indigenous, European, African-descent) ancestry in the New World. It comes to us most famously through the "casta paintings," whose intended audience was most likely the European tourist or official visitor rather than locals of European heritage or castas themselves. See Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2004), where she makes the important point that not all casta painting was homogeneous.

While some of the more general categories utilized by present-day researchers, such as race, class, ethnicity, and gender, are certainly necessary within their academic context, they not only lack the subtlety of everyday life but also can fail to illuminate shifting social relations or local ways that people identified themselves or were identified by others within specific communities. These vernacular idiosyncrasies are important not only because they can provide a key to the particularities of a community, but also because they can reveal the mentalities of colonial subjects, whose systems of values are not otherwise apparent to us. These shifting terms and relations are most evident in the transformation from the time of contact to colonial society, from a clash between existing, normalized systems to the development of new, hybrid, and contested regimes, particularly in the urban centers created jointly by colonizers and the colonized.³ As the population began to include second-generation urban residents as well as those immigrants able to learn the ropes quickly and make a place for themselves, the culture of urban centers was transformed from one of

Susan Deans-Smith has commented upon the possible audiences for these paintings in "Creating the Colonial Subject: Casta Paintings, Collectors, and Critics in Eighteenth-Century Mexico and Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2 (Dec. 2005): 169–204. Critiques of the use of racial and ethnic categories in the colonial period have been made most trenchantly by David Cahill, "Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1532–1824," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26, no. 2 (1994): 325–46; R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, "Los colores de la plebe: Razón y mestizaje en el Perú colonial," in *Los cuadros de mestizaje del Virrey Amat: La representación etnográfica en el Perú colonial*, ed. Natalia Majluf (Lima: Museo de Arte, 1999): 66–107; and Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1999). On the problem of "misdressed" Indians and mestizos, see Karen B. Graubart, "Hybrid Thinking: Bringing Postcolonial Theory to Latin American Economic History," in *Postcolonialism Meets Economics*, ed. S. Charusheela and Eiman O. Zein-Elabdin (New York: Routledge, 2004): 215–34.

3. The literature on indigenous resistance and accommodation to colonial practices is by now voluminous. Key works on the indigenous Andes in this period include Manuel Burga, *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista: El valle del Jequetepeque del siglo XVI al XX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1976); Luis Miguel Glave, *Trajinantes: Caminos indígenas en la sociedad colonial, siglos XVI/XVII* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1989); Brooke Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550–1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1998); Karen Vieira Powers, *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis, and the State in Colonial Quito* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1995); Karen Spalding, *Huarocharí, An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1984); Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1993).

military occupation to colonial (that is, unequal and exploitative yet creative) coexistence between a variety of peoples, including Europeans, Africans, and numerous distinct indigenous groups. Colonial contact gave rise to new situations—new hierarchies, social spaces, occupations, classes, and categories of people—that demanded their own vocabularies. This language was “creolized” in the sense meant by linguists and historians of North America and the Caribbean: a creole was a common language with shared meanings that developed out of a sociolinguistic (not to mention military) meeting between geographically displaced groups.⁴

In two colonial urban centers, Lima (the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru) and Trujillo (a provincial capital on Peru’s north coast), we find evidence of social relations so changed as to demand a new vocabulary, possibly coined by and certainly utilized by the subaltern residents.⁵ As societies changed, language, too, had to be invented, borrowed, and adapted to accommodate and forge new realities.⁶ While not all slang enters the public record and can therefore be lost to historians, language coined to describe common groups and categories of individuals was of great importance in cities where, in addition to the anonymity granted by migration and mobility, many people shared a relatively small number of names.⁷ Professions, locations, personal relations, physical

4. See, for example, John Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988); as well as the edited volume by David Buisseret and Steven G. Reinhardt, *Creolization in the Americas* (College Station: Texas A&M Univ. Press, 2000), particularly Buisseret’s “Introduction” and the essay by Richard Cullen Rath, “Drums and Power: Ways of Creolizing Music in Coastal South Carolina and Georgia, 1730–90,” 99–130.

5. The early history of Lima is covered in Lyn Brandon Lowry, “Forging an Indian Nation: Urban Indians under Spanish Colonial Control, Lima, Peru, 1535–1765” (PhD diss., Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1991). On Trujillo, see Susan E. Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs: Land Tenure and the Economics of Power in Colonial Peru* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1986); Katherine Coleman, “Provincial Urban Problems: Trujillo, Peru, 1600–1784,” in *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America*, ed. David J. Robinson (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1979); and Juan Castañeda Murga, “Notas para una historia de la Ciudad de Trujillo del Perú en el siglo XVII,” in *La tradición andina en tiempos modernos*, ed. Hiroyasu Tomoeda and Luis Millones (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1996).

6. For an important example of the difficulties (as well as benefits) of exploring these translations and transformations, see Susan Elizabeth Ramírez, “From People to Place and Back Again: Back Translation as Decentering—an Andean Case Study,” *Ethnohistory* 53, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 355–81.

7. See, for example, the discussion of race and surnames in colonial Mexico City in Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, chap. 3.

attributes, and ethnic or other designations served to set individuals off from one another. Early colonial wills are therefore full of pointed descriptors of men and women owed or owing small debts: "I declare that I have, in the house of an Indian named Madalena who lives beneath the portals of the plaza, a pink silk dress with a serge skirt," as Cecilia de Ávila noted in 1589.⁸ We can probe notarial documents such as wills and contracts for the language of self- and other-identification in everyday life, which brings us closer to our subjects than does the official language of the viceregal bureaucracy.

In the following essay, I analyze 381 wills left in Lima and Trujillo by men and women of various ethnic groups during the period from 1570 to 1640, looking for cases of vernacular language in order to shed light upon local social structure in the early colonial period.⁹ Though other studies have analyzed how elites (in Europe and in Latin America) categorized plebeian society, as in the above example of the castas, or how elites defined themselves, as in the case of the reclaiming of "creole" identity in the late colonial period, we have little access to thinking about how plebeian society imagined itself and its others.¹⁰

8. "Declaro que tengo en casa de una yndia que se llama Madalena que bibe debajo de los portales de la plaza un bestido nuevo de rraso Rosado con un faldellin de tamenete." Testamento de Secilia de Abila yndia, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú (hereafter cited as AGN), Protocolos Notariales (hereafter cited as PN) 141 Rodríguez de Torquemada, 1589. While I have modernized many early modern Spanish spellings in my transcriptions of documents for the sake of readability, all archival citations are left in their original spelling.

9. Broken down by region, gender, and ethnic group ascribed in the document, the sample includes the following: Lima: 50 Indian men, 97 Indian women, 48 Spanish/Portuguese men, 41 Spanish/Portuguese women, 5 mestizo men, 12 mestiza women, 3 mixed African-indigenous men, and 2 mixed African-indigenous women; Trujillo: 21 Indian men, 43 Indian women, 26 Spanish/Portuguese men, 21 Spanish/Portuguese women, 0 mestizo men, 7 mestiza women, 2 mixed African-indigenous men, and 3 mixed African-indigenous women. Supplementary material has been gleaned from other notarial documents, especially property rental and sales contracts.

10. On elite self-definition, see Bernard Lavallé, *Las promesas ambiguas: Ensayos sobre el criollismo colonial en los Andes* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1993); Anthony Pagden, "Identity Formation in Spanish America," in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1987), 51–93; and an interesting intervention by Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1997). Books by Chance, Cope, and Lewis look at the ways in which plebeians manipulated and eluded elite classification systems, but do not address the question of self-invention: John Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1987); Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*; and Laura Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2003).

Through an analysis of these locally used social categories, I ask how Indians and non-Indians referred to one another and what sort of terms they invented for themselves, offering insights into the new social order and how it was navigated by subaltern groups in the period when colonialism was shifting from a phase of conquest and plunder to a period of institutionalization.

Reading the Notary's Script

"In the name of the Lord Amen. Let all who see this document know that I, Elvira, Indian, native of the town of Xauxa of the repartimiento of don Antonio de Rivera, wife of Juan de Popayani, a silversmith, resident in this City of Kings of the Kingdoms of Peru, being ill of body, sound of will and of sound mind, judgment and understanding . . ." ¹¹ Thus opens a will written in Lima in April 1572. The notary who took down these words wrote in a powerful shorthand in order to condense a large amount of legal as well as spiritual information in short and costly space. Such a paragraph was composed after the notary administered a formal but quirky questionnaire to the testator. Into what ethno-juridical category did the subject fall: Indian (*indio*), Spaniard (*español*), black (*negro*), or something else? Was the testator a formal citizen (*vecino*), a long-term resident with fewer privileges (*residente* or *morador*), or simply passing through the city where he or she testated (*estante en la ciudad*)? Where were his or her parents living, and what was their social status there? If the testator was a woman, was she married, and what were the name, occupation, and location of her husband, living or dead? These questions not only identified the testator for the legal record but established the rules under which inheritance would take place in this particular case and created a record of individuals who might have a claim upon the testator's estate. And while a formal template existed, passed down via legislation, apprenticeships, and printed manuals, the particulars of wills varied not only with individual scribes, who carried their own predilections and prejudices, but also with communities, where local exigencies might shape terminology. ¹²

11. "Yn dey nomine amen sepan quantos esta carta vieren como yo Elbira yndia natural del pueblo de Xauxa del rrepartimyento de don Antonio de Rribera mugger de Juan de Popyani official de platero. Rresidente en esta cibdad de los rreynos del piru estando enferma del cuerpo y sana de la voluntad y en my buen seso juyzio y entendimiento . . ." Testamento de Elbira, AGN, PN 33 Esquivel, 1572, f. 303.

12. On the notary's craft, see Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), 35; as well as Sarah Cline, "Fray Alonso de Molina's Model Testament and Antecedents to Indigenous Wills in Spanish America," in *Dead Giveaways: Indigenous Testaments of Colonial*

Testators were not necessarily passive actors in this conversation. They might, for example, exercise agency by suggesting or withholding information. This is most obvious in the case of the ethnic markers that generally followed the names of people of African and indigenous descent, for example, “Elvira yndia” or “Bartolomé *moreno*.” Sometimes these markers appear within the text of the document itself, possibly because the scribe and the testator agreed to the placement. Sometimes they appear in the margins of the document, perhaps penciled in later by a scribe but not proffered by the testator. Often ethnic designations are missing entirely—unnecessary, overlooked, or refused by one party or the other. And when they do appear, they are periodically contradictory: Luisa Gregoria, who appeared before a notary to write her will in 1625, was designated “mulata” within that document, but in subsequent litigation over her estate she was also referred to as “yndia.”¹³

Scribes, too, could interfere in the production of group identifications or designations on paper. Notarial documents were generally written twice, as a *minuta* or draft (usually by a copyist) and then as a final instrument signed by the parties and the notary, leaving opportunities for scribal error as well as conscious change. In cases where the notary and testator spoke different languages, a translator might also play a role in producing the wording of the document.¹⁴ While the final document was usually read aloud before it was signed, the testator’s illness could make this step a mere formality. And it is possible that, at times, notaries added their own words to documents, secure in the fact that most colonial testators could not read and thus were unlikely to recognize the changes.¹⁵

Mesoamerica and the Andes, ed. Susan Kellogg and Matthew Restall (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1998), 13–36. Kathryn Burns discusses the relationship between notaries and power in “Notaries, Truth, and Consequences,” *American Historical Review* 110, no. 2 (Apr. 2005): 350–79.

13. Testamento de Luisa Gregoria, Archivo Regional de La Libertad, Trujillo, Perú (hereafter ARL), PN 96, Bernal Jimeno, 1624–25, f. 640. Contradictions such as this may reflect misunderstandings or differences of opinion or may be evidence of the kinds of changes in status over time described by Cope for Mexico City in *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 76–78. Legal designation as an “Indian” also entitled the party to counsel from the Protector of the Indians and lessened certain criminal penalties, leading many individuals to claim these protections and thus the designation “Indian,” and others to challenge them. See Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2005).

14. None of the documents analyzed in this article appear to have made use of a translator; most of the indigenous testators and other principals were longtime urban residents and apparently spoke Spanish well enough to communicate with the notary.

15. Burns describes a lawsuit that emerged from one notary’s falsification of a final copy in “Notaries, Truth, and Consequences,” 361.

While we can rarely state with confidence whether the source for specific language in a document was the notary, the principal parties, or someone else, we can look for indicators such as contradictions and changes and for the use of particular words in one type of contract and not another, or within one community and not another. Read with these caveats, wills can sometimes reveal how individuals spoke about identification and group membership, in contrast to the official discourse with which colonial historians often must work. Urban wills are fascinating precisely because they reflect the multiethnic networks that underlay the colonial economy and society.¹⁶ The petty traders, craftsmen, and craftswomen who left many of the surviving wills bought, sold, and bartered across ethnic lines, and they used their wills as a means of reckoning those accounts. Wills reveal the idiosyncratic details of local life. For example, Beatriz Magdalena, an indigenous vendor tantalizingly nicknamed La Rica (the rich woman), seems to have provided small loans to numerous Indians in Lima in the early seventeenth century.¹⁷ The need to identify debtors to pay for one's funeral dictated that testators had to employ clear, precise, and local language rather than rely upon official categories or baptismal names. While many of these descriptions are too vague now to be meaningful—like María Curi's 1573 note that "I owe one peso each to two Indians known to my husband"—modern investigators can mine these texts for language that reveals the quotidian.¹⁸

Solareros: Space and Privilege in Early Peru

Among the most important identifiers in a will, after parentage and ethnic marker, was the testator's relationship to property in the city where he or she lived. In Trujillo, where the *encomenderos* (recipients of indigenous labor grants from the Crown) lacked access to the enormous mineral wealth of the southern Andes or to the vast populations of indigenous labor in the central highlands, propertied status was hotly contested. Successful merchants and entrepreneurs rapidly challenged the *encomenderos*' near monopoly on political and social power, signaled by the title of *vecino* (citizen). The conquistadors, turned into

16. On this urban network, but drawing from idolatry trials rather than notarial records, see Alejandra Osorio, "El callejón de la soledad: Vectors of cultural hybridity in seventeenth-century Lima," in *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America*, ed. Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1999), 198–229.

17. The text reads "Beatriz Magdalena que llama La Rica." Testamento de Juana de la Requera, AGN, PN 1852 Tamayo, 1625, ff. 246v–49v. She is mentioned in the same way in the will of Luis Perez, AGN, PN 1851 Tamayo, 1623, f. 75v.

18. Testamento de María Curi, AGN, PN 33 Esquivel, 1573, ff. 359–60.

encomenderos and vecinos by royal authority, were able to become gatekeepers to political power by dominating the *cabildo* (city council), where they received substantial economic privileges, heard applications for citizenship, and also distributed properties called *solares*, plots of land in the center of the new city meant to establish Spanish residences and the foundations of “civilization.”¹⁹

The solar was literally one of the cornerstones of Spanish colonialism. It created the physical space of colonialism by forming the well-known grid that radiated out from the central plaza, symbolic home of the government and church, to the edges of the city. By establishing the *casa poblada*, the residence where the new elite could house extended families, hangers-on, servants, and slaves, it laid the cultural foundations for colonial rule.²⁰ Many of these houses—some made of adobe or, more rarely, stone—still stand today. Their imposing façades and heavy wooden doors advertised the fact that they were centers of power and privilege.²¹ The word *solar*, while it could be used to refer to any terrain (*suelo*) upon which a house would be built, had strong connotations of noble lineage for medieval Iberians.²² The central solar was thus symbolic of the wealth and social expectations of the grandees of the New World, suggesting their aristocratic intentions as well as their need to fortify themselves against displaced Indians.

19. Jorge Zevallos Quiñones, *Los fundadores y primeros pobladores de Trujillo del Perú*, 2 vols. (Trujillo: Fundación Alfredo Pinillos Goicochea, 1996), 1:13; see also the discussion of encomenderos in James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560: A Colonial Society* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 21. On the rights and obligations of encomenderos, see Juan Solórzano Pereyra, *Política indiana* (1648; Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1996), vol. 2, bk. 3, chaps. 1–2. Tamar Herzog presents an important comparison between changing notions of citizenship in Spain and in its colonies, including Lima, in *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 17–63. The cabildo, dominated by encomenderos in many cities including Trujillo, was one of the three major local power brokers in early colonial Peru, along with the *corregidores* (magistrates) and the clergy, though its power was generally restricted to the city limits where it sat. See the discussion in Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs*, chap. 2. Lowry, “Forging an Indian Nation,” reviews the lack of autonomy in Lima’s cabildos, though in Trujillo the cabildo did retain the ability to distribute land and name vecinos.

20. Lowry reproduces the plan of a Mexican *casa poblada* in “Forging an Indian Nation,” 236. On the relationship between urbanization and civilization, see Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535–1635* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), 40–47.

21. Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs*, 25.

22. See, for example, the primary definition in Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611; Barcelona: Editorial Alta Fulla, 1993): “El suelo de la casa antigua de donde decien den hombres nobles” (p. 943).

These central properties were collectively known as the *traza* of the city, literally the planned portion. Outside the traza, sometimes marked off by a wall, lay agricultural lands, Indian towns, and eventually the multiethnic enclaves of the poorer classes who could not afford to live within the traza but needed to be near the city.²³ While it was presumed that Spaniards would be the sole residents of the traza, given that the cabildo (and the viceroy, through the presentation of encomiendas) controlled the initial distribution of these properties, these solares did eventually enter a nascent real estate market.

The men and women who came to inhabit these properties were generally not members of the high nobility, though some were *hidalgos*, of minor noble, if not wealthy, families. While most Spaniards who came to Peru in the first decades of conquest did not receive encomiendas or loot pre-Hispanic riches, a significant minority amassed substantial wealth and very publicly purchased new rank or acquired informal social standing.²⁴ In Peru, it was said, an artisan could become an encomendero or a vecino, and this fact, coupled with the long-standing Iberian anxiety about the presence of heretic, Jewish, or Muslim “blood” corrupting one’s *calidad* or social status, led to an environment of social contestation and even official paranoia in the case of the Inquisition and in some judicial bodies.²⁵

Early colonial society was therefore often concerned with determining who was a member of what corporate group, and this determination frequently carried material consequences. The compensation given to those who fought on behalf of the Crown consisted not only of quick loot but of privileges that included lifetime rents, and the rights of caballeros to bear arms, to be called *don*, and the duty to defend the city. The nobles of indigenous society also fought for their share of these designations, as did the plebeian Indians who sought social

23. See Fraser’s discussion of town plans as well as royal ordinances and contemporary debates in *The Architecture of Conquest*, chap. 2.

24. See the discussions of the social achievements and backgrounds of the conquistadors in Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, chap. 2, and Spalding, *Huarocharí*, chap. 4.

25. A number of artisans were made vecinos of Trujillo in the 1550s, including shoemakers, tailors, masons, and silk weavers. *Actas del Cabildo de Trujillo 1549–1564* (Lima: Concejo Provincial de Trujillo, 1969), 1:29, 123, 124, 319, 367. The Inquisition’s anxiety about bloodline is well known. For foundational statements see Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1998); and the essays in Bartolomé Bennassar, *Inquisición española: Poder político y control social* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1981). For understanding the ways that ethnicity interacted with ideas of *limpieza de sangre* and *calidad*, see Katzew, *Casta Painting*, chap. 2, and María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2008).

mobility through relationships with the conquerors. As María Elena Martínez has argued, an important foundation for New World hierarchy was the differentiation between noble and commoner, as between Old and New Christian or Spaniard and "Indian."²⁶

While indigenous nobles were able to share in some of the benefits of social privilege, plebeian Indians were not generally eligible to become *vecinos* and *vecinas*. Occasionally they were invited to join this exclusive group: in 1553, the Cabildo of Trujillo granted the title of *vecino* to an Indian man, Rodrigo Xuarez, "because he is Spanish-speaking and married and holds the profession of tailor, and has children, and in order that he [might educate his children] as Christians and within the law of Reason, and so that others take [him as good example] and do the same as he."²⁷ The Cabildo's decision to grant Xuarez this privilege was in keeping with the Crown's early enthusiasm for "civilizing" Indians, which included policies aimed at intermarriage between the daughters of the indigenous nobility and European men. However, such optimistic measures were soon abandoned; by 1586 the Crown was officially discouraging intermarriage, and the new category *mestizo* had begun to be demonized, its members associated increasingly with vagabondage and fomenting social unrest.²⁸ Likewise, Trujillo's Cabildo apparently found that modeling civilization by means of granting acculturated Indians the status of *vecino* did not produce the intended results, and it seems to have abandoned this practice by the latter part of the century.

But, at least in Trujillo, this failure to extend the privileges and obligations of citizenship to plebeian Indians did not mean that they were necessarily blocked from other sources of prestige. The Cabildo, in fact, also granted a

26. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, chap. 4.

27. "Y atento a ques ladino y casado y official sastre e tiene hijos e para q les . . . Car como xptianos. Y en ley de Razon y otros tomen . . . enplo y Fagan lo mysmo qué." *Actas del Cabildo de Trujillo, 1549–1560*, 1:127–28. Lacunae represent illegible sections of the original.

28. On the changing attitudes toward mestizos of various classes, see Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 163–70; Nancy E. van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly: The Institutional and Cultural Practice of Regogimiento in Colonial Lima* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001), chap. 2; Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1999), chap. 1; Stuart B. Schwartz, "Spaniards, *Pardos*, and the Missing Mestizos: Identities and Racial Categories in the Early Hispanic Caribbean," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 71, no. 1–2 (1997): 5–19; Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, "Ethnic and Gender Influences on 'Spanish' Creole Society in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 4, no. 1 (1995): 153–76.

small number of indigenous men the right to inhabit a solar within the traza of the city, giving them access to the public space of privilege if not the other accoutrements of rank.²⁹ In 1554, using familiar language, the Cabildo gave “Diego yndio” a solar, “given that he is married and lives like a Spaniard” (*atento a ques casado y bibe como español*).³⁰ A handful of other indigenous men, mainly artisans, also received solares from the Cabildo in this period, often secondary sites between the boundaries of existing properties.

But within a few years of these rare official grants, solares within the traza rapidly came into the hands of not only plebeian Europeans, but indigenous men and women, free black men and women, and castas.³¹ With the decline in the north coast’s indigenous population in the course of the sixteenth century, encomienda income plummeted, further restrained by the Spanish Crown’s attempts to rein in encomendero power. Trujillo’s elites suffered dramatic declines in their incomes; many found themselves having to liquidate property in order to pay the debts they had amassed to support their lavish lifestyles.³² Some of those who had the cash on hand to purchase these properties were petty merchants and artisans. They were also increasingly non-Europeans, and the center of Trujillo soon became the residence of a multiethnic group of property owners.³³

29. This may run contrary to practices in other regions, including Lima and Caracas, about which Herzog states, “I found [no cases] where land was granted without the previous acquisition of citizenship.” *Defining Nations*, 51. The difference may have to do with the relative prestige of local indigenous elites, especially from Cajamarca, who established their presence in Trujillo by the middle of the sixteenth century. See Karoline Noack, “Negociando la política colonial en el Perú: La perspectiva desde la región norte en los Andes centrales (1532–1569),” in *Los buenos, los malos y los feos: Poder y resistencia en América Latina*, ed. Nikolaus Böttcher, Isabel Galaor, and Bernd Hausberger (Madrid: Iberoamericana / Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2005), 214.

30. *Actas del Cabildo de Trujillo*, 1:150. The concern about marriage had in part to do with religious practice but was a qualification for Spaniards as well, since the granting of a solar implied the obligation of populating and occupying the lot with one’s family. By 1559 the explanation of the Indian’s particular qualifications was no longer included in the Cabildo’s records, viz. *Actas del Cabildo de Trujillo*, 1:345, 348.

31. While it was the Cabildo’s task to grant the concession of solares in the early years, that function seems to have fallen away by 1600 and the properties were sold freely. See Zevallos Quiñones, *Los fundadores y primeros pobladores de Trujillo*, 1:14; *Actas del Cabildo de Trujillo*, vol. 1.

32. On the decline of Trujillo’s encomenderos, see Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs*, chap. 3.

33. For example, the widowed Doña María de Valverde Pizarro, from a prominent family related to Francisco Pizarro and called “vecina” as well as “doña,” sold a piece of her

Sometime before she wrote a will in 1600, an indigenous woman named Elena de Faria acquired one of these solares. It was, she stated, “bought with my own money” (*conprado con mi dinero*), and it was in a prime spot: next to the properties of Don Lorenzo de Ulloa and Don Juan de Sandoval, two important encomenderos and members of the cabildo.³⁴ Faria’s ownership of the solar earned her the new title *solarera*, an adjective apparently unique to Trujillo that notarial documents of this period apply only to indigenous men and women.³⁵ The term was appended by the notary to their name and ethnic designation, “Elena de Faria yndia solarera,” parallel to the way *vecino* was applied to elite citizens. While only six testators in the sample were identified as solareros—Elena de Faria (1600), Martín Chauca (1613), Cecilia Tinoco (1616), Luissa Madalena (1626), Angelina de Albarado (1627), and María Sandobal (1640)—contracts for sales of solares often identified indigenous buyers or sellers as such.³⁶ Jayme Nicolás, “yndio solarero ladino,” for example, sold half his solar to Felipe Chuquitanta, “yndio ladino,” in 1608.³⁷ By the middle of the seventeenth century, the term apparently disappears from the archive.

The term *solarero* does not appear in Cabildo records or in court orders but only in notarial registers (although these pages might enter the court record in litigations). The relationship between Spanish notary and indigenous client was

solar in the traza for 14 patacones in 1608 to an Indian named Martín Ynsim. Widows could be saddled with their husband’s debts and thus were even more vulnerable to selling off parts of property. ARLL, PN 45 Obregón, 1608.

34. Testamento de Elena de Faria, ARLL, PN 44 Obregón, 1607–1608, 216ff. At least one of Ulloa’s properties was a block away from the main plaza and the cathedral, though it is not certain that this is the solar under discussion (Zevallos Quiñones, *Los fundadores y primeros pobladores de Trujillo*, 1:15).

35. For example, the term does not appear in Sebastián de Covarrubias’s *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (c. 1611), nor is it used in any documents I have seen in Lima or Spain. In her own analysis of Trujillo’s notarial registers (1550–1619), Karoline Noack has located 19 individuals called solareros, all of them indigenous men and women. Personal communication, Nov. 2004.

36. Testamento de Martín Chauca, ARLL, PN 48 Obregón, 1613, f. 317; testamento de Cecilia Tinoco, ARLL, PN 50 Obregón, 1615–1616, f. 61v; testamento de Luissa Madalena, ARLL, PN53 Obregón, 1626, f. 635v; testamento de Angelina de Albarado, ARLL, PN 54 Obregón, 1627, f. 54v; pleito sobre el testamento de María Sandobal, ARLL, Corregimiento (Corr) Causas Ordinarias (CO), leg. 190, exp. 1149 (1641). The notary used by Sandobal was not Obregón but was identified as the “escribano de los naturales.” Luissa Madalena was not called a solarera when she first testated in 1617, although she had already purchased her solar in 1594: testamento de Luissa Madalena, ARLL, PN 51 Obregón, 1617, reg. 1, f. 199v.

37. Venta del solar, ARLL, PN 45 Obregón, 1608, f. 376.

hardly one of transparency, but neither was it as asymmetrical as that between the Cabildo or the Audiencia and a plebeian Indian. If unhappy with one notary, a client could choose another, particularly for writing up a sales contract, not usually a matter of life and death. It may be that the originator of the coinage *solarero* was the notary. One notary, a Spaniard named Andrés de Obregón who had a large indigenous clientele, seems to have used it more than any other. But it was at the very least accepted and retained by members of the community, who now identified themselves in part by their ownership of urban property and participation in the market.³⁸ Origins aside, the use of *solarero* marked a social and political fact about Trujillo in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: far from being a “Spanish” city, Trujillo was multiethnic, and its economic vibrancy rested in part on its indigenous householders.

These new owners of prestigious properties were not necessarily part of the social elite of Trujillo. While a few solares had been reserved by the Cabildo for the region’s indigenous nobility, many of this new generation of solareros were plebeian Indians with occupations such as hatmaker, carpenter, shoemaker, brewer, or vendor. Indeed, while Faria’s will, in 1600, marks the arrival of a new term, interethnic and interclass property transfer was already well established in Trujillo. Catalina de Agüero, a Spanish-speaking indigenous woman originally from Cajamarca who had worked as a domestic servant in a Spanish household, had purchased three solares in the traza for 50 pesos each prior to her 1565 will, thus even earlier than the earliest extant Cabildo record of solar grants to indigenous men.³⁹

In fact, of 64 indigenous men and women whose wills were analyzed for this study, 41 of them owned or lived in solares within Trujillo, suggesting that there was a long-term multiethnic presence in the traza in this period.⁴⁰ According to Karoline Noack, one-third of the existing records of sales of solares in Trujillo in 1560 involved at least one indigenous party.⁴¹ From the brief descriptions

38. Other notaries who employed the term were Juan de Mata and Martínez de Escobar. Karoline Noack, personal communication, June 2007.

39. Testamento de Catalina de Agüero yndia ladina, ARLL, PN 11 Mata, 1570, f. 42.

40. These 41 were 12 of 21 men and 29 of 43 women in the sample. The fact that, in this sample, female testators were more likely to own solares than male testators could result from the number of male caciques in the sample, whose lands tended to be in their own pueblos; or it could be because women without property were less likely to leave wills than men without property.

41. Noack, “Negociando la política colonial en el Perú,” 214. After 1560 the rate of indigenous participation slowed somewhat, though it continued to be significant until the late seventeenth century.

given in wills and sales records, it is clear that some of these properties bounded one another, forming little enclaves, though always with Spanish neighbors, and that they were resold and subdivided over and over again. For a characteristically complicated example, the indigenous woman Magdalena Jiquil sold her solar in 1594 to Luisa Magdalena, also indigenous, who left it to her children in her will of 1617. The solar was bounded by properties of two elite Spaniards, including the prosecutor for the Real Audiencia, but also by that of an indigenous woman, Catalina Román.⁴² Román and her late husband had purchased her lot for 200 *patacones*—a hefty sum—from Captain Baltasar Rodríguez, an early vecino of Trujillo who had served in its Cabildo and as majordomo of the cathedral.⁴³ Román's solar was eventually split into two; one half she sold to an indigenous shoemaker named Agustín Maldonado, the other half she left to the *cofradía* or religious sodality of San Antonio de Padua as a charitable donation in exchange for masses for her and her husband's souls. Within a brief time after her death, the *cofradía* had rented the solar to its sacristan, Francisco Guancachayco, for 24 *patacones* a year.⁴⁴

These Indian solareros were recent immigrants from the rural Trujillo valley who had found financial success in the city's emerging market economy. Trujillo's economy was driven by its busy port and local industries built around indigenous textiles, wheat, sugar, and cattle ranching, and the city abounded in petty vendors, tailors, carpenters, shoemakers, construction workers, and other artisans and traders.⁴⁵ The fervent competition meant that many newcomers remained on the margins of society, but a fair number appear to have achieved stability or economic success. The successful acquired the cash or credit necessary to purchase property, as the conquistadors and their kin sold off their estates.

The purchase of a solar was not simply a matter of ostentation. It offered secure housing and a permanent residence and also provided space for a workshop or store, with access to a better clientele than the *cajonero* or street vendor served. Thus we see artisans acquiring these properties. In 1563 Luis, an indigenous tailor, co-owned three solares in Trujillo with a carpenter named

42. Testamento de Magdalena Jiquil, ARLL, PN 41 Obregon, 1594, reg. 3, f. 89; Testamento de Luissa Madalena, ARLL, PN 51 Obregón, 1617, reg. 1, f. 199v.

43. Zevallos Quiñones, *Los fundadores y primeros pobladores de Trujillo*, 1:307–8. A patacón was a peso valued at eight reales. For a sense of perspective, a servant in Trujillo at this time might earn twelve patacones in a year in addition to room and board.

44. Testamento de Catalina Román, cobdicio de Catalina Román, venta del solar and obligación, ARLL, PN 47 Obregón, 1611, ff. 8, 12, 13v, 223.

45. On the development of the northern economy, see Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs*.

Cristóbal; they had purchased these from another tailor and his brother. The ownership of multiple properties suggests that some of these were rented out for additional regular income.

Not only skilled laborers and shopkeepers became property owners. Even a few domestic servants somehow pieced together enough money to purchase a solar. Elvira Carua, who served Alonso Ortiz, an illustrious early vecino of Trujillo who had helped put down Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion, owned a solar with her husband, according to her 1588 will. She claimed in the will that Ortiz had never paid her salary and asked that her wages be collected from his estate. She had presumably purchased the solar with profits from livestock in the highlands that she and her husband owned and from other businesses, and she had also saved 30 pesos to pay for her funeral expenses.⁴⁶

In 1625, Luissa de Solossa sold a piece of her solar to another Indian, noting that she had acquired it as payment from her master for her services as a domestic servant, possibly because he had not paid her salary on a regular basis.⁴⁷ Because many indigenous women in this study who lacked an explicit income source owned solares, it seems likely that some of them received their property as a gift or payment from a former employer. In addition to offering compensation for a lifetime of work through nonmonetary items like property, it was not unusual for masters to provide informally for the upkeep of their children with servants they had impregnated.⁴⁸

Owning a solar offered space to brew, store, and sell the alcoholic corn beverage *chicha*, an often lucrative business engaged in by many urban indigenous women.⁴⁹ Leonor de Ulloa, the widow of a hosier, left two large brewing vessels as well as other implements of the trade, according to her 1608 will. Her solar also had a garden and fruit trees, providing other income and sustenance, and she sold it in the same year to a vecino named Benito Alvarez at the substantial price of 200 pesos.⁵⁰

46. Testamento de Elvira Carua, ARLI, PN 80 Vega, 1588, f. 146v. For Alonso Ortiz, see Zevallos Quiñones, *Los fundadores y primeros pobladores de Trujillo*, 1:263–65.

47. Venta, ARLI, PN 53 Obregón, 1625, f. 328.

48. For example, in 1559 Pedro de Osorio left 400 pesos in his will to “Madalena [Indian], my servant, mother of my children” (*Madalena mi criada madre de mis hijos*), although she had to go to court to get her inheritance. ARLI, Cabildo, Causas Ordinarias, leg. 2, c. 46, 1570.

49. Leo Garofalo, “The Ethno-Economy of Food, Drink, and Stimulants: The Making of Race in Colonial Lima and Cuzco” (PhD diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 2001); Jane Mangan, *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2005).

50. Testamento de Leonor de Ulloa, ARLI, PN 45 Obregón, 1608, f. 207.

Thus the upward mobility of Trujillo's ethnically mixed plebeian population conjoined with an official willingness to grant prestigious properties to the "right" kind of men and women and the increasingly urgent need of the surviving conquistadors for inflows of cash to create a vibrant and relatively open market in real estate. While buyers needed cash or credit in order to purchase a solar, once they owned such a property they could turn it into a source of income by renting out units or using it as capital. Thus the ownership of a solar signified more than simple stability; it also offered the possibility of further upward movement.

The exact meaning of the term *solarero* to Trujillo's residents remains unclear. Its coinage around the turn of the seventeenth century lagged behind the earliest purchases of such properties by a few decades, and not everyone who owned a solar was so designated once the term took hold. At least one solarera rented rather than owned her lot, reminding us that modern notions of private property might not correspond exactly with those of our subjects.⁵¹ It is possible that declaring oneself a solarero had resonances for indigenous immigrants who had lost access or had limited access to the resources and privileges that accompanied membership in an Andean *ayllu* or other community structure. Being a solarero, somewhat like being a member of a Catholic *cofradía* or an official of the indigenous *cabildo*, might offer prestige or privileges that drew from pre-Hispanic as well as Spanish and Christian customs and laws.⁵² What is clear, however, is that the specific social and economic conditions that arose in Trujillo led to a truly multiethnic city for a period and provided brief opportunities for social advancement for a large group of indigenous immigrants. The coining and deployment of the term *solarero*, apparently used with pride, speaks to a broadening of opportunities or at least the perception of a lack of structural barriers to social success for those near the bottom of the colonial hierarchy. At a time when elite notions of citizenship or *vecindad* were contracting, made more contingent upon the will of authority figures like monarchs and viceroys, and the political arena was therefore becoming more exclusive, the marking of nonelite Indians as solareros indicates a consciousness of their new economic power.⁵³

51. The renter was Angelina de Albarado, a chicha brewer; ARLL, PN 54 Obregón, 1627, f. 54v.

52. For a suggestive analysis of how pre-Hispanic land tenure systems evolved in one urban colonial region, see Paul Charney, *Indian Society in the Valley of Lima, Peru, 1532–1824* (Lanham, MD: Univ. Press of America, 2001), chap. 2.

53. The medieval Castilian model of citizenship was based upon uncontested residence and was thus less hierarchical. Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 52–59.

In contrast, while a small number of men and women of African descent in Trujillo owned substantial properties, freed men and women were more likely to purchase slaves of their own than a solar.⁵⁴ Andrés de Mora, an ex-slave, owned no solar at the time of his 1575 will but with his wife had a slave named Vitoria, whom he freed upon his death.⁵⁵ Elvira Martín in 1602 was a free *morena* who operated an inn (*tambo*) and owned a slave, as well as houses “in the city,” but apparently not a full solar lot. The scribe introduced her with words implying impermanence: “being presently in, and an inhabitant of, this city of Trujillo” (*estando y habitante en esta ciudad de Truxillo*), rather than calling her a resident, though nothing in the document suggests that she had any other dwelling.⁵⁶

The decision to purchase slaves rather than solares may reflect the fact that people of African descent in colonial Trujillo were likely to be in occupations, such as operating an inn or performing skilled labor, where extra hands were more valuable to them than real estate. People of African descent appear not to have encountered major obstacles to owning a solar. Sebastián Rodríguez, the son of a free black man and an indigenous woman, inherited his solar in the traza from his mother and left it to his son in 1631.⁵⁷ But in the documents consulted for this study, no people of African descent, Spaniards, or castas were ever referred to as “solareros”; the term was reserved for indigenous men and women alone. While individual blacks achieved economic security and some even prestige and wealth, the coining of the term *solarero* for indigenous men and women suggests the recognition of the position of well-off Indians as a group rather than as individuals and thus marks a change in colonial consciousness.

54. There are no really reliable demographic sources for Trujillo in this period, but a 1604 description gives the population as more or less evenly divided between Spaniards/mestizos (lumped into one category, 1,021 total), Indians (1,194), and blacks/mulattos (1,073), with the majority of the black population being free. See Carlos Romero, “Fragmentos de una historia de Trujillo,” *Revista Histórica* (Lima) 8 (1925): 91–93.

55. Testamento de Andres de Mora, ARLI, PN 33 Muñoz, 1575, f. 164v.

56. Testamento de Elvira Martín, ARLI, PN 29 Mata, 1602, f. 221.

57. Testamento de Sebastian Rrodriguez, ARLI, PN 199 Paz, 1631, f. 325. Conversely, barriers to Indians owning slaves might have been more strictly enforced in Trujillo than in some other places, leaving them to purchase land rather than human capital. In Lima, for example, ownership of slaves among testating Indians was much higher and ownership of larger residential and agricultural properties somewhat lower. See Karen B. Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of A Colonial Society in Peru, 1550–1700* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2007), chap. 2.

Indios criollos: Culture and Status

Although a broad spectrum of indigenous men and women achieved economic success in Lima, its neighborhoods were less integrated than Trujillo's, though they were far from segregated. Perhaps because of the ritual importance of the *plaza mayor* of the viceregal capital, or because Lima's Spanish population so greatly outnumbered its Indians, Lima's center remained firmly the seat of power, and there was no group of Indian solareros to mimic elite men and women of property.⁵⁸ But, like Trujillo, Lima was home to men and women known as *indios criollos*, a term similarly referring to a set of cultural and geographic transformations that challenged the dominance of citizens born in Spain.

The term *criollo* has a "confused and politicized meaning," as Daniel Usner has put it, that changes depending upon place, time, and the identity of the speaker.⁵⁹ There now seems to be a consensus that it was coined by Portuguese slavers, marking the difference between slaves born in Africa (*bozales*) and those raised in the New World, who spoke Iberian languages and practiced Christianity (*crioulos*, from *criar*).⁶⁰ In an interesting bit of counterhistory, the Andean mestizo author Garcilaso de la Vega wrote in the early seventeenth century that it was invented by African-born slaves in order to distinguish themselves from the second, American generation, "since the former are held in greater honor and considered to be of higher rank because they were born in their own country, while their children were born in a strange land."⁶¹ In either case, it appears to have arisen to refer to slaves of African descent but to explain cultural rather

58. A 1613 census of Lima gives the population as Spaniards (11,867), blacks (10,386), Indians (1,978), mulattos (744), and mestizos (192). As Frederick Bowser notes, this certainly undercounts mulattos and mestizos, who were presumably "passing" into the category of Spaniards. Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1974), 304. On the creation of Lima's neighborhoods and especially the Indian Cercado, see Lowry, "Forging an Indian Nation," 65–69. On ritual power in Lima, see Alejandra Osorio, "The King in Lima: Simulacra, Ritual, and Rule in Seventeenth-Century Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (Aug. 2004): 447–74.

59. Daniel Usner, "'The Facility Offered by the Country': The Creolization of Agriculture in the Lower Mississippi Valley," in Buisseret and Reinhardt, *Creolization in the Americas*, 35–36. See also the statement by José Juan Arrom, "Criollo: Definición y matices de un concepto," *Hispania* 34, no. 2 (May 1951): 172–76.

60. Lavallé, *Las promesas ambiguas*, 19. According to Lavallé, the term was not known in Portugal prior to this point.

61. Garcilaso de la Vega, *El Inca, Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, trans. Harold Livermore (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1966), 607.

than simply geographic or biological characteristics (and, more practically, to set prices in the slave market).⁶²

Within a few decades, *criollo* was also being used by Europeans in the Americas to name their own American-born generation, sometimes pejoratively through the association with slavery.⁶³ The first reported usages come from colonial and ecclesiastic officials, including the bishop of Guatemala (cited in 1563), authorities of the Peruvian viceroyalty (1567), and Jesuit authorities (after 1568).⁶⁴ According to Bernard Lavallé, the Jesuits picked up the usage so quickly upon their arrival in the Americas that it must already have been fairly common in colonial society. By the turn of the seventeenth century, the description of cities and religious orders polarized into camps of *criollos* and *castellanos* was common, with the concomitant assertion of fear of the rising power of “degenerate” New World species.

By the end of the sixteenth century, when Spanish-born immigrants to the American mainland referred to “*criollos*” they generally meant American-born peoples of Spanish descent; when they were discussing people of African descent they appended it to a noun indicating color, as in “*negro* [or *moreno*] *criollo*,” or status as enslaved (*esclavo*) or free (*borro*). Toward the period of independence, some Spanish creoles proclaimed themselves proudly as “*criollo*,” arguing for their better aptitude for governing their own homeland and its non-European populations.⁶⁵ Following this last usage, historians of Latin America have adopted the simple term *criollo* to refer only to men and women of European descent born in the Americas.⁶⁶

62. The importance of establishing place of birth in order to set a price is underlined in wills such as that of Leonor de Baños in 1636, who asserted that her two female slaves were “*criollas, born in my house, with the declaration that Captain Diego Muñoz Marchan made*” (*ambas criollas nacidas en casa con declarazion que haze el djo Cappn Diego Munoz Marchan*), AGN, PN 1857 Tamayo, 1636.

63. Lavallé, *Las promesas ambiguas*, 20; Martínez, “The Spanish Concept of *Limpieza de Sangre*,” 168; Pagden, “Identity Formation in Spanish America.”

64. All are cited in Lavallé, *Las promesas ambiguas*, 15.

65. See Solange Alberro’s sympathetic rendering of the plight of Spanish immigrants to Mexico and their changing consciousness, *Del gachupín al criollo: O de cómo los españoles de México dejaron de serlo* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1992). This usage of *criollo* never took hold in the Spanish Caribbean or in Brazil. See Schwartz, “Spaniards, *Pardos*, and the Missing Mestizos.”

66. Linguists, historians, and anthropologists of North America have in turn used the notion of creolization to describe cultural and especially linguistic contact between displaced populations and the living languages that developed out of these long-term experiences. See Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles*.

This story of Iberians and Africans arriving in and adapting to the New World leaves out one set of actors: indigenous peoples. If, as many have done, we take the term *criollo* to mean “born in the New World,” it would be redundant indeed to speak of “creole Indians.” Lavallé has argued for an expanded definition of *criollo* to mean “born in,” akin to *natural* or native; thus one is a creole of a certain place, and an indigenous person would be a creole of his or her birthplace.⁶⁷ Yet, as scholars have begun to note, Spanish-American creolization was seen more as a process of acculturation than as a simple reference to birthplace. For example, the records of slave purchases in Peru’s north coast reveal that certain slaves were transformed from *bozales* to *criollos* over their lifetime, probably because they learned Spanish, became practicing Christians, and changed their appearance.⁶⁸

Indigenous peoples went through similar metamorphoses. As we have seen, in sixteenth-century Trujillo a small number of indigenous men were awarded the privilege of citizenship because of such physical and metaphysical transformations. And nearly all indigenous men and women who moved to urban centers practiced a kind of cultural bricolage, adding new garments and fabrics to their wardrobe, attending church and joining religious organizations, speaking Spanish alongside or instead of an Andean language, and living in new social arrangements, including the rental of chambers in others’ houses. In such a way, urban Indians also became creolized. And indeed, many of them saw it that way. Urban archives include references to innumerable indigenous men and women with “Criollo” or “Criolla” in the place of a surname.⁶⁹ These names most likely derived from adjectives appended to Christian names indicating the individual’s particular status. This label could be pejorative, as we saw with Garcilaso’s explanation of the African coinage of the term, or when

67. Lavallé, *Las promesas ambiguas*, 20. Since *natural* was commonly used to perform this function, it is not clear why *criollo* would be coined. In any case, the term was not used this way in the documents consulted for this study.

68. Rachel O’Toole, “Inventing Difference: Africans, Indians, and the Antecedents of ‘Race’ in Colonial Peru (1580s–1720s)” (PhD diss., Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001), 28. Schwartz notes that *español* likewise came to designate a cultural, rather than birth-centered, identity. Schwartz, “Spaniards, *Pardos*, and the Missing Mestizos,” 10. It seems safe to say that all colonial categories were culturally constructed and had deeply politicized meanings.

69. See Kimberly Gauderman, *Women’s Lives in Colonial Quito: Gender, Law, and Economy in Spanish America* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 2003), 104, and personal communication. Surnames slowly emerged in indigenous Andean communities throughout the sixteenth century and rarely followed a single standardized pattern. See Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, 108–9.

Iberians dismissed their American-born cousins. Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the seventeenth-century indigenous critic who opposed the mixing of the African, indigenous, and European nations, wrote scathingly of *indios criollos*, whom he defined idiosyncratically as “Indian men and women born in this lifetime of Christian Spaniards” (*yndios, yndias nacidos en esta uida del tienpo de cristianos españoles*), that is, potentially all indigenous persons born after the conquest. Their contact with Christendom had done nothing to improve their character. He complained that they were “great idlers and gamblers and thieves, that they do nothing but drink and be idle, play music and sing, they care nothing for God or the King or any service, good or bad, nor have humility or charity, [nor] Catholic schooling, but they have great arrogance. . . . They go about like ruffians and highway robbers, gypsies from Castilla. . . . And it is a great injury to the rest of the poor Indians.”⁷⁰

Guaman Poma’s accompanying illustration (figure 1) shows an Indian man and woman dancing and playing music at a fiesta, both dressed in a mix of finery from European and indigenous cultures. The man has his hair cut short and wears patterned *pantalones* and a striped European shirt, with a jaunty hat and a cape flowing off his shoulders. The woman wears an *anaco*, an indigenous tunic, decorated with a woven design common to elite Inca garments, but with the addition of European-style detached sleeves, *mangas*. The Andean *lliclla*, a woven mantle, is draped across her shoulders and closed with an elegant *topo*, or pin, and she wears a head scarf. If we contrast this illustration with Guaman Poma’s depiction of the “good Christian nobleman” (figure 2), we see that the sin of the *criollos* is their ostentation and reaching above their proper (plebeian) rank. The elite couple that he depicted approvingly wears sober clothing that covers their bodies, adorned in a restrained manner most obviously by the

70. “Son muy haraganes y jugadores y ladrones, que no hazen otra cosa, cino de borrachear y holgar, tañer y cantar, no se acuerdan de Dios ni del rrey ni de ningún seruicio ni bien ni mal de ellos ni tiene humildad ni caridad, doctrina, sino que tiene toda soberuia. . . . Anda como ruffians y saltiadores, getanos de Castilla. . . . Y es gran daño de los demás pobres yndios.” Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, ed. John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980), 803 (f. 857). The language is similar to that used by Europeans to dismiss Spanish *criollos*, in part because of theories of the impact of tropical climates and environments upon bodies. See Alberro, *Del gachupín al criollo*, 41, 46; as well as Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, who argues that there also existed a biological-racial explanation for difference among nations in the colonies; Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, “New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600–1650,” *American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (Feb. 1999): 33–68.

Figure 1. Indios criollos.
 From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica i buen gobierno* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1992), 802. Reprinted with permission from Siglo Veintiuno Editores.



Catholic rosary that each bears. The criollo commoners present too busy and dissolute a picture; they fail to recognize their place in preserving or creating the kind of static society imagined by Guaman Poma.⁷¹

Guaman Poma's complaint, and especially his illustration of these transcultured individuals reinventing hierarchy in their new surroundings, bring us closer to the actual contemporary usage of *indio criollo* in seventeenth-century Lima and Trujillo: indigenous people used it to set apart those among them born in cities, with ties to multiethnic urban institutions, rather than those born in rural communities, where they would have been integrated into ayllus

71. In much the same way, Guaman Poma criticizes mestizos and prefers bozal African slaves to criollo slaves. On Guaman Poma's peculiar vision of indigenous society and the conquest, see Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 2nd ed. (Austin: Univ. of Texas, 2000).

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Figure 2. Buen cristiano principal. From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica i buen gobierno* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1992), 710. Reprinted with permission from Siglo Veintiuno Editores.

or other kin-based networks. And while Guaman Poma used it as a critical epithet, as others might have in his time, there was a community, at least in these two cities, where it was applied self-consciously and without a pejorative connotation.⁷² It was instead an assertion of a positive group identification being constructed by indigenous immigrants and their children, now constructing their own social networks and hierarchies.

In 1617 Alonso de Paz, who had emigrated to Lima from the town of San Miguel de Napo, named as his heirs two young daughters, “one called

72. It seems likely that *criollo* was applied to indigenous people in many locales, but certainly not all. For example, in a collection of colonial wills from Chile, locally born Indians are called “naturales” but not “criollos” except in one case, an unusual will written in the third person by a scribe (perhaps an immigrant from Lima himself) who refers to the testator as “criollo of this land” (*criollo desta tierra*). Julio Retamal Avila, *Testamentos de “Indios” en Chile Colonial: 1564–1801* (Santiago: Universidad Andrés Bello, 2000).

Bernarda, a criolla, four years old, the other girl called María, criolla, one year old.”⁷³ In Trujillo in 1610, Juana García, “Spanish-speaking Indian, criolla of this city” (*yndia ladina criolla desta ciudad*), sold her solar in the traza for a hundred pesos to Diego Yupay, “ladino Indian, and likewise criollo.”⁷⁴ In these cases, urban residents called special attention to the fact that these cultural and geographic transformations had yielded a new category, which they claimed as their own.

We may, as in the case of the solareros, be tempted to see this as a case of a notary imposing a social category on a client. But the first usage of the term I have encountered in the notarial archives comes from the 1608 will of Barbola, “criolla of this city of Trujillo.” In this case, the notary who prepared Barbola’s testament was her brother Pedro Juárez, one of the few indigenous notaries practicing in Trujillo.⁷⁵ While it is possible that the coinage originated outside the indigenous community, it is hard to see the brother imposing it upon his sister against her will or without her knowledge. Other instances of its use in Lima come from the *escribano de cabildo* (the cabildo’s appointed scribe) who worked with the population of the Cercado, the neighborhood originally assigned to *mita* laborers during their period in Lima, but by the early seventeenth century home to many of the city’s more prosperous indigenous residents.⁷⁶ As in the case of Trujillo’s solareros, while we cannot place the original term in the mouths of indigenous residents, it comes to us through colonial officials intimately familiar with the community and seems to have been approved and deployed by the community and not used outside it.

The term continued to be used through the 1630s and was often incorporated into qualifications about birthplace and skill in the Spanish language. Thus Diego Sedeño’s will in 1609 described him as “yndio criollo nacido en la ciudad de los rreyes” (a creole Indian born in this City of Kings).⁷⁷ Not every indigenous person born in Lima or Trujillo was called a “criollo.” Most contin-

73. AGN, Testamentos de Indios (hereafter cited as TI), leg. 1.

74. Carta de venta, ARLI, PN 181 Morales Melgarejo, 1610, f. 349v.

75. Testamento de Barbola, ARLI, PN 82 Alcántara y otros, 1602–1713, reg. 4 (Pedro Juárez), f. 4, 1608.

76. Many of these loose documents are collected in AGN, TI, legs. 1, 1A. All scribal offices were overseen by the government. *Escribanos públicos y de número* were the most general, usually occupying an office or stall in the street; others, like the *escribano de cabildo*, were attached to courts and bureaucracies. See Burns, “Notaries, Truth, and Consequences,” 358.

77. Testamento de Diego Sedeño, 1609, AGN, TI, leg. 1. Lima was originally known as la Ciudad de los Reyes, the City of the Kings.

ued to be referred to as “native of this city” (*natural desta ciudad*), the notary’s boilerplate language. The use of *criollo* was an anomaly appearing in only nine wills and a handful of other documents, but the term had important resonances for the propertied segment of the indigenous community.

What was at stake in this self-categorization? Some of these transformations were certainly pragmatic: urban residents lacked the time, the resources, and often, if second-generation immigrants or later, the knowledge to produce the clothes, food, and cultural objects common to Andean communities. Accepting hand-me-down clothing from employers or purchasing or bartering for new or used clothing in the markets replaced weaving for one’s own use, and with this shift came an interest in foreign novelties, including an appropriation and reformulation of European standards of fashion. European and African foodstuffs and recipes, offered side by side with Andean ones, were sold by mobile vendors or in taverns and *chicherías*. These became a shared taste among the various urban immigrants while retaining the prestige or negative associations of their origin.⁷⁸

The degree to which indigenous immigrants participated in this cultural exchange was flexible, if partly dictated by income, resources, and the retention of ties to rural kin. The wills of indigenous men and women in Lima in this period tend to include at least a few cross-cultural items, clothing in indigenous or European styles made from imported fabrics. The wealthiest had wardrobes that were virtually indistinguishable from those of a Spaniard. Even the poorest changed styles, though their clothes bore the markers of their class. By the early seventeenth century, labor contracts for Indian domestic servants no longer included the locally woven anaco and lliclla but instead a costume of skirt, bodice, and shawl made of cheap imported or manufactured materials, now known as *vestidos de india criolla*, or creole Indian dress.⁷⁹ These fashions circulated readily between ethnic groups. The numerous Indian tailors and vendors sold indigenous clothing to Africans and European clothing to Indians. In 1600 Francisca Ana de la Magdalena was owed 11 pesos by an indigenous man for a Spanish mantilla. Ysabel of Guarma’s 1570 will listed a number of small debts with household slaves, and the large number of indigenous-style garments she owned suggests that these debts might have been clothing sales.⁸⁰ The intermingling of Andean and European terminology for similar items—shawls

78. On this phenomenon see Mangan, *Trading Roles*, 91–92.

79. Lowry, “Forging an Indian Nation,” 224.

80. Testamento de Francisca Ana de la Magdalena, AGN, TI, leg. 1A, 1600; Testamento de Ysabel, AGN, PN 33 Esquivel, 1570, f. 215.

might be called “mantas” or “llicllas”—illustrates the convergence of certain fashions, at the very least.⁸¹

In contrast to Lima’s abundant cultural mixing, we can look at evidence from two women’s wills from Surco, a rural town on the outskirts of Lima, made in 1596.⁸² These indigenous women came into the city for business (one was a chicha vendor) but maintained their homes and personal networks in their rural community, and this identification is evident in their inventories of goods. One European garment is listed—María Capan requested that Diego return a red taffeta shirt and 60 bells, “which I loaned him for dancing”—but this is an exception. The rest of their catalogs of property include skeins of wool and cotton and “21 spindles” collected in a jar but not the handmade clothes themselves, which would have had little resale value.

Of course creolization was not only a method of participating in emerging transatlantic economies. These men and women spoke Spanish fluently, as evidenced by the absence of translators when they produced official documents with Spanish-speaking notaries. This was a cultural necessity: those who lived as servants or tenants in Spanish or mixed households presumably used it as a *lingua franca*. Trujillo, as we have seen, did not have clear ethnic neighborhoods where language pockets could easily be maintained. Lima did have a large residential area designated for its indigenous population, the Cercado, but even that was never homogeneous, and the rest of the city was fairly well integrated on the level of households, multifamily residences, and city blocks, as analyses of censuses and other documents have demonstrated.⁸³

Finally, religion was at the foundation of much of what we mean by a creole indigenous experience. While rural communities responded slowly and falteringly to evangelization, urban centers seem to have provided fertile soil for conversion to Christianity. The sheer number of extant indigenous wills provides

81. The shawls in Ysabel’s will, cited above, though clearly of indigenous provenance, were termed “mantas.” See also Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, chap. 4.

82. Testamento de María Capan, AGN, TI, leg. 1, 1596; Testamento de Elvira Coyti, AGN, TI, leg. 1, 1596.

83. Lima’s neighborhoods were officially assigned—the central plaza area was for Spaniards, the Cercado for Indians, and San Lázaro for blacks and castas—but, as Osorio and Lowry both argue, these divisions were superficial at best. Lowry, “Forging an Indian Nation,” chap. 8; Osorio, “*El callejón de la soledad*,” 198–200. The 1613 census of Lima makes this integration eminently clear, as its analysts have shown: Paul Charney, “El indio urbano: Un análisis económico y social de la población india de Lima en 1613,” *Historica* 12, no. 1 (1988): 5–33; María Antonia Durán, “Lima en 1613: Aspectos urbanos,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 49 (1992): 171–88.

evidence for this: while wills were necessary to ensure the desired distribution of large properties after death, many wills describe small, even miserable estates with no mortal beneficiaries. Instead these documents are intended to speed the testator's soul through purgatory. Many indigenous men and especially women made their own soul their heir in order to receive ongoing masses after their death.⁸⁴ Catalina Hallo, a widow who sold chicha in Callao, Lima's port, and testated in 1580, left some hens and roosters, the bottles and cups of her trade, some cotton thread, a fishing net, and a debt of five pesos still to be collected; what proceeds would come of this small estate she hoped would pay for her funeral, burial, and masses for her soul.⁸⁵

Church attendance and, more importantly, participation in *cofradías*, religious sodalities organized around the cult of a saint, were central to creating creolized Indians. *Cofradías* were common throughout Peru, where they were part of a process that destabilized political aspects of pre-Hispanic communities and created new economic as well as Catholic associations for individuals and emerging social groups, like artisans.⁸⁶ In cities, *cofradías* likewise played essential social, political, and economic roles beyond their religious role: providing small loans for their members, offering a community stage upon which subaltern men and women could exercise power, and giving a means for participation in the public rituals that were so central to colonial urban life. In Lima and Trujillo, *cofradías* were often multiethnic (although voting rights and official roles might be restricted to one ethnic group) and thus provided a way for urban Indians to identify with or distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups.⁸⁷

Thus the *indio criollo* was not simply a cultural stereotype, denoting the "fall" of pristine Andean values to the onslaught of colonialism, but represented the energetic attempts by indigenous plebeians to carve out a place for them-

84. In Lima, 44 of 147 indigenous women and 10 of 61 indigenous men named their soul or the church as heir; in Trujillo, 26 of 55 women and 1 of 24 men did so. See also Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, chap. 3.

85. Testamento de Catalina Hallo, AGN, PN 29 de la Cueva, 1580, f. 662.

86. Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers, *Las cofradías en el Perú: Región central* (Frankfurt: Vervuert, 1991), chap. 2.

87. Trujillo's *cofradías* seem not to have been segregated by ethnicity in this period. In Lima, segregation did not come fully until after 1650, when lines were drawn not only between blacks, Indians, and Spaniards but even within the African-descent community on the basis of color. Paul Charney notes the particularities of Lima's Indian *cofradías* in "A Sense of Belonging: Colonial Indian *Cofradías* and Ethnicity in the Valley of Lima, Peru," *The Americas* 54, no. 3 (Jan. 1998): 384ff. See also Christine Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor among Lima's Slaves, 1800–1854* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994), chap. 3; and Celestino and Meyers, *Las cofradías en el Perú*, chaps. 7–19.

selves in the new urban social web. And, like the term *solarero*, *indio criollo* was predominantly used within the indigenous community. While we have seen that notaries could play a role in the development and use of identifying terminologies, in these cases the terms were not generalized beyond the indigenous community and those intimately interacting with it. Miguel de Contreras, the royal notary who carried out the 1613 census of the Indians of Lima, for example, did not use the term in his detailed descriptions, preferring “natural desta ciudad” (native of this city).⁸⁸ And in none of the 381 wills surveyed for this study does a nonindigenous testator employ the term. Although Spaniards and blacks had no less need to identify their indigenous debtors carefully, they referred to Indians’ birthplaces, social status, occupations, physical features, and knowledge of the Spanish language but never called them “criollo.” The use of *criollo*, then, by indigenous men and women suggests that this was a term shaded by pride and accomplishment, demonstrating their entrée into a new social hierarchy in which they played a constructive rather than passive role.

Conclusion

Most of the literature that examines the new terminologies of the conquest emphasizes the loss of particular local knowledge brought by the homogenizing impulse of colonial naming: the flattening of ethnic differences into “Indian,” or the confusion over local political (and religious) structures created by calling ethnic lords “caciques” rather than retaining their pre-Hispanic titles, duties, and privileges.⁸⁹ But the loss of local social structures did not leave a vacuum, nor did subalterns passively receive the language of their colonizers and masters. The contestations that emanate from scribes’ documents—the changing language of ethnicity, the crossed-out or contradictory phrases common to archival documents that suggest changes of mind or arguments between principles—demonstrate that plebeians too found language a powerful tool and were eager to use it.

88. For example, Miguel de Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima en 1613*, ed. Noble David Cook (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, 1968), 104. Contreras painstakingly noted place of origin, since the tributaries logged in his census would owe payment to their natal cacique.

89. In addition to the works cited in note 3 above, this question is taken up by Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492–1797* (New York: Routledge, 1986); Karen Vieira Powers, “A Battle of Wills: Inventing Chiefly Legitimacy in the Colonial North Andes,” in Kellogg and Restall, *Dead Giveaways*; Susan E. Ramírez, *The World Upside Down: Cross-Cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Peru* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1996); and Ramírez, “From People to Place and Back Again.”

In the preceding study I have investigated two local coinages from urban colonial Peru: *indio solarero* and *indio criollo*. These terms come to us through documents created by indigenous individuals in legal conversations with Spanish, and occasionally indigenous, notaries. While we cannot absolutely assign the origin of either term to an indigenous author, we have seen that they were only deployed when at least one indigenous party was involved, and that the notaries who penned the words had strong, ongoing ties to urban indigenous communities. While such evidence may be criticized as indirect, it also seems to point to indelible facts. The rise of such terminologies indicates a social change that left the existing vocabulary wanting. More importantly, it suggests that this relatively small group of urban indigenous men and women recognized the novelty of their situation and took pains to bring attention to their positions. As a result, I have chosen to use the notion of creolization to highlight the self-consciousness of this inventiveness, to mark this moment as a glimpse at a colonial mentalité.⁹⁰

These coinages also demonstrate that indigenous men and women accumulated some of the social markers of success in colonial society, such as real estate, slaves, imported clothing, language, and religion. While these individuals may have been few in number and unlikely to turn their world upside down, they saw themselves as having achieved success according to the new standards that they embraced, whether slightly or wholeheartedly. And these standards cannot really be said to be those of their conquerors, for they were constructed, in both Lima and Trujillo, by men and women of African, indigenous, and Iberian birth and descent, albeit hardly under conditions of their choosing.

90. For this reason, while I endorse Dana Leibsohn and Carolyn Dean's critique of the use of jargon like *hybridity* for describing the "inherently heterogeneous" cultures that resulted from colonial contact, I disagree with their assertion that urban colonial subjects did not see themselves as participating in a new world, at least one different from that of their rural relatives. Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5.

Book Reviews

General and Sources

Historia antigua del País Imbaya. By SEGUNDO MORENO YÁNEZ.

Quito: Universidad de Otavalo, 2007. Illustration. Map. Bibliography. 262 pp. Paper.

The best-known Ecuadorian ethnohistorian, Segundo E. Moreno Yáñez (not Yáñez, a common family name I have seen cited for him in library catalogs), has attempted a very ambitious survey of the pre-Columbian evolution of the northern highlands of Ecuador. He defines his area of interest as between two river valleys, both flowing toward the Pacific: the Chota-Mira in the north and the Pisque- or Chiche-Guayllabamba in the south. The Chota-Mira also forms the northern boundary of Imbabura Province, delimiting it from Carchi Province, while the Guayllabamba is slightly south of Imbabura, extending into northern Pichincha Province but not so far south as Quito. Since so much of the argument of this book is geographic territory, it is tragic that the only map provided (p. 36) is virtually unusable: it has no names (only site codes with no key), no geographic features, and is reproduced at such a small scale as to be illegible. Moreno names this area “Imbaya Country,” reflecting the late-eighteenth-century historian Padre Juan de Velasco’s statement of the original indigenous name of the area before the Inca conquest in the late fifteenth century. Velasco attributed the name to that of a catfish (shown in this book’s only illustration, p. 98, unfortunately without a scale) that bursts in abundance from underground springs. Later the area was called the Province of the Caranqui after the extinction of the Imbaya by the Cara Indians (p. 103).

Moreno’s study of the archaeology allows him to claim that the cultures “after AD 900 show similarities that permit the assertion that a cultural area existed with homogeneous characteristic and perhaps even an ethnic identity, different from its neighboring Pastos, Quitos and Panzaleos” (p. 110). He focuses on pyramid mounds with ramps, which have been documented in several archaeological sites: Cochasquí (which he prefers to spell *Cochisquí* as a more indigenous earlier form), Caranqui, and Cayambe, to which he would add Otavalo. However, the extent of this culture as provided by its art is far broader: it goes into the western part of Napo Province and an outlying site of Píllaro, considerably farther south in Tungurahua Province, as illustrated by Pedro Porras. No mention is made by Moreno the similarity of these sites to the Imbaya culture, although he does discuss trade networks to other zones. In spite of their early reference in Velasco, he also ignores the Cara Indians. Betty Meggers, who published her still-important survey of Ecuadorian archaeology in 1966, called the entire culture of the northern high-

lands “Cara,” but she also included the Pasto culture of Ecuador’s Carchi Province and Colombia’s highland Nariño Department, which obviously forms a different culture area. John Athens, whom Moreno cites admiringly throughout this text, considers the Cara the ethnicity of this area. Others have doubted the existence of the Cara, beginning with Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, father of Ecuadorian archaeology, who preferred to refer to the culture as Panzaleo. Although Moreno calls this shared culture the *señoríos étnicos*, he never defines what their ethnicity in fact was. The Inca invasion, resulting in displacement of the local elites and the imposition of *mitimaes* (enclaves of Quechua-speakers) in the northern highlands of Ecuador, effectively erased the indigenous language in the seventeenth century. Early researchers considered that it had been related to *esmeraldeño*, the language of the northern Ecuadorian coast, part of the Chibcha-Barbacoa family. Moreno ignores these issues.

Although Moreno’s summary of the history of this region is very well documented both archaeologically and ethnohistorically, he reveals a certain provincialism by constantly citing himself and those people, Ecuadorian and foreign, associated with the University of Otavalo. Those who have not been so closely associated with Otavalo are criticized (Thomas P. Myers) or ignored (Betty Meggers and a host of other foreign archaeologists). English language citations in his extensive bibliography are few: the important Dumbarton Oaks symposium on the Ecuadorian Formative (published in 2003) is missing, although it would have been of great benefit to his research.

Nevertheless, Moreno’s compilation of information and excavation results from this small northern highland region of Ecuador, starting with the Paleoindian of the Ice Age through the Formative and the Regional Developmental, is very helpful as a reference, although he does not relate these cultures to the later Imbaya culture. The Integration Period chiefdoms (AD 750–1525) are his major focus, to which he brings chroniclers’ accounts to bear on the archaeology of the region. Were this book better illustrated, it would make an essential handbook for local Ecuadorians and other Americanists.

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Dominican Cultures: The Making of a Caribbean Society. Edited by BERNARDO VEGA. Translated from Spanish by CHRISTINE AYORINDE. Princeton, NJ: Marcus Wiener, 2007. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliographies. ix, 259 pp. Cloth, \$68.95. Paper, \$26.95.

This fine collection of essays offers a much-needed introduction to the historical formation of Dominican society and culture. Penned by several of the most prominent scholars of Dominican history and society, this translation will be very useful for teaching purposes since it offers a sampling of key scholarship that remains unavailable in English. Originally prepared for the national museum, El Museo del Hombre Dominicano, these essays made a splash when first published in 1981, since in highlighting the multicultural formation of Dominican society they challenged the Hispanophilia then dominant in

Dominican textbooks. Some of the key features that distinguish the country from its neighbors—the early extinction of the indigenous population, the rise of colonial cattle ranching, and the eighteenth-century development of a freedman majority—resulted in a nation of maximal race mixture, yet one not without diversity, as this elegant volume clearly shows.

The first cluster of essays evaluates the relative weight of the indigenous, Spanish, and African populations in shaping this nation of immigrants. The Arawaks contributed slash and burn agriculture as well as the intercropped *conuco* or kitchen garden, the preference for tuber crops, and the *coa* or digging stick still used in the rural interior. Vega's essay raises some key aspects of early Dominican society that help explain its distinctive homogeneity. Unlike in the rest of the Greater Antilles, most Dominican slaves arrived early on and were not employed in plantation agriculture but rather worked on small farms producing ginger, yucca for *cazabe* flatbread, and corn. Colonial poverty encouraged a more paternalistic style of slavery than in the more prosperous neighboring plantation economies, where racial boundaries articulated along patterns of labor segmentation. Vega chronicles an impressive number of indigenous cultural retentions, including place names and folklore, while waging a frontal attack at the nationalist mythology promulgated by the Trujillo regime that Dominicans were in any way biologically *indio* or indigenous. A chapter by Carlos Dobal discusses the Spanish cultural inheritance, which has been renewed in successive waves of migrations, most notably from the Canary Islands and Cuba. The dean of Dominican slave studies, Carlos Esteban Deive, offers rich examples of African retentions from his extensive colonial research while carefully critiquing several schools of thought, including those of Frank Tannenbaum and Sidney Mintz, as well as the "cloak and dagger Africologists" (p. 87) who see African retentions everywhere. He stresses that African-derived cultural forms have been diffused throughout Dominican society and adopted by phenotypic whites, which helps account for their apparent misrecognition by Dominicans. The lines of debate between Dobal and Deive could be useful as fodder for class discussion, since Dobal minimizes African features, while Deive highlights them; Dobal claims *cofradías* or religious brotherhoods as Spanish, while Esteban Deive notes that some colonial *cofradías* were founded to honor African deities, such as the sacred twins of the Dahomeyan Arará (p. 94).

Ruben Silié draws from his important research on the rural *hato* or extensive cattle ranch, the basis of the eighteenth-century economy. While materially impoverished, these cowboys relied primarily on their own hunting skills, and when they could afford help, they hired free blacks on the ranch and only relied on a slave or two for domestic work. With little capital to afford slave purchase, the Spanish colony provided liberal manumission to runaways from the neighboring French colony of Saint-Domingue (today Haiti), who called themselves *indios* to distinguish themselves from their former status as slaves (p. 155). The *hato* and the *conuco* or provision ground were thus the formative engines of creole society. As Deive and Silié stress, without the plantation complex binding African-derived people and their cultural forms to one social location, their cultural forms spread throughout society.

The final two essays treat the late nineteenth-century emergence of market relations, as sugar plantations fueled by U.S. capital transformed the economy and society. Contract labor from the British West Indies and Haiti became a solution to the labor shortage, but Germans, Spanish, Italians, Syrians, and Sephardic Jews also poured in, expanding the emergent commercial sector, and tobacco, coffee, and cocoa exports increased. Frank Moya Pons covers the U.S. military occupation (1916–24), which also spurred the process of modernization through road building and disarmament. By drastically reducing customs duties, the 1919 U.S. customs tariff flooded the country with imported goods, which curtailed local manufacturing and Americanized local tastes. Local manufactures were later spurred on by World War I, as Dominican industries benefited from the increased U.S. demand for sugar products. Moya Pons notes that after the Trujillo dictatorship (1930–61), increased tourism and travel to the United States fostered the emergence of a new racial consciousness among Dominicans, who came to identify with other Caribbean immigrants and peoples of color in the United States.

Courses on the Caribbean often leave out the Dominican Republic because of the way it breaks with the plantation society paradigm. With the recent boom of interest in early slavery from Central Africa, this volume would be a fine complement to Linda Heywood and John Thornton's recent work *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585–1660* (Cambridge, 2007). It demonstrates very effectively the end results of early slavery and creolization processes, reminding us that the two-tiered racial system of the Anglophone world was not universally the outcome.

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The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus.

By DAVID ABULAFIA. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008. Photographs. Plates. Maps. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xxix, 379 pp. Cloth, \$35.00.

The title phrase, "The Discovery of Mankind," is glossed in David Abulafia's preface to refer to Christian Europeans' gradual experience of the variety and range of human activity and expression "in the age of Columbus," an age that turns out to have lasted nearly two centuries. The European "discovery of mankind" was a long, and arguably still incomplete, process, but Abulafia's book focuses rather on the immediate "shock of discovery" (p. xv), a topic he rather oddly thinks has received much less attention than the intellectual adjustments that followed. The book finishes in 1520, well before even the great Spanish debates about the nature of American Indians. It begins in 1341 in order to give full and proper weight to the accounts of European encounters with Canary Islanders in the section "Eastern Horizons: The Peoples, Islands, and Shores of the Eastern Atlantic," which is followed by equivalent "Western Horizons" and "Southern Horizons." This provides the book with a cogent organization, even though African encounters are given short shrift and Mexico gets two pointless pages.

The Discovery of Mankind demonstrates the strengths and weaknesses of narrative history. A large amount of primary and secondary material is skillfully synthesized in 22

chapters to produce a very readable narrative. The author's impressive background in Mediterranean history allows him to embed his story with confidence in its larger European context, drawing on materials in several languages. Though pitched at a general readership, the book has a firm scholarly basis and a discreet but full scholarly apparatus (only marred by its unprofessional index). The difficulties begin with trying to match the narrative approach to the book's announced theme. The focus on the immediacy of contact inevitably means that Abulafia is heavily reliant on eyewitness accounts. He is well aware of the textual controversies surrounding many of these accounts—from Las Casas's summary of Columbus's journal to the attempts to reconstruct Ramón Pané's *Relación* from its Italian translation—which he summarizes succinctly and accurately. But, with the exception of Bartolomé de las Casas, the writers who pondered the implications of the European discoveries were not those on the colonial front line: seven pages at the end of the book finally address "The Renaissance Discovery of Man," but the narrative impulse soon reasserts itself over any temptation to offer analysis, with a subheading announcing that "The Encounters Continue" (p. 310).

For the most part, *The Discovery of Mankind* is written in an urbane tone that falters only when it comes to Abulafia's impatience with the literary scholars who have trespassed into the area of Atlantic encounters with their "post-modernist" and "post-colonialist" approaches; here the author shows little patience and even less understanding as he offers travesties of these arguments. As so often when historians approach Columbus in the Caribbean, much of the discussion focuses on the old chestnut of cannibalism. Abulafia pronounces himself "convinced there were cannibals in the Caribbean" (p. xvi), a conviction reiterated more frequently and more forcefully than the significance of the topic itself would warrant, which leads one to suspect an investment of a different kind.

In fact, perhaps surprisingly after this prefatorial show of conviction, Abulafia is properly skeptical of Columbus's interpretations of what he saw and thought he was told on his first two voyages through the Caribbean. Drawing more than he realizes from deluded postcolonial critics, Abulafia constantly makes the valid point that Columbus was determined to draw a line between "good" Indians and "bad" Indians. Unfortunately the narrative impetus never allows him time to stop to consider just why this division was so important to Columbus, nor to reflect on the fact that it was the "good" Indians who actually wielded power in the Caribbean and whom Columbus proceeded to displace. And least of all does he ponder the peculiarity of Columbus's binary determination turning out, at least as Abulafia tells it, to match exactly the situation existing in the Caribbean. Perhaps not surprisingly, for all his heralded conviction, Abulafia can offer no incontrovertible evidence that there were cannibals in the Caribbean, only incontrovertible evidence of how quickly Columbus and his colleagues such as Dr. Chanca moved to interpret ambivalent evidence, such as the presence of bones in huts, as incontrovertible proof of the existence of a people called Caribs, who ate people.

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Facing Racial Revolution: Eyewitness Accounts of the Haitian Revolution.

Edited by JEREMY D. POPKIN. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007. Illustrations. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xv, 400 pp. Cloth, \$54.00. Paper, \$19.00.

The bicentenary of Haitian independence in 2004 spotlighted the astonishing surge of academic interest in the island that has emerged over the past decade. Major conferences have been held at the College of Charleston, the John Carter Brown Library, and the University of the West Indies (Trinidad campus) to commemorate the event; these meetings showcased the high-quality research on Haitian history, literature, and travel accounts being done by David Geggus, Laurent Dubois, John Garrigus, Alyssa Sepinwall, Tim Matthewson, Mimi Sheller, Sybille Fischer, Laënnec Hurbon, and Charles Forsdick, among many, many others. In this new and valuable anthology, historian Jeremy Popkin has done a great service to the profession, and undergraduate students in particular, by compiling a collection of mostly unpublished primary sources left by eyewitnesses to the complicated events and colorful personalities that accompanied Haitian independence.

In his introduction, Popkin notes that, although there is a massive amount of documentation related to the military, diplomatic, political, and ideological aspects of the revolution, there is a striking lack of knowledge about the lives and experiences of everyday people in those tumultuous times. Popkin made a valiant effort to look beyond sources that are already widely available in English and wisely has not included extracts from well-known writers such as M. L. E. Moreau de Saint-Méry, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Marcus Rainsford, Prince Saunders, and Pamphile de Lacroix. Among his selections are Auguste Binsse, a member of the *pompon rouge* pro-white faction who opposed any concessions to any other racial groups in 1793; an extract from an unpublished contemporary play called "Le philanthrope révolutionnaire ou l'hécatombe à Haïti"; the observations of a French naturalist named Michel-Etienne Descourtilz; the narrative of prisoner of war and religious convert Honoré Lazarus Lecompte; the memoirs of a 12-year-old boy named Élie-Benjamin-Joseph Brun-Lavainne, who was accidentally taken to Saint-Domingue on a French ship in the opening years of the revolt; and the deposition of Marie Jeanne Jouette, who was taken prisoner by the insurgents in 1792. Although nearly all of the 19 accounts are written by white men, it is nevertheless possible to access a variety of opinions and experiences through records of their contacts and conversations with women, slaves, mulattos, free blacks, and ideological opponents. Many of the authors also left their impressions of prominent leaders such as Toussaint, Dessalines, Rochambeau, Sonthonax, Le Clerc, and Aaron Burr. The extracts reveal underlying changes in racial attitudes and indicate how pervasive the political violence was and how dramatically the military events of the Haitian revolution affected the lives of each and every resident on the island.

Interestingly, Popkin derived the idea of compiling eyewitness testimonies of (genocidal) racial revolution from several disparate influences. As a writer himself, Popkin was affected by the magisterial re-creation of personalities and events in Madison

Smartt Bell's trilogy of novels set in the Haitian Revolution. As an engaged intellectual, he is interested in race and slavery in the Americas, and he has a sister who was involved in truth and reconciliation processes in El Salvador and Guatemala. Popkin's own recent scholarly work has focused on the intersection between history and autobiography, which has led him to teach courses on Holocaust survivor accounts. In several of his introductory prologues, Popkin points out a striking similarity between some of the Saint-Domingue residents' eighteenth-century accounts and the strategies, tropes, and cross-group solidarity that he sees in twentieth-century Holocaust survival literature. For example, he notes that the story of the white Janvier sisters, young girls who were rescued from dangerous mobs by black sympathizers at great personal risk and later betrayed by neighbors, bears much resemblance to the bravery and nonsectarian humanistic efforts of some Europeans to hide their Jewish neighbors from Nazi persecutors. One would not want to stretch the comparison too far, given the vastly different cultural, racial, and colonial conditions of slave-owning society, but on an individual level, the parallels are intriguing.

Two editorial changes would have made the collection easier to use. First, the 19 chapters are presented in rough chronological order but are identified by inconsistent titles, and none includes names. For this reason, it is difficult to identify the person or viewpoint contained in specific chapters by consulting the table of contents. Second, although the chapters themselves have extensive endnotes that identify relevant secondary sources, the bibliography lists only the sources for the actual extracts used in the anthology and a few other selected unpublished manuscripts. One must assume that this economy of ink and paper reflects ongoing efforts by publishers to reduce costs, but it does render the citations more cumbersome to wade through for those wanting to follow up on leads or who might wish to make a general survey of current historiography of Haitian revolutionary studies. These drawbacks are vastly outweighed, however, by the careful academic research, judicious selection of hard-to-access voices, and inclusion of ten powerful illustrations. This most welcome book is sure to be consulted regularly in the classroom and in broader scholarship.

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The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820–1880. By IVÁN JAKSIĆ.
New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 256 pp. Cloth.

In this book, Iván Jaksic has followed in the footsteps of other scholars, notably Stanley T. Williams and Richard L. Kagan, who have explored the impact of Spanish history and culture on the writings and worldview of prominent American intellectuals of the nineteenth century. With one exception, he focuses on individuals who have already received substantial attention in this context: Washington Irving, George Ticknor, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and William Hickling Prescott. The exception is Mary Mann,

known to Latin Americanists as the first translator of Domingo F. Sarmiento's *Facundo* (1868) into English.

All but Irving were New Englanders, and all flourished during the middle decades of the century. Irving, Prescott, and Ticknor produced the greatest volume of writings on the Hispanic world. Irving, already famous for his tales of New York, wrote romanticized works such as *The Alhambra* (1832) as well as a best-selling biography of Christopher Columbus (1828). Prescott received accolades for his *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* (1837) and for his stirring narratives of the conquest of Mexico (1843) and Peru (1847). Ticknor, the first person to hold Harvard University's Smith Professorship of the French and Spanish Languages, is remembered mainly for his three-volume *History of Spanish Literature* (1849). Longfellow, Ticknor's successor in the Smith Professorship, was the most beloved American poet of his generation. He was less prolific than the others where Hispanic subjects were concerned, and Jaksic concentrates on the Spanish sections of *Outre-Mer* (1833), a travel narrative, and the verse play, *The Spanish Student* (1843).

Jaksic identifies several common themes in the writings of his five subjects, who he claims "pioneered the serious study of Spain and Latin America in the early republic" (p. ix). First, they sought to define the Spanish national character, which they believed consisted of two central elements: chivalry and religion. After the *Reconquista*, however, chivalry "had degenerated into a cruel tendency to fight and conquer" (p. 2). Spanish Catholicism had degenerated, too, into corruption, intolerance, and fanaticism exemplified above all by the Inquisition. Jaksic also contends that Prescott and the others believed that the rise and decline of the Spanish Empire offered lessons to the United States, "a didactic reminder of what [it] should not become" (p. 3).

Jaksic, well known as a historian of politics and intellectual life, especially in Chile, develops these themes in the one or two chapters he devotes to each subject. He has consulted not only their printed works but also numerous manuscript collections. While his analysis of each author's writings, both public and private, is cogent and blessedly free of jargon, their relationship to American intellectual life as a whole is not sufficiently elucidated. In any event, Spanish decadence and the evils of Catholicism had been staples of Anglo-American discourse since the seventeenth century.

Despite their commitment to Spanish studies, Jaksic's subjects spent little or no time in Spain, with the exception of Irving. Irving lived there from 1826 to 1829 and spent approximately four years as U.S. minister in the 1840s. Ticknor and Longfellow visited Spain only once as young men and never returned, despite subsequent trips to Europe. Mann and Prescott never went to Spain at all, and Mann was the only one of the five to visit any part of Spanish America. In the mid-1830s, she spent 18 months on a coffee plantation in Cuba. Her experiences formed the basis of a novel, *Juanita*, published posthumously in 1887, in which she condemned Cuban slavery as well as the despotism of the government, the immorality of the clergy, and the frivolity and ignorance of the Spanish population.

Despite their limited firsthand exposure to the Hispanic world, all five developed extensive connections with scholars and intellectuals in Spain and Spanish America, mainly through correspondence or contact during visits to the United States. Jaksic's

lengthy discussion of these contacts is arguably the most valuable contribution of his book. Spaniards sometimes found fault with the Americans' facts or interpretations, a tendency less marked among Spanish Americans, though Lucas Alamán objected to Prescott's use of the term "barbarous" to describe the Aztecs, and his treatment of the writings of Spanish missionaries. Longfellow's poetry was received at an earlier date in Latin America than in Spain and "with more consistent enthusiasm" (p. 100), for it seemed to speak to the challenges facing the new nations. Jaksic also traces Mary Mann's relationship with Sarmiento, whom she first met in 1847, and her difficulties in translating *Facundo*.

In the conclusion, Jaksic observes that at century's end the association of Spain with despotism and religious bigotry remained as strong as ever. Thus, even though his five subjects were fascinated by the Hispanic world, they failed to alter the negative stereotypes and indeed strengthened them. He also maintains that the five "assembled . . . the most enduring view of the Hispanic world's relevance, indeed centrality, to the United States" (p. 186), a point that could have been developed more systematically.

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Looking South: The Evolution of Latin Americanist Scholarship in the United States, 1850–1975. By HELEN DELPAR. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 241 pp. Paper.

Helen Delpar's goal in this succinct, well-organized, and timely book is both a survey and analysis of the work and views of U.S. historians and social scientists about Latin America from the nineteenth-century precursors to about 1975. She modestly describes her offering as an introduction to a continually evolving scholarship and a follow-up of earlier studies by Howard Cline, Lewis Hanke, and Carl Berger. Happily, she offers much more than a survey of the major trends and setbacks affecting the training, development, and influence of Latin Americanists in the twentieth century. The result is a superb assessment of the state of the field, measured not only by its growth and status in the twentieth-century university but also by the role and views of Latin Americanists at critical times—in the heyday of U.S. empire in the first third of the century, in both world wars (especially in the decade 1935–45), in the tumultuous years following the triumph of Fidel Castro, and in the sometimes vitriolic debates about Latin American dependency in the 1960s and 1970s.

Each chapter not only details the major changes and development of the field during a particular era but also explains how and why some practitioners in specific disciplines forged ahead while others lagged behind. Delpar reminds us that Latin Americanists in this country have always been alert to the impacts of domestic issues on those who labor in this multifaceted field, and disagreements among them in the past have often been as sharp and vitriolic as those since 1975. The earliest practitioners were also mindful of the prejudices of their readers and the interests of government officials and institutions who used their services or funded their projects.

A few examples may suffice. In his detailed accounts of the conquest of Mexico and Peru, William H. Prescott was mindful of the anti-Spanish prejudices of his readers. And there is more of a hint of Anglophobia in the Central American offerings of John Lloyd Stephens and Ephraim G. Squier, who wrote at a time of increasing U.S.-British rivalry in the isthmian region. In the first third of the twentieth century, as the field struggled to gain respectability, some Latin Americanist pioneers carried out not only institutional but public roles: Bernard Moses, who was appointed to the Second Philippine Commission and became a delegate to the first Pan-American Scientific Congress; Leo Rowe, who advised President Woodrow Wilson on Latin American affairs; and Dana Gardner Munro, who embarked on a career in the State Department after publishing his history of Central America. Hiram Bingham, famous for his expeditions to Peru, became an outspoken critic of the Monroe Doctrine.

During World War II, a generation of budding Latin Americanists—economists, cultural officers, historians, and political scientists, among others—benefited from a dramatic increase of official involvement and interest in the region. Some, such as Lewis Hanke and Frank Tannenbaum, became troubled about the impact of the shifting post-war political winds in U.S. politics on the study of Latin America. Their fears were justified, as every student of U.S. involvement in the region during the Cold War knows. What revived the field, of course, was the launching of Sputnik and the parallel concern about U.S. education, the Cuban revolution, and the growing intensity of the debate over U.S. policy in the hemisphere in the 1960s and early 1970s. Delpar tells this story, as well as the flourishing expansion and development of Latin American studies and the accompanying concerns that official and institutional support for individual research became increasingly dependent on the willingness of the scholar to look at specific topics—social revolution or dependence, among others. In the process, the racist discourse of the nineteenth century became muted, if it did not disappear altogether, but so, too, did the old Boltonian notion of a “common history” of the Americas.

Delpar has little to say about the years after 1975, save for summing up what has happened to area studies—cuts in funding, a growing sense that the “Two Americas” are divided by such different cultural heritages that no north-south unity or commonality, no “intellectual” bridge will ever unite them. Contrarily, one could make the case that Latin American and Caribbean migration into this country since 1975, the dramatic escalation of remittances of these migrants to their home countries, the laudable efforts to frame statements of human rights, hemispheric summitry, and the push for economic integration, among other modern trends, are forging new bonds.

Delpar is too good a scholar to plunge into these uncertain waters. Instead, she has given us something far worthier, a biographical assessment and a guidebook to unraveling the problems and issues that confronted Latin Americanists over a century and a half. This book will have a long “shelf life.”

LESTER D. LANGLEY, University of Georgia

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Colonial Period

A Land So Strange: The Epic Journey of Cabeza de Vaca: The Extraordinary Tale of a Shipwrecked Spaniard Who Walked across America in the Sixteenth Century.

By ANDRÉS RESÉNDEZ. New York: Basic Books, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 314 pp. Cloth, \$26.95.

Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was the only conquistador I got right on my grade school history tests. Anyone named Mr. Cowhead is pretty funny stuff to a fifth grader, and he tended to stick in my memory. Besides, there wasn't that much to remember. Cabeza de Vaca, a black slave, and a couple of other Spaniards were shipwrecked on the Gulf Coast of North America and spent several years wandering around Mexico until they were rescued. A mildly interesting story, but I didn't remember many of the details. Decades later, when I was actively pursuing research on Hernando de Soto's trek through La Florida, Cabeza de Vaca's sojourn was still little more to me than prelude to the real *entrada*. Or so I thought until I read Andrés Reséndez's *A Land So Strange*.

The four-year ordeal of De Soto has nothing on the travails of Cabeza de Vaca and the Narvaéz calamity. Pánfilo de Narvaéz and a company of over 300 men left to explore the area around the Rio de las Palmas in 1528. Unfortunately, their pilot, Diego Miruelo, didn't know where he was going and instead of landing on the east coast of Mexico, they disembarked at Tampa Bay. The army plodded north, and, running out of food in hostile territory, the group heroically built rafts and attempted to sail west to New Spain (Mexico). They ended up wrecking off the coast of Texas, where the natural and social environment conspired to whittle the expedition down to four men: Cabeza de Vaca, Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, and the slave Estebanico. Soon they were all enslaved and endured a harsh captivity of several years. Eventually, they managed to escape and work their way across the northern Mexican landscape as itinerant shamans or healers. They encountered a party of Spanish slavers who, upon realizing that they were not Indians, returned them to "civilization" after eight years in the wilderness.

Reséndez does a masterful job recounting the story in a readable prose that rivals the best fiction; but this is not fiction, it is fact. Or, at least, an informed conjecture that draws upon the fields of history, ethnography, and even some archaeology. By thoroughly reexamining what is said and what is left out of the primary accounts, Reséndez provides the context which guided the players' decisions and actions. The political struggles in Spain are discussed, giving insight into why Narvaez acted precipitously in launching an ill-prepared venture. The rivalries within the expedition itself explain some of Narvaez's actions and actually make him seem even more incompetent than history paints him. The ethnographic descriptions of the myriad native societies of the Texas-Mexican borderlands will surprise and delight the anthropologically inclined. To the sixteenth-century Spaniards, the nomadic foragers they encountered must have seemed completely alien. The result is a deeper understanding of the deep misunderstandings between the different cultures.

There are no distractions from the excellent writing. The text is well organized and edited, the maps and illustrations appropriate and well rendered. The endnotes provide a wealth of information and there is even a guide for further reading. All Hispanic Studies scholars should read this book, and they will be hard pressed to put it down. It was truly a pleasure to review.

CHARLES EWEN, East Carolina University

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No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada. By RICHARD FLINT. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008. Maps. Appendixes. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xviii, 358 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.

The Harvard scholar Richard Marius once wrote that good historical writing gives the impression that the author has worked tremendously hard to learn something and is giving an authoritative guided tour of the knowledge he has attained. This is exactly what Richard Flint's narrative of the Coronado expedition does. Flint is a research associate in history at the Center for Desert Archaeology in Tucson, Arizona, and has worked for many years with his wife, Shirley Cushing Flint, collecting and translating documents related to Coronado. These have been published in two evocatively titled volumes: *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported: The 1544 Investigation of the Coronado Expedition* (2002), and *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1544: "They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, Nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects"* (2005). Flint's latest book can be read as a meticulous guided tour of these documents.

Yet it is more than that. Flint's broad vision and shrewd analysis sets *No Settlement, No Conquest* apart from the "Great Man" narratives that crop up all too often in borderlands studies. He offers not only an impressive mastery of facts, but also a sophisticated analysis of the *entrada* as a social phenomenon. Flint shows that the expedition was the product of a transitional moment in the history of the New Spain. Coronado came to prominence at a time when freelance conquistadors were steadily giving way to bureaucrats as the most important agents of the Spanish empire. The expedition was thus reminiscent of earlier privately financed efforts at conquest, yet it was organized with a view to the proper treatment of natives and the establishment of legal, religious, and governmental institutions.

Previous accounts have ignored these subtleties. Most often, Flint writes, the Coronado expeditionaries have been "portrayed as a small army of Spanish knights in armor dispatched by the King of Spain to look for gold." He argues that "every element of that characterization is inconsistent with what is now known about the expedition and the tradition and conditions from which it sprang." Flint goes on to show that Coronado's expedition to the north was large, composed of only a few knights with limited armor alongside hundreds of Spanish craftsmen, herdsman, artisans, merchants, women, chil-

dren, and—crucially—thousands of Indian allies. The Spanish leaders were not seeking gold, but rather large populations of Indians from whom they hoped to extract tribute.

Flint calls the expedition “an imperial town seeking a site for itself . . . governed like the town it was supposed to become by a cabildo, or town council, of leading citizens.” In its structure and aspirations, Coronado’s expedition was the product of the king’s desire to rein in the conquest and impose the rule of law. The *requerimiento* was read at the appropriate moments, and officials tried, with limited success, to prevent the abuse of Indians.

Flint’s sober, factual narrative leaves one wondering what it must have been like for Indians to see this meandering town. It was populous, stunningly diverse, dangerously needy, and fueled by a swirling, contradictory stew of emotions including greed, lust, desperation, religious principle, and a vague humanitarian yearning to “help” Indians. Many Indians simply ran away. Many did not, however, and Flint provides a sensitive account of the meetings between Coronado’s party and the native peoples of northern New Spain. His analysis of native guides, allies, and networks of communication are particularly strong. The Spanish were completely dependent on Indians, yet they often failed to understand those they traveled and worked closely with for years. Flint cites work on indigenous notions of time to explain one key failure of communication. When Coronado asked where the most magnificent native settlements were, native peoples led him to what they considered the greatest settlements of the native world. The fact that these settlements had in many cases been abandoned for centuries did not trouble Indians, whose sense of time was cyclical. To conquistadors eager for tribute, however, the fact that these sites were uninhabited meant a great deal, and their howls of rage echo through this book.

The Coronado expedition did not end happily. Indeed it was typical of this period’s many entradas in that it was a crashing failure. Like most conquistadors, Coronado never found the fabulous native cities he was looking for. Only a very few sixteenth-century Spaniards got rich through conquest, and many of them subsequently lost their fortunes. In exploring this massive, complicated, and richly documented expedition, Flint has provided a useful counterweight to narratives of Spanish triumph so common for this period. It is a sad, bleak tale. Yet *No Settlement, No Conquest* is also a vibrant, thought-provoking portrait of a colonial society in transition and deserves the attention of students and scholars alike.

RAPHAEL FOLSOM, University of Oklahoma

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Invasion and Transformation: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico.

Edited by REBECCA P. BRIENEN and MARGARET A. JACKSON. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008. Plates. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 231 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

The selection of plates that forms the core of *Invasion and Transformation* offers the reader a chance to enter a virtual art museum illustrating the conquest of Mexico. The greatest merit of this book lies in the combination of illustrations of seventeenth-century art and artifacts of the Americas from the Jay I. Kislak Collection at the Library of Congress with the contributions of a substantial group of scholars. Given the weight of the illustrative element in this study, the structure of *Invasion and Transformation* can be analyzed in pictorial terms. Divided into three parts (plus a final coda about the Kislak paintings), the basic argument resembles a triptych. The main participants of the conquest are placed in the foreground. The four articles grouped in part 1 reflect on the historically accepted values attributed to Moteuczoma, Cortés, and Malinche. On one extreme stands Moteuczoma, the fearful and passive Aztec leader who abandoned himself to the eight omens that anticipated what was to come, thus bearing the guilt of Mexica's defeat. On the other end looms Cortés, the brave hero famous not only for decimating a resistance that outnumbered the Spanish forces but also for being able to combine his dexterity at war with literary skills. Malinche serves as the ambivalent nexus between the two extremes, with emphasis on her active role as mediator in the sixteenth century. As Constance Cortez indicates in her article, Malinche's role was downgraded to a premeditated passivity in the next century, due to a process of historical revision to accommodate the new reality of Spanish domination in the seventeenth century.

In part 2, Matthew Restall's chapter "Spanish Creation of the Conquest of Mexico" centers on the conquest in mythistorical terms. By "mythistory" Restall means "a vision of the historical past heavily infused with misconceptions and partisan interpretations so deeply rooted as to constitute legends or myths" (p. 94). This mythistorical vision allows him to consider the portrayal of conquistadors as soldiers in a royal army, the perception of native peoples by Spaniards, Cortés as the main driving force of the conquest, and finally the justification of the conquest on religious grounds. The transformation of history acquires a new dimension through the transformation of space. "The Conquest of Mexico and the Representation of Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain" by Michael J. Schreffler follows that train of thought. Some examples of seventeenth-century *biombos* (folding screens) and *enconchados* (paintings encrusted with shell) have traditionally been perceived as evidence to extol creole patriotism. This article reverses this traditional reading and demonstrates that these artistic forms could have been used to enhance Spanish imperial power, precisely at a time when the Spanish empire was in decline. Diana Magaloni-Kerpel closes part 2 with a detailed description of the prophetic world of the Mexica people. She focuses on the eight omens preserved in Sahagún's Book 12 from the *Florentine Codex* to indicate that omens were not a random expression of the Mexica's cosmogony. Instead they served a clear, preestablished purpose to create a prophetic history according to the Nahuatl calendar.

The “Effects of Invasion” (part 3) are considered by Martha Few and Ximena Chávez Balderas, mainly in medical terms. These two authors focus their attention on Indian autopsy and epidemic disease during the conquest era.

This is an extraordinary book of history accessible to a wide variety of audiences. Its interdisciplinary nature will provide newcomers with a rich list of topics about one of the most decisive events of colonial history. Scholars will find a challenging twist in traditionally accepted arguments about the conquest of Mexico. Most readers will be captivated.

ALBERTO ZAMBRANA, Universidad de Sevilla

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Gestores de la real justicia: Procuradores y agentes de las catedrales hispanas nuevas en la corte de Madrid. By ÓSCAR MAZÍN. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2007. Illustrations. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 393 pp. Paper.

A short review will not do justice to Óscar Mazín’s remarkable book on how the Habsburg monarchy worked. Although the title invites a reading from specialists, *Gestores de la real justicia* should become an essential work for those who deal with the global Hispanic Monarchy during the period 1550–1650 and for world historians interested in the first global age, 1400–1800. How is it possible that a book focusing on four legal representatives (*procuradores*) of Mexico City’s cathedral at various times between 1568 and 1634 could have such historiographical significance? Mazín exposes through a connected history the significance of royal authority within a geographically extensive monarchy and the nature of the period’s historical dynamics.

From the writings of prominent historians—for example, Andre Gunder Frank, Serge Gruzinski, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam—and methodological manifestos such as the *La Pietra Report* of the Organization of American Historians, scholars learn that they must write “connected histories.” The reason is that the history of any place, no matter how large, is shaped by the way it is connected to other places and by the way that these connections change over time. In responding to this injunction to write a connected history, Mazín has principally made use of the rich collection of the Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México to explore the links between the major ecclesiastical corporation of New Spain and the royal court in Madrid. Because the lawsuits and other business handled by the cathedral’s representatives dealt with issues that were central to New Spain and the monarchy as a whole, Mazín has built his book on the foundation of archival sources, particularly the correspondence of the representatives sent from Mexico and agents hired at court, that provide him with a valuable view of the institutional interactions at the heart of the global Hispanic Monarchy.

Through four case studies, Mazín shows that interactions within social networks sustained royal authority within the spatially large and discontinuous Hispanic Monarchy in the face of the difficulties created by long, difficult trips between major political centers. Significant groups and prominent individuals among the ruler’s subjects were

frequently divided throughout long periods by serious conflicts that they could not resolve among themselves, and because the principal characteristic of royal authority was the provision of justice, they sought resolution from the Crown. Although the monarch sent judicial officials to all royal domains as an expression of the royal responsibility to provide justice, appeals over major matters would, sooner or later, arrive in Madrid. This meant that these litigious groups and individuals would have to establish connections at court, not just with well-known figures but also with a series of minor agents. Some of these ties would be relatively weak ones that were maintained mostly to provide sources of information, but others would be stronger and designed to reach strategic goals of sustaining the relative autonomy and authority of the group relative to others.

In the case of New Spain, two legitimate ecclesiastical systems confronted each other over the cure of souls and the collection and distribution of tithes: the regular clergy, particularly the friars of the major mendicant orders, and the cathedral chapters representing episcopal leadership. Rather than through the exercise of some sort of "state power," it was through the provision of institutional means for the resolution of such disputes that crown officials could, in the monarch's name, obtain information about the royal domains, exercise influence within them, and retain their loyalty over centuries. Mazín does an especially good job of explaining this interactive process and how it was the process itself that sustained the Hispanic Monarchy. In doing so, Mazín discusses cultural conceptions of authority drawn from canon and civil law sources and political thought, but he does not make it clear to what degree and how this cultural environment of ideas actually shaped action or whether the competing ideas were just utilized by parties to defend interests that were defined in more material terms.

Finally, Mazín's book clarifies that the proper model for understanding the first global age is not a linear one. This is no "early modern" period that after three or four centuries would culminate in an age of Liberal constitutionalism and centralized polities, European imperialism and military predominance, and narcissist individualism. Instead, the model must be a systemic one with a significant spatial component expressing the networked interactions among geographic places and recognition of the complex, nonlinear dynamics that sustained these interactions. Treating a four-century period, 1400–1800, from the perspective of a complex, dynamic, nonlinear system entails a new way of thinking about history as a discipline, and this book provides an admirable introduction into how this new understanding might be approached.

J. B. OWENS, Idaho State University

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Cuban Convents in the Age of Enlightened Reform, 1761–1807. By JOHN J. CLUNE JR.
Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ix, 132 pp.
Cloth, \$59.95.

Jay Clune places the reforms of the convents in Cuba in context of the Bourbon Reforms, which were meant to reorganize the military, widen trade, and shake up public administration in order to increase tax receipts and strengthen the king's power. Reforms also extended to religion and social life; the most famous was the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America. The monarchy would further centralize power by strengthening the secular clergy vis-à-vis regulars (members of a monastic order). Since the days of Isabella and Ferdinand, the state oversaw religious affairs in exchange for furthering Roman Catholicism. Begun by the Spanish kings in the eighteenth century, the Bourbon Reforms reached their height under Charles III (1759–88) and extended to monasteries and convents.

The reforms of convents were to discourage nuns from an opulent and secular lifestyle, which made the convents the center of colonial social life and religious festivities, and return to the more veiled and enclosed life of earlier centuries. The thrust of the conventual reforms was to turn the nuns away from the private life to the common life. However, opposition to these reforms was fierce and involved the nuns and their allies in the upper class, government, and clergy. The opposition was so tenacious that a dual standard was begun: those nuns who wanted to maintain a private life with personal incomes from their relatives, personal servants, and slaves could do so, while new entrants, as well as those already there who so wished, would enter the common life. However, the number of black veil nuns (those who took the permanent vows and brought in the larger dowries), declined after 1768, when the Council of the Indies limited the admission of novices in order to reduce their populations so that communal resources could support them. These conventual reforms typified other Bourbon Reforms because they were instituted as compromises. Meanwhile, a few young females were admitted to the cloisters to appease the Cuban elite.

The monarchy hoped that by adopting the common life the nuns could turn their attention to educating the girls in the colonies, as the Ursuline sisters were already doing in Louisiana. The Enlightenment had kindled a desire in upper-class Cubans to have their daughters educated. Yet the richest and most prestigious convent in Havana was Santa Clara, and it did not educate girls. Santa Clara (Franciscan) and Santa Catalina (Dominican) invoked a clause in a papal brief to avoid schooling girls on the grounds there was no room for them to board following the arrival of refugee sisters from Santo Domingo. These nuns had arrived without personal servants and income after the Treaty of Basel, which awarded Santo Domingo to France in 1795. The pressure to educate girls was also lifted from those two convents for 24 years when the Ursuline Order of New Orleans opened up a convent in Cuba that admitted girls as pupils in 1803. By 1819, a royal *cédula* (decree) was implemented forcing the convents to open schools for poor girls. The nuns of Santa Clara did begin educating young girls but could not compete with

the Ursulines, who rose in the estimation of Cubans because of their earlier educational efforts; in fact, the Ursulines attracted more members than the Clares and Dominicans. As time passed, an increasingly secular and anticlerical age marginalized the contemplative orders.

Clune's book complements prior scholarship on the reforms in the convents of Peru and Mexico by Luis Martín, Kathryn Burns, Margaret Chowning, and Asunción Lavrin, among others. The reforms of the convents took hold in Cuba more than on the mainland in Peru and Mexico. There is little comparative explanation for these differences, highlighting the relative newness of these studies. The reader anticipates further examination of the anxiety that must have overtaken these convents as the common life and arrival of refugees made them poorer and less desirable for the daughters of the elite. Elites increasingly viewed convents as schools rather than solely as protectors of female honor, as males increased their authority over them, and as regulars lost out to seculars. One would also like to see a sequel that takes the story of Cuba's nunneries up to the end of the colonial period.

VIRGINIA W. LEONARD, Western Illinois University

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Deconstructing Legitimacy: Viceroy, Merchants, and the Military in Late Colonial Peru.

By PATRICIA H. MARKS. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2007.

Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. x, 416 pp. Cloth, \$65.00.

Historiography has paid little attention to the events that led to the overthrow of Viceroy Joaquín de la Pezuela. So far, it has been considered the consequence of a conspiracy led by General José de la Serna along with other peninsular-born officers dissatisfied with Pezuela's conduct of the war against San Martín's army. In Marks's opinion, that conspiracy did not arise from a proper alliance between the rebel officers and a group of merchants belonging to the Consulado de Lima (the merchant's guild), since the evidence for the existence of such a coalition is "indirect and circumstantial" (p. 319). In fact, the plot was the result of a convergence of interests between the military and the merchants, who also shared the same monarchist and liberal political ideas. Moreover, this event was the final outcome of a radical transformation in political culture that had been going on for the previous 40 years and had changed "the very idea of legitimate governance" (p. 1).

The author starts from these premises and, with the help of a great number of sources, analyzes first the composition of the merchant elite active in Peru from 1779 to 1821. She goes on to examine the different phases of the conflict, which, starting from the enforcement of the Bourbon administrative and commercial reforms, set the Lima merchants against the last viceroys, causing multiple (and so far ignored) fractures within the very same Consulado.

Marks accurately describes the protagonists (creole merchants, *peninsulares* recently arrived to Peru, the Real Compañía de Filipinas, and the Cinco Gremios Mayores de Madrid) and the ways the conflict grew and intertwined with the debates that concerned the government of Spain and its colonies during those frantic years, together with the notion of free trade. At first, the Lima merchants took advantage of the warlike situation in Europe, trying to sabotage or elude the reforms. When in 1818, Pezuela's increasing difficulties in finding the resources he needed to defend the viceroyalty led him to propose the opening of the Callao harbor to foreign ships, the opposition to his commercial policies increased and finally exploded, giving way to a fierce "war of words" that took place in journals, memoranda, and petitions to the Crown.

Merchants hostile to Pezuela's measures tried to delegitimize his actions by accusations of ineptitude, disobedience to the Crown's directives, excessive submission to foreign merchants, and complicity in smuggling. On the other side, the viceroy was increasingly unable to adopt (in spite of the creation of a number of consultative committees) the usual bargaining practices between political authorities and local elites, which for three centuries had allowed the Hispanic Monarchy to smooth conflicts and build up consensus and obedience.

Marks, supported by plenty of sources, runs through the changes of attitude toward the viceroy's authority. Nevertheless, it would be useful to a deeper understanding of the process to pay more attention to the decisive role played by the ideas that spread in both Spain and Hispanic America after 1808, ideas that are touched on only in the last pages. In those years, the debate focused on sovereignty, its location, its exercise, and the circumstances in which the *pueblo* was legitimately allowed to assume that same sovereignty. These issues, accurately studied by recent works starting with those by François-Xavier Guerra, were the ideological justification for practices, such as the creation of *juntas* and provisional governments, witnessed in Spain by General La Serna and Gaspar Rico, the most persistent of Pezuela's opponents. From that experience grew the language that Rico "had given limeños with which to question the legitimacy of the viceroy and his ruling" (p. 8).

Finally, it is only affirmed, and not properly argued, that with Pezuela's overthrow, "Peru experienced an early form of Latin American praetorianism" and that La Serna and Rico's actions were "a model of praetorian politics that persists to this day in the nation-state that emerged from the Peruvian revolution for independence" (p. 353).

Some elements of the 1821 events, such as the search for a posteriori legitimation, the claim of popular support, and the "salvationist rhetoric" of the proclamations (p. 353), might, to some extent, bring them close to the *pronunciamientos* of the nineteenth-century caudillos (though surely not to the twentieth-century *golpes de estado*). Nevertheless, the situation and the characters of the protagonists (officers of a colonial army colliding with a viceroy, with an independence army at their doorstep) make any comparison difficult.

At any rate, these observations do not diminish the value of a book that offers to scholars an original and documented contribution to the study of the political and cul-

tural life of late colonial Peru, especially of the changes and conflicts existing within one of the most important institutions of that age, the Consulado de mercaderes of Lima.

GABRIELLA CHIARAMONTI, University of Padua

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Pelo Vaso Traseiro: Sodomy and Sodomites in Luso-Brazilian History.

Edited by HAROLD JOHNSON and FRANCIS A. DUTRA. Tucson, AZ: Fenestra Books, 2007. Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Index. xii, 503 pp. Paper, \$33.95.

There is a good working consensus in queer theory (the analysis and deconstruction of compulsory heteronormativity) and gay studies (the history of homoerotic identities) that the concept of *homosexuality* is an invention of the late nineteenth century, as is *heterosexuality*. There is evidence of same-sex bonding throughout human history, which may be manifest in official institutions such as the convent or the military, as well as in public associations such as the so-called English molly houses (early eighteenth century) or private gatherings. Yet there is little evidence that this bonding can be called an “identity” in the sense of the in-depth psychological analysis that is one of the master discourses instituted in the nineteenth century. Rather, as Michel Foucault has famously stated, before the end of the nineteenth century, there is a history of sexual *doing*, or history of sexual acts, while after the invention of homosexuality and heterosexuality, there is a history of sexual *being* or sexual identities. There now exists considerable writing on these issues, especially in terms of the histories and biographies of same-sex identities that has been the central concern of gay studies. (Gay studies of course includes lesbian studies, with the full recognition that women’s history does not parallel men’s history; men’s history is the focus of the book under review.)

The history of sexual acts prior to the emergence of gay identity is that of *sodomy*, a term that, as Mark D. Jordan has shown in *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (University of Chicago Press, 1997) is more of a placeholder in the Christian discourse on sexuality than a fully semanticized lexeme. The term can never be defined, beyond the phrase “the nefarious sin,” because that would serve possibly to awaken interest in trying it out. However, while theology writing, manuals of religious devotion, catechisms, and guides for confession could never define sodomy, when one turns to the actual historical evidence, that of the Inquisition or of other judicial processes, sodomy does, in fact, achieve some level of lexical definition, even if it is always likely to remain vague, incomplete, and ambiguous. The Portuguese phrase “pelo vaso traseiro” (“through the back door” would be the best colloquial English translation) came to be used as a very literal, transparent, and graphic characterization that, presumably, one and all could understand. (No source is given for the cover illustration, and so one does not know if it is from the colonial period studied by the essays in this volume, but it shows a male devil/gargoyle with his tail and buttocks raised, clearly ready for the act.) Such a relatively precise definition of sodomy makes it clear that in Portugal and the premodern

Brazilian state (2 of the 11 essays, however, do refer to the early modern period), official interest lay exclusively with controlling male sexuality and punishing same-sex anal acts; the range of other meanings for sodomy and sodomites appear not to have been at issue, at least for the records examined here.

Space does not allow for a summary of all the essays, which, with the exception of two based on literary works, involve the extensive examination of Brazilian and Portuguese archives. But one fine example is Johnson's "A Pedophile in the Palace or the Sexual Abuse of King Sebastian of Portugal (1554–1578) and Its Consequences." It is known that Sebastião's lack of heir is what enabled the Spanish captivity of the Portuguese crown (1580–1640), but schoolbooks presumably do not go into Sebastião's syphilis dating from the time he was a young man and the fact that sodomy, *sex pelo vaso traseiro*, was unquestionably a part of his biography. I suspect in this sense that Sebastião was the Portuguese Edward II: their sexual transgressions provided one pillar for official homophobia. This fascinating essay well illustrates the excellent material to be found in *Pelo Vaso Traseiro*.

DAVID WILLIAM FOSTER, Arizona State University

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The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco.

By BARBARA L. VOSS. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xix, 400 pp. Cloth, \$45.00.

Barbara L. Voss's study of colonial settlers in San Francisco, California, during its years as a presidio (1776–1821) is a welcome addition to the growing field of North American historical archaeology. What sets her work apart from more conventional studies is her decision to analyze identity within the theoretical framework of ethnogenesis, or "the birthing of new cultural identities" (p. 1), and to focus on the colonists rather than the colonized (Native Americans). Simply stated, Voss highlights how a diverse group of families of mixed race origins recruited by the Spanish Crown to settle a military outpost came to reject their classification in the *sistema de castas* and forge a new group identity as Californios.

Voss's study of ethnogenesis on the frontier of the Spanish Empire is organized around four main themes: colonization, material practice, overdetermination, and sexuality. Colonization produced the cultural ruptures that drove innovations to create new identities. Material practice, or what people do, receives ample attention in her study as she posits that "social subjects are entangled in the materiality of the world" (p. 4) and that the material practices of daily life play an active role in reshaping and maintaining social identity. Overdetermination challenges the static approach employed by archaeologists to view identities as secure categories rather than "ongoing social processes" (p. 5). One of the study's strengths is the author's analysis of the myriad webs of discourse and

material practices that shaped Californio identity. Sexuality and gender round out her organizing concepts. Voss is especially interested in “relations of differential masculinity that were materially produced through labor practices and architecture” (p. 6) and how they combined with race and local conditions to consolidate a unique cultural identity.

Employing ample historical and archaeological sources, Voss found that second- and third-generation mixed-race colonists defined themselves as *gente de razón* or *hijos del país* to differentiate themselves from Native Californians. Their identification first as people of honor and second as tied to the region or land gave way to their self-identification as Californios. Self-conscious choices in dress, foodways, dishware, and the organization and manipulation of space all contributed to a tangible Californio identity that was in direct opposition to that of their Native American neighbors. While Ross Jamieson in his work on colonial Ecuador found that castas combined colonial and indigenous material culture to negotiate their mixed-race status, colonists at El Presidio de San Francisco deployed “material practices that created internal homogeneity within the colonial population and established rigid distinctions between themselves and local Native Californians” (p. 300). Voss’s findings depart from other studies of colonists and the colonized that emphasize creolization or syncretism as a result of their cultural contact. In fact, Voss suggests that Californios had more in common with Dutch settlers in the Hudson River Valley than with their counterparts elsewhere in the Spanish Empire. Californios and Protestant Dutch mercantilists, while living under disparate colonial projects, pursued similar material strategies that separated them from local indigenous populations.

Historians will find much to like about this book. It is clearly organized and each chapter begins with a historiographical discussion that firmly situates the research in the literature. Voss’s study also emphasizes the fruitful collaboration that could occur between historians and archeologists. Moving beyond a simple analysis of material culture, Voss mines historical documents (what people say) and analyzes them in combination with the archaeological record (what people do). Theory underpins much of her analysis, with Michel Foucault, Anthony Giddens, Judith Butler, and Pierre Bourdieu providing the framework to understand structures of control, the use of space, gender identities, and the development of taste among the Californios. Voss navigates the different theorists and theories with expertise and avoids unnecessary jargon.

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O idioma da mestiçagem: As irmandades de pardos na América portuguesa.

By LARISSA VIANA. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 2007. Illustrations. Map. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 239 pp. Paper.

Rulers of the Luso-Brazilian world from the sixteenth century used various terms to categorize individuals. In sixteenth-century Portugal, the Catholic Church accused persons of Jewish background, Moors, and New Christians (Jews who had converted to Christianity) of having impure blood. In this manner, elites maintained social hierarchies and marginalized these groups. Portuguese explorers, slave traders, and settlers carried these biases with them as the empire expanded. They claimed that Africans whom they enslaved possessed impure blood. As the slaveholding colony of Brazil increased in population in the seventeenth century, the words *mulato* and *mestizo* became common. These terms suggested persons of mixed race and also connoted inferiority due to impure blood. Colonizers of Brazil used these terms to discriminate and demean. Author Larissa Viana writes, "In the colonial environment, the binary term mulatto-impure inserted itself into the laws and daily life as a way to impede possible pretensions [by persons of mixed race] of upward social mobility" (p. 224).

From the early seventeenth century, the word *pardo* became common in documents. Viana takes on the daunting task of defining this fluid term that had no fixed meaning. It was a term employed to respond to the ever-changing social conditions of a slave regime. Often *pardo* implied that a person was of mixed race (like *mestizo* or *mulato*), as distinct from a person who was black or white. It suggested that one's skin was dark or brown. The word *pardo* could also denote social status with no reference to racial characteristics. For example, some black persons born in Brazil claimed themselves to be pardos. To be described as a *pardo* affirmed one's status in a hierarchical society where institutions (the Catholic Church, colonial bureaucracies, family) traditionally defined one's position through birth, religion, origin, and wealth.

O idioma da mestiçagem analyzes various Catholic brotherhoods throughout Brazil from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries composed of pardos (several included women as members). By using the term *pardo*, members sought to distinguish themselves from black, white, and creole (persons born in Brazil) brotherhoods. Pardo brotherhoods provided "ties of solidarity and networks of protection with other persons born in the colony, with whom they could share their experiences and prospects" (p. 226). Similar to black brotherhoods, pardo brotherhoods adopted Catholic virgins to venerate and for protection. In 1628, for example, members of a pardo brotherhood in Salvador, Bahia, placed an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe in their chapel. Although we do not know the specific reasons behind this selection, it is likely that devotees found appealing the dark or mixed race appearance of this virgin. In 1745, members of a pardo brotherhood in Recife, Pernambuco, enshrined the first pardo saint at their Catholic church. Named Gonçalo Garcia, this image had been transported from Portugal to Brazil by a "pardo man" named Antônio Ferreira who claimed to have been inspired by this "saint of his [Ferreira's dark] color" (p. 125).

This book is subaltern history at its best. Viana employs a wide range of documents to probe the subtleties of colonial society in Brazil. She emphasizes that persons of color invoked the term *pardo* as a form of self defense and self-affirmation. By defining oneself as a *pardo*, an individual moved away from social stigmas associated with enslavement. By joining a *pardo* brotherhood, one could share one's insights and dreams with others. The *pardo* brotherhoods offered succor in a racist environment. By analyzing the terms used in the colonial period, one gains insight into the origins of racial discrimination and categorization (*mestiçagem*, *preto*, *negro*, *mulato*, *pardo*, *criolo*) common in modern Brazil.

The book is also a historiographical tour de force. Viana meticulously analyzes the ways in which observers and historians have described pardos. By entering the world of pardos, one gets a real sense of the daily struggles and survival strategies of common folk of mixed race in Brazil. This book is worth your time, but you will have to read it at least twice to absorb all of the information and rich insights it provides.

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Diabolism in Colonial Peru: 1560–1750. By ANDREW REDDEN. Religious Cultures in the Early Modern World. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007. Illustration. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. ix, 242 pp. Cloth, \$99.00.

Abordar temas religiosos en sociedades coloniales genera complejidades inesperadas. La más visible es que el autor tendrá que proponer una tesis válida por lo menos para dos o más miradas de la realidad. Redden ensaya con éxito el esquema agustiniano, por el que los evangelizadores se ubican a sí mismos en la Ciudad de Dios, y destinan a los futuros cristianos en el campo antagonista. La propuesta es manejada con enorme erudición y la metáfora del sabio de Hipona sirve también para contraponer el concepto de urbe equivalente a civilización. Los invasores del Tahuantinsuyu visualizan a los no europeos como esclavos del demonio y por tanto ajenos a los beneficios de sus verdades y paradigmas culturales.

Nada de lo dicho escapa de las líneas seguidas por los investigadores de las últimas décadas del siglo XX, pero el autor despliega su capacidad de manejar el debate teológico de los siglos XVI y XVII con sagacidad y elegancia. Los casos que presenta: María Pizarro o las Clarisas de Trujillo, no solamente revelan una mirada cuidadosa de los documentos, agrega a ello, la ubicación de los hechos en sus espacios geográficos y en el contexto sociológico debido.

Hay que reconocer que se trata de un terreno complejo, cuyo estudio si bien tiene antecedentes modernos en la historia de la iglesia peruana (Rubén Vargas Ugarte, por ejemplo), desde los años sesenta se empiezan a mostrar las grietas de estas primeras aproximaciones. Otros investigadores serán los encargados de refinar la documentación, y ubicar a los indígenas y africanos como interlocutores válidos (Pierre Duviols, por ejemplo) de las palabras de la Iglesia. No mucho más tarde surgen nuevos horizontes,

abiertos por la moderna antropología que ubicarán al Infierno y a su protagonista como espacio y personaje ineludibles en la ideología americana. No se trata solamente de que surjan a contrapelo de Dios en los documentos redactados por sacerdotes o en las visiones de los iluminados, posesos o reclusos de la Inquisición. Su presencia no es la contraparte obligada de Jesús o del santo o santa favorita de quien admite el pecado. El Diablo americano existe por sí mismo, por encima de la demonización habitual de los dioses vencidos, que se registra en la historia del mundo.

Este magnífico libro crea la sensación de que la penetración del catolicismo ha cubierto los espacios del pensamiento de tal forma que en territorios americanos se repiten inexorablemente las heterodoxias europeas. El autor no enfatiza de manera suficiente la capacidad de los andinos (y mesoamericanos) de dar a los dioses y demonios de la doctrina un papel diferente al que se predica en los pulpitos. En beneficio de sus lectores debió remarcar la multitud de neófitos y la escasez y desconocimiento de los doctrineros, sobre todo cuando abandonaban las calles de los precarios centros urbanos.

Es un nuevo Satán con el que deben lidiar los sacerdotes. Su relación con el nativo de los Andes está centrada la necesidad de mantener los rituales heredados de las sociedades precolombinas que desde los siglos XVI y XVII han sido interpretados a la luz de la experiencia colonizadora. Incluso hoy (2008) en el Infierno andino los pecados que se purgan tienen que hacer más con el haber quebrado alguna norma de los rituales establecidos, que con la larga relación de faltas que puede extraerse del Decálogo.

Mientras Redden se situó en terrenos que con cierta libertad podríamos llamar ciudades, su erudición basta para comparar a americanos y europeos en sus crisis de éxtasis, donde el mensaje diabólico y el mensaje divino pueden confundir incluso a los exorcistas. Es más difícil lidiar con curanderos de los pueblos de la costa norteña (Huanchaco o Guaman), que con las reclusas de Santa Clara. Dentro de los muros pesan menos las herencias de mochicas o chimús, aunque el Demonio a veces tome la forma de su cerámica. El autor lo sabe y es prudente en el manejo de situaciones, y tiene el talento de no arriesgar en los terrenos en los que todavía no hay material que podría o no sostener sus hipótesis.

Aun así, el libro ofrece espacios y crea las preguntas necesarias para que otros estudiosos caminen por la brecha abierta por su aventura académica. Redden está lejos de defender posiciones en favor o contra el quehacer de la Iglesia, ha superado la inútil polémica donde naufragaron estudios anteriores, el material de los archivos, vasto y bien seleccionado, permitirá interpretaciones diferentes, pero le queda el mérito de haberlo ensamblado con propiedad y largueza.

Es natural que una investigación de estas características amplíe sus horizontes geográficos cuando el material más cercano a su interés puntual es escaso. Buscar materiales en Colombia, Brasil, Centro América o México, sirve para llenar vacíos de una hipótesis sobre los Andes. Por estas carencias hay que culpar a los historiadores, antropólogos y demás científicos sociales del centro de los Andes. Redden cumple con revisar una bibliografía muy actual y con un sondeo documental suficiente. Sobre todo si tenemos

en cuenta que los archivos eclesiásticos del Perú son espacios difíciles, por una política administrativa de la Iglesia que es mezquina, por decirlo con delicadeza.

El libro está escrito para muchos públicos. Un teólogo exigente se sentirá retado a analizar el manejo de los textos medievales en épocas del Renacimiento, Reforma y Barroco. Los historiadores de la Colonia pensarán dos veces con respecto a los alcances, pocos, pero esclarecedores de etnografía con que Redden nutre su trabajo. Las investigaciones modernas se sentirán gratificadas con el despliegue interdisciplinario del autor. El texto está redactado de manera clara y precisa que da espacio para la ironía con que maneja los casos del Santo Oficio.

El libro merece ser leído con atención y es un innegable aporte al estudio de la religión colonial.

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Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco. By GEOFFREY BAKER.
Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index.
x, 310 pp. Cloth, \$79.95. Paper, \$22.95.

This book makes an outstanding contribution to the music history of colonial Latin America from a perspective—urban and social—that in the Hispanic world has not received the attention it deserves. Previous versions of some chapters have been published as articles, but this volume presents for the first time an integrated vision of musical activity in Cuzco, the old capital of the Inca Empire, which had a predominantly indigenous population during the colonial period. The book, dealing mostly with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, begins with a chapter devoted to the urban soundscape (with particular attention to the role of bells, processions, and domestic music), followed by a chapter about the Cathedral and the Seminario de San Antonio Abad (institutions whose music began to be studied by Robert Stevenson and Samuel Claro Valdés). The remaining three chapters discuss convents and monasteries, urban parishes, and rural Indian parishes. The book's structure has some parallels with the classic *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* by Reinhard Strohm (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, rev. in 1999), but Baker does not discuss the music. He states that “focusing on musical practices rather than on musical works, we are better able to demonstrate the central role of music in colonial society, and thereby to combat any temptation to relegate cultural activities to the margins of historical inquiry” (p. 9). Notwithstanding the limitations of Cuzco Cathedral's sources and the difficulty of access to them, the author utilizes a wide variety of administrative and legal sources from archives in Cuzco (Archivo Arzobispal, Archivo Departamental), Lima (Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Archivo Arzobispal, Archivo General de la Nación), and Seville (Archivo General de Indias).

One of the most original contributions in this book is the study of the unceasing musical activity in the eight Indian parishes surrounding Cuzco Cathedral and in the

doctrinas de indios or Indian rural parishes of the Cuzco diocese. Numerous confraternities established in the parishes fostered performances by indigenous musicians, whose repertory included European polyphony as well as pieces related to Andean tradition. Parish musicians usually belonged to these confraternities. Following pre-Hispanic traditions, they received part of their salary not in cash but in kind and sometimes worked for free as a form of contribution to the community. By controlling parish music, the leading Andeans could promote their own interests, maintaining their preeminent position within the colonial social hierarchy. Thus “the development of European-derived music in indigenous parishes cannot, then, be slotted into a vision of colonial power relations based on the polarities of ‘Spanish domination’ and ‘Andean resistance’.” There is ample evidence that its adoption was negotiated rather than straightforwardly imposed” (p. 236).

A peculiarity in Cuzco was the scarcity of cathedral prebends for musicians. For this reason the cathedral music chapel depended upon local musicians (particularly singers) trained at the Seminario de San Antonio Abad. There were some Indian *cantores* (singers) who worked at the Cathedral, but Baker suggests that in this case the term referred to instrumentalists. It should be pointed out, however, that musicians were not always local, and that there must have been a certain degree of mobility, as suggested by the fact that the important composer Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo (not mentioned in Baker’s book) was chapelmaster at Cuzco after having served in other Spanish and American cathedrals. According to Baker, the Spanish model, with “a dominant cathedral *capilla de música* surrounded by weaker, dependent institutions,” was very different from the one in Cuzco, “where many churches strove for a high degree of musical self-sufficiency and no single group dominated the city’s musical life” (p. 88). This comparison, though, is somewhat adventurous, since studies are lacking about Spanish musical institutions other than cathedrals. Particularly relevant in this book is Baker’s study of women’s participation in performances (sometimes of challenging polyphonic works) at the Cuzco convents, and the importance of Indian women for the music performed in *beaterios*, in contrast to the apparently lesser musical splendor of performances in male monasteries, even though the latter were open to the participation of Indian musicians and others from the Cathedral and the Seminario.

In the last section of the book, “Negotiating Harmony,” Baker proposes an idea documented several times throughout the volume: “To a large extent, it was indigenous elites who enabled the propagation of European music in the hemisphere” (p. 248). Since this is such an important statement, perhaps *Negotiating Harmony* (instead of *Imposing Harmony*) would have been another appropriate title for this most attractive book. Baker’s agile prose presents a vivid narrative of interest to both musicologists and historians, placing Cuzco on the map of Spanish and Latin American music history during the Modern Age.

Slave Revolts in Puerto Rico: Conspiracies and Uprisings, 1795–1873.

By GUILLERMO A. BARALT. Translated from Spanish by CHRISTINE AYORINDE. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Map. Tables. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. x, 180 pp. Cloth, \$89.95. Paper, \$26.95.

Slave Revolts in Puerto Rico was first published in 1985 as *Esclavos Rebeldes*; as the preface to the English edition points out, the book caused a sensation in Puerto Rico when it first appeared. Baralt confronted head-on the facile assumption that slaves in Puerto Rico were more docile and less likely to revolt. Using historical records from a number of municipal and national archives, Baralt amply demonstrated that between 1795 and 1848 there were 22 documented conspiracies (imagined or not), attempted uprisings, and revolts on the island. At the time, the study was an important and welcome addition to a nascent field of research on slave revolts in the Americas. Today, although the study of slavery in Puerto Rico has lagged behind the excellent work done in other areas of the Americas, much has changed. Because the author and the editors did not take these changes into account, the study is dated; it lacks the critical theoretical approaches that animate the current literature on the many responses to slavery.

The main argument of the book is that there were slave revolts in Puerto Rico, and the author demonstrates in intimate detail that indeed the island was not immune to revolt. The study is divided into 11 short chapters that cover slave revolts and conspiracies more or less chronologically, and a 12th that examines murders committed by slaves. The material is presented in such detail that sometimes the reader can almost hear the whispering of the slaves as they plotted among themselves. This strength becomes one of the weaknesses of the study, because the work is so detailed that the material becomes repetitive and lacks cohesion. A new and extended introduction could have elucidated some of the themes that tie the material together, including links between the intensification of sugar production, the concomitant influx of African slaves, the rise in the number of slave revolts, and the fear and harsh response of the authorities. The link of all of these circumstances to the Haitian Revolution, while elaborated in the beginning of the book, could also have served as an axis around which to build a more critical and cohesive argument. The conclusion introduces some of these themes, more as a call for future research, but much of that research has now been done for other areas of the Americas. Examining the slave revolts in Puerto Rico through the lens of some of these new approaches would have helped to bring the well-documented revolts into clearer focus.

There are other problems as well. The work includes a cover illustration as well as reproductions of woodcuts, engravings, drawings, and photos that begin each chapter. The images seem to span representations of slave revolts and black laborers from the sixteenth through the early twentieth century, but it is impossible to tell because there is absolutely no reference of time or place given for any of them. Images can and do serve as documentary evidence, but not when taken out of context. When used in this way, not only do images fail to carry the argument of the text forward, but they also send an uncomfortable message that all slave revolts and black laborers, across time and space,

were the same. In addition to the problem with the images, the translation is too literal in places, making the text choppy and difficult to read.

Since 1985, there has been a veritable boom of scholarship on slave revolts and conspiracies across the Americas, studies that examine in detail the origins, realization, and results of these real and imagined revolts. More recently, scholars have examined revolts and other types of responses to slavery, often unpacking the traditional accommodation/resistance model and examining slave responses as a direct result of Africans' understandings of power relationships. Other scholars have done excellent and detailed work looking across the Atlantic to African societies in order to better understand the multiple motivations for the actions and reactions of enslaved men and women. All of these approaches seem to simmer under the surface of the material presented in the *Slave Revolts in Puerto Rico*. Baralt admits in the preface that his more recent work has focused on twentieth-century Puerto Rico and expresses his hope that the English edition of this earlier work will generate new research on slave revolts in Puerto Rico. Indeed, the topic deserves a fresh look that combines some of the raw material presented in this text with the more critical contemporary approaches to the study of slave revolts in the Americas.

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Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic. By JEREMY ADELMAN.

Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006. Maps. Figures. Notes. Index. x, 409 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

Ambitious yet curiously circumscribed, Jeremy Adelman's study of the breakdown of the Spanish and Portuguese empires along the Caribbean and Atlantic seabords falls squarely within the increasingly established consensus. Independence was not inevitable and the empires contained no budding nations striving to emancipate themselves; rather, the crises of 1808 (themselves the product of intensifying imperial rivalries that had strained imperial orders since the eighteenth century) set in motion a complex process of imperial breakdown that eventually forced redefinitions of sovereignty. The revolution of independence in Spanish America only came in response to Fernando VII's clumsy counterrevolution after his 1814 restoration, while Portuguese America went through analogous processes slightly later.

For Adelman, sovereignty is characterized by "the notion that people who live in a civil society abide by rules to which all subjects are bound," and these rules "extend to the defensible territorial boundaries of their political communities" (pp. 1–2). In the accompanying footnote, he further insists that "sovereignty was always contested, unstable, and equivocal" (p. 2 n. 2). His discussion of revolution relies heavily on Albert O. Hirschman's largely descriptive model of loyalty, voice, and exit as responses to declining institutions. These frameworks structure an analysis that does not fully address the contestation over the "rules" of the newly emerging civil societies, for Adelman has relatively little to say about the debates set off by the Spanish monarchy's fall and the

establishment of constitutional regimes in 1812 and in 1820–21, and still less about the postindependence struggles over the creation of new nations. The discussion of Brazilian independence, for example, focuses strongly on Rio de Janeiro and does not acknowledge the forcible incorporation of the provinces north of Bahia, while generally downplaying the many critics of the model of sovereignty espoused (and imposed) by Pedro I.

The best parts of the book deal only indirectly with sovereignty and revolution. Adelman effectively summarizes recent scholarship on the strengthening of colonial merchant elites in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Caracas and the pact of “rents” in exchange for revenues that characterized the Iberian Atlantic. Monarchs guaranteed merchants privileged places in regulated trade (“rents” in economic jargon) and, in return, mercantile profits secured royal revenue. The booming slave trade, increasingly controlled by Americans (especially in the case of Rio de Janeiro), and the export of plantation staples paradoxically laid the foundation for greater economic freedom from metropolises on the backs of slave laborers. He traces the collapse of this portion of the Iberian Atlantic system (or in the Brazilian case, its reorientation) amid the disruptions of these years. Despite their *de facto* autonomy within the imperial orders, merchants were among the last to opt for exit from empires.

The exclusion of New Spain and Cuba (and the very limited attention to Peru), never fully explained, circumscribes Adelman’s discussion of the Spanish Empire. To the extent that the Spanish monarchy’s principal problem was obtaining revenue from its far-flung domains, the greatest prospects lay in the silver mines of the old Mesoamerican and Andean imperial centers, not in the booming South American peripheries. Excluding the empire’s most populous areas means missing a chance to discuss the intense debates over sovereignty there. Even less justifiable within the terms of Adelman’s narrower focus on the slave-based Iberian Atlantic is the exclusion of Cuba. The island’s sugar plantation economy was surely as important to this Atlantic economy as the regions on which he focuses, and an examination of how the stresses of these years played themselves out in Spain’s most faithful colony would no doubt provide insights into the dynamics elsewhere.

Errors of fact or incomplete summaries of complex issues abound. Among other things, Brazilianists will be surprised to see the *Inconfidência Mineira* characterized as a failed “insurgency” (p. 51) and to read about soaring coffee exports between 1790 and 1807 (p. 84). Brazil’s 1824 constitution did not bar freedmen from voting (p. 370); rather, it prevented them from serving as electors in the second tier of elections and barred them from running for certain offices. The lack of attention to the different rules for accents in Spanish and Portuguese is annoying. The inclusion of footnotes at the bottom of the page is most welcome, but the lack of a bibliography makes them difficult to use. English-language readers will be put off by the significant number of quotations left in their original archaic Spanish and Portuguese.

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National Period

Female Prostitution in Costa Rica: Historical Perspectives, 1880–1930. By ANNE HAYES. Latin American Studies. New York: Routledge, 2006. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvi, 227 pp. Cloth.

Anne Hayes's work offers us an interesting look at prostitution in the periphery of Costa Rica. She focuses on the port Puntarenas during the years 1880 to 1930 as a way to explore questions of liberalism, development, reformism, labor, gender, and Costa Rican "exceptionalism." Hayes argues persuasively that the liberal state did not target prostitutes for moral reform in the periphery as they did in the central plateau and the capital of San José. Hayes is able to question the centrality of "la buena sociedad cafetalera" (the good coffee society—the upper class who derived their income from coffee), in the development of Costa Rican liberalism. Hayes's focus on the periphery allows us to see the contradictions, especially regarding labor, in the liberal model.

Hayes's study argues that because of Puntarenas's location and economic importance to the government, prostitution became labeled as work rather than deviance. The government relied on the port for income and was reluctant to interfere in the daily activities of residents. Because the government derived so much income from the sale of alcohol in the port due to the state liquor monopoly, it was leery of policing consumption and "vices," such as prostitution, that arose from the sale and consumption of alcohol. The passage of the Vagrancy Law of 1887 allowed the government to arrest "notorious loiterers or frequenters of bars and gambling establishments" (p. 157). The 1894 Ley de Profilaxis Venérea legalized prostitution and exempted prostitutes from the Vagrancy Law. Thus, according to Hayes, many women who were out of work told authorities that they were prostitutes in order to avoid incarceration. Prostitution therefore became defined as work, rather than vice or deviance, in the periphery. Puntarenas's distance from the capital and its centrality to the Costa Rican economy allowed for competing discourses on vice, deviance, and women's work, challenging the standard historical narrative of Costa Rican development.

Hayes writes well and her book is well organized. She uses a broad array of predominantly government sources including censuses, government reports (*memorias*), and the Judicial Section of the Costa Rican National Archive, paying particular attention to the *injurias*, that is, complaints regarding insults intending to harm the reputation of another. She also looks at records from church archives as well as national and local newspapers.

Hayes's work makes an important contribution to our understandings of gender, prostitution, and labor. Her study could be strengthened, however, by greater engagement with the extant literature on gender, prostitution, labor, and liberalism in Latin America. It would be interesting to see how Costa Rica fits into the larger trends happening elsewhere in Latin America during the same time period. Greater use, perhaps, of the *injuria* records may have allowed her to mine for the voices of the prostitutes them-

selves and may have made for livelier reading. As it is, she only uses those records briefly in chapter five of the text. Nevertheless, this is a solid study that should be of interest to many scholars of Costa Rica and of gender in Latin America.

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Comunidades negras en el Pacífico colombiano: Innovaciones y dinámicas étnicas.

By ODILE HOFFMANN. Quito: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos / Institut de Recherche pour le Développement / Ediciones Abya-Yala / Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social / Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, 2007. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. 310 pp. Paper.

Of the studies that grew out of the 1990s redefinition of Latin American nations as multicultural, most focus on the struggles of indigenous groups and the extension of their rights. Odile Hoffmann's insightful book centers on black people, bringing together the literature on multiculturalism with that on blackness and race relations. Colombia's 1991 constitution and the legislation that followed stands out in the Latin American context for conceiving black rural people of the Pacific coast as an ethnic group who should receive communal titles to the land. This legal recognition produced an unprecedented wave of political mobilization around the consolidation of this new identity and the formation of communal territories. Many researchers followed this process. Although in the last 15 years they have produced numerous articles, only recently have they begun to publish monographs based on their experiences. Hoffmann's is one of several much-awaited books that have appeared in the last two years or are currently in press (Bettina Ng'weno 2007, Arturo Escobar 2008, Ulrich Oslender 2008, and Kiran Asher 2009).

The book centers on the region of Tumaco, on the southern Pacific coast of Colombia, and explores the complex relationship between territory and identity. It claims that the legal model that equates them provides a way to self-empowerment for blacks subject to discrimination, but it does so by misinterpreting their society and limiting the ways this kind of relationship can be established. The author builds her argument around two main contributions. First, she examines the history and forms of organization of a community on one of the rivers of the area. Based on ethnographic work, she concludes that it is a mistake to assume, as does the recent Colombian legislation, that black rural people have clear communal institutions as do indigenous groups. Instead, political power has been scattered, people move in and out of the communities, and there is no centralized way of distributing territorial rights. Thus, the establishment of communal councils creates a new form of political organization and of regulating space rather than simply recognizing an ancestral one.

Hoffmann's second main contribution stems from her study of the application process for communal titles in the Mira River, an area with large oil palm plantations. The

author analyzes the difficulties and contradictions in the creation of communal property rights and in the process of political organizing where capital has a strong presence. The loss of land to agribusiness, the subsequent dependence on the jobs the firms offer, and the contrasting realities this situation creates in relation to the ideal territorial model expressed in the law all complicate the process needed to guarantee communal property rights. She also mentions that the intensification of the armed conflict, coca plantings, and the drug trade have further hindered these developments. However, many of the latter problems escalated after she finished her fieldwork, so they do not figure prominently in the book.

This work ends by relating the new forms of political mobilization with the political history of the region since the 1950s, as well as by exploring how an urban ethnic or racial identity relates to the rural ethnic identity promoted by the law.

Hoffmann's work is perhaps the best single contribution so far on black identity and its relation to the way space has been conceived and managed in this region. Her two case studies bring much-needed detail to discussions on this topic. As a geographer, she captures elements that have escaped the attention of scholars from other disciplines. Besides drawing very useful maps and combining various scales of analysis to build a complex picture, she includes relevant discussions about space, such as the way residents of the city of Tumaco use places differently according to race, and the implications of map making in the process of communal titling.

The book moves between diverse places, scales, and topics, creating a mosaic that shows many sides of a multifaceted reality. But this strategy has its costs. While reading the book's 11 chapters, which are organized in four sections, I sometimes had a hard time fitting all the parts into one big picture. By trying to cover so much terrain, the author shortchanges a number of the interesting topics that she raises. Also, bringing her ethnographic work to life by giving voice to the people whose experiences she shared would have greatly enriched this book. Unfortunately, inadequate copyediting left the publication with numerous typographical and writing mistakes. This is, nonetheless, a major work that will be widely consulted for years to come.

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Lucamba: Herencia africana en el tango, 1870–1890. By GUSTAVO GOLDMAN. Montevideo: Ediciones Perro Andaluz, 2008. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. 252 pp. Paper.

The Uruguayan musicologist, composer, and historian Gustavo Goldman concludes his book by informing us that it “does not deal at all with the origins of the tango” (p. 197). Rather, he says, it focuses on the role of Afro-Uruguayans in the creation of this world-famous music and dance. Nevertheless, by providing abundant information on how Afro-Uruguayans took part in that process, and on the social context in which that participation took place, this meticulously researched and clearly argued book has a great deal to tell us about the tango and how it came to be.

Readers of *HAHR* who are not familiar with the tango and its history may ask, “What would Afro-Uruguayans have to do with the creation of Argentina’s defining cultural artifact?” But if tango defines Argentina, it defines Uruguay as well. Throughout their histories, the two countries, and especially their capital cities, have been linked by dense ties of commerce, politics, and migration. Any innovation, musical or otherwise, that occurred in either city soon appeared in the other. During the second half of the 1800s, the two cities also underwent similar processes of demographic and economic growth, fueled by mass immigration from Europe and, to a lesser degree, from their respective hinterlands. But here we come to a crucial difference: while Buenos Aires’s black and mulatto population was numerically overwhelmed by white immigration, in Montevideo Afro-Uruguayans remained a visible component of the urban scene. And not just visible: they were legible as well, producing a more active black press than in any other Latin American country at that time.

Goldman uses those newspapers, the mainstream “establishment” press, and other sources to carefully trace Afro-Uruguayans’ role in creating what has come to be known as tango. As he makes clear, the word *tango* appears in almost every American country, including the United States, and has had different meanings over time. By the mid-1800s, it referred to a number of different musical and dance forms that combined European chordal and melodic elements with syncopated polyrhythms deriving from Africa. One such form was the habanera, also known as the *tango cubano* or *tango americano*. Originating in Cuba, the habanera arrived in the Río de la Plata in the 1860s, introduced by touring Spanish theater troupes and by U.S. composer Louis Moreau Gottschalk, who lived in Montevideo from 1867 to 1869.

Wildly popular throughout the Americas, the habanera took Montevideo by storm. It made a particular impact on second- and third-generation Afro-Uruguayans (and, in Buenos Aires, Afro-Argentines) who themselves were in the midst of creating a new African-American music in the Río de la Plata. The venue for much of that creative work was the Carnival *comparsas* that performed each year in the weeks preceding Lent. Among their repertoires were waltzes, polkas, and schottisches, plus habaneras, plus a completely new musical form that their members called “tango,” and that Goldman calls

“tango de comparsa” to differentiate it both from the tango cubano and from the later, twentieth-century tango.

This new genre incorporated elements of the habanera and of rhythms played by enslaved and free Africans at their dances (also known as *tangos* or *candombes*) in Montevideo. In a meticulous analysis of these tangos’ lyrics and musical structure, Goldman highlights their African-derived components and shows how those components continued to influence the subsequent evolution, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, of the music that we know today as tango.

The book concludes with transcriptions of song lyrics performed by the comparsas (pp. 202–34). This is a gold mine of primary material that more than one U.S. graduate student, I predict, will use for a seminar research paper. Here, however, I must register my respectful disagreement, or at least uncertainty, concerning a key element of Goldman’s story: the role of white blackface comparsas in creating the tango de comparsa. Goldman asserts that those white groups never used the word “tango” (p. 175); this is not true, as his own evidence indicates (pp. 189–90, 215, 230, 231). And he identifies as Afro-Uruguayan several groups that I am fairly certain were white in composition (pp. 123–24, 138–40). This seemingly arcane and even reactionary point (why do we need to keep assigning people to nineteenth-century racial categories?) actually becomes terribly important when one turns to the analysis of lyrics. Knowing the racial and social position of their authors and performers is crucial to understanding how they were meant to be heard and read at the time.

That reservation aside, this book does a masterful job of recovering a crucial chapter in Afro-Latin American history and in Latin American cultural history. By focusing on Uruguay, it perfectly complements John Chasteen’s brilliant comparative study of Argentina, Brazil, and Cuba, *National Rhythms, African Roots* (2004). Readers who enjoyed that book will find this one just as engaging, and that is high praise indeed.

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La ciudad impura: Salud, tuberculosis y cultura en Buenos Aires, 1870–1950.

By DIEGO ARMUS. Buenos Aires: Ensayo Edhasa, 2007. Plates. Notes. Bibliography.

413 pp. Paper.

In *La ciudad impura*, Diego Armus examines the cultural and medical history of tuberculosis during the transitional period between Koch’s bacteriological discoveries and the advent of antibiotics. As with syphilis, which was only identified in 1905, there was a long period between the identification of the disease’s etiology, the tuberculosis bacillus, and the development of an effective cure. Armus argues that many of the responses to the disease resulted from the conceptual collision between traditional, and often moralistic, interpretations of tuberculosis and new but unstable scientific understandings of its transmission and pathology.

Tuberculosis, which Armus interprets as both a subjective disease entity and as a socially constructed constellation of meanings, provides a useful window into *porteños'* anxieties, aspirations, and dreams about living (and dying) in the modern era. "The metaphors, associations, and various perceptions" of the illness as expressed by doctors, journalists, city planners, dramatuges, songwriters, and the sick and their families developed into an elaborate and ever-shifting subculture. By the dawn of the antibiotic age, social imitation, schooling, the media, and formal public health campaigns had somehow forged an "anti-tuberculosis hygienic culture" that cut across political and social boundaries.

While the biological reality of tuberculosis is constant across the globe, notwithstanding the occasional emergence of new strains, the disease has different meanings across time and culture. As Armus notes in his epilogue, "tuberculosis is much more than a bacillus" (p. 401). In Buenos Aires, tuberculosis formed a central organizing principle from which a range of intellectuals and bureaucrats envisioned the city's place in the modern world. From songwriters to public health officials, the disease served as a way to interpret the perils of modernization, including factory work, overcrowded housing, shifting sexual mores, overwork, and city life itself. For professional urban planners and anarchist intellectuals, tuberculosis embodied the antithesis of the salubrious city; the ideal urban space was conceived as a locale that would inhibit the disease's propagation. Advocates of better regulation of immigration defended their views with a curious mixture of hereditarian, racial, and bacteriological concepts. The widespread and justifiable fear of the disease also encouraged progressive social policies, including improvements in housing and the development of a better health system.

In part because the disease was so widely feared, tuberculosis provided a rationale to better order and discipline society. When bureaucrats, public health and school officials, and others invoked the specter of tuberculosis to develop hygienic and labor codes and state-run sanatoriums, they understood that such efforts would produce a more robust and obedient citizenry. Moral reformers, acting both independently and as agents of the state, campaigned to improve, and essentially modernize, city dwellers' behaviors. These campaigns sought to change how people exercised, greeted one another (a major target was *el beso*), and drank. Likewise, businesses shaped the habits of consumers by connecting various products, including vacuum cleaners, soaps, and mostly useless medicines, to the prevention of the disease. By the 1950s, when antibiotics had rendered tuberculosis a minor threat, "a sort of lay catechism of hygiene had managed to penetrate with sufficient efficiency into the society and culture of Buenos Aires" (p. 271).

In Buenos Aires, as in major metropolitan areas around the world, the combination of vaccines, increased collective immunity, and better nutrition, wages, housing, and sanitation served to steadily reduce tuberculosis mortality rates prior to antibiotics. If much of the success was due to general improvements in the standard of living, the role of the state was uneven. Publicly run sanatoriums, for example, were the sites of outright rebellion by patients clamoring for better care and treatment. Here Armus ably demon-

strates the way in which the failure of the state to treat tubercular patients with dignity sparked a significant and highly politicized movement for the rights of the sick.

In his brief and thoughtful epilogue, Armus reminds readers that the history of tuberculosis is not over. The disease has returned, often striking in conjunction with HIV/AIDS, and morbidity rates are on the rise. This observation echoes the conclusions of historians—like Marcos Cueto, and Charles Briggs and Clara Mantini-Briggs—who have charted how declining standards of living and shrinking public health expenditures led to the recent reemergence of preventable diseases like tuberculosis and cholera.

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Las políticas sociales en perspectiva histórica: Argentina, 1870–1952.

Edited by DANIEL LVOVICH and JUAN SURIANO. Los Polvorines: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento / Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2006. Notes. 229 pp. Paper.

This book presents research conducted on the history of social policies in Argentina by two different research teams. In the introduction, the editors state their intent to contribute to the incipient interest in a topic that has been mostly ignored, misunderstood, or ill defined. Therefore, we should not try to seek a strong sense of coherence among the different chapters, or hope to find a common ground or thread through which a clearer picture of social policies developed over several decades would emerge. While for some readers this lack of cohesion could pose a problem, this may be outweighed by the fact that, until recently, the topic has been only marginally researched.

Social policies are defined here as interventions in “secondary forms of income distribution or redistribution” in three areas: the system of work-related social security (including pensions; employment accident insurance; and illness, unemployment, and maternity benefits); policies regarding public health, education, and housing; and systems that complement or guarantee the income of groups at risk (direct assistance policy). What is particularly interesting about this volume is that none of the contributions deals with labor policies as such, representing an explicit effort to move beyond a historiography that had tended to equate social policy with labor policy.

The first part of the book corresponds chronologically to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In the first chapter, Mirta Lobato analyzes how women’s work was perceived by the Departamento Nacional del Trabajo (DNT), an office created in 1907 to collect information on workers’ conditions. She analyzes the content of the Bulletin of the DNT, contextualizing it with the reports on women’s work that preceded it. Lobato shows how this publication reinforced the concept that men and women were “destined” to play different roles in the workforce and society in general. While the content of the publication was not surprising, what is interesting here is the manner in which Lobato stresses the interconnections between this publication and the studies of other

groups that were also concerned with women's employment. Agustina Prieto analyzes the preliminary thoughts of Juan Bialet Massé, who would eventually write one of the pioneering studies on workers' conditions in Argentina in the first years of the twentieth century. The following two chapters focus on children. María Carolina Zapiola traces the formulation of the concept of the minor by looking at the bills presented in Congress in the 1870s and 1880s, while María Marta Aversa analyzes the debates and projects related to abandoned and delinquent children between 1910 and 1931.

In the second part of the book, the chapters concentrate on the topics of health and social security between 1920 and the 1950s. Susana Belmartino looks at the transformations that took place in the area of health, from the earliest mutual aids societies to the organization of hospitals and the first private health insurances; she concludes by looking at the process in which the state attempted to establish more control in the 1930s. Daniel Lvovich questions received views on the causes of the fragmented nature of the social security system in Argentina by addressing the tensions between the different interests that conspired against the development of a more homogeneous policy. Similar tensions are found by Karina Ramacciotti when studying the sanitary policies in the 1950s. In the last chapter, Patricia Flier goes beyond the Argentine borders to look at the many forms of cooperation among Latin American countries intended to share and exchange information on public policies related to social security in the 1940s and 1950s.

Although it is difficult to find a coherent argument about public policies in Argentina in this volume, the topic has been definitely enriched by these contributions. The chapters of the first part of the book expand our knowledge regarding the ideas that circulated on social questions regarding working women, working men, minors, and abandoned children. And while many of these ideas never became public policies, it is of the utmost importance to know how the discussion of these topics was addressed by different individuals or groups. The second part of the book is welcome for different reasons. Not only has the historiography of public policy for many years been reduced to that of labor policy, it has also been overshadowed by Peronism. Together, these chapters present a realm of discussions that preceded Perón. They help us to understand what Peronism actually proposed and why, and they underline how actual public policies are the result of an interactive process that involves many different actors in each particular country, as well as of a broader exchange of ideas and models at the international level.

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Specular City: Transforming Culture, Consumption, and Space in Buenos Aires, 1955–1973. By LAURA PODALSKY. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004. Photographs. Illustrations. Tables. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvi, 287 pp. Cloth, \$55.00. Paper, \$22.95.

Siguiendo los estudios pioneros de geografía cultural de José Luis Romero, David Foster y Adrián Gorelick, así como los de Harvey y Soja, Lefebvre, de Certeau, García Canclini, Laclau y King, *Specular City* analiza en la cultura post-peronista “the difficulties in crafting a new social consensus and how those internal tensions manifested themselves in the material city and the representations in literature and film” (48). “Interruption. The Spectacular City” describe Buenos Aires como espectáculo de los poderes transformativos de Perón/Evita y escenario del avance de los *cabecitas negras*, vistos con estupor por la elite (Borges/Bioy Casares) y el intelectual liberal (Cortázar). Textos que, señala Podalsky, “bemoan the way Peronism chipped away at the boundary between spectacle and spectator characteristic of high culture” (41). “Residual Voices and Emergent Practices” aborda la desmovilización por parte de la Revolución Libertadora (RL) de masas peronistas, la desregulación estatal, la captación del capital/cultura extranjeros y el distanciamiento entre clase media y trabajadora. La hegemonía de la RL desmanteló la ciudad peronista; el frenesí clasemediero por el automóvil puso distancia con las masas populares que seguirían usando transportes públicos, mientras los espacios privados seducirían con sofisticados accesorios importados. Podalsky contrapone agudamente cómo, mientras el corporativismo internacional erigía rascacielos (Olivetti), mucho quedaba sumergido junto con el cuerpo de Evita y la prohibición de signos peronistas. Desde diferentes posiciones, *Specular City* rastrea escrituras nostálgicas por lo suprimido por la RL o cautelosas tanto respecto al pasado peronista como a la opresión de la oligarquía, equidistancia política identificable en Guido y Torre Nilsson como un “pessimism about Argentina’s ability to break free of its political past” (62). Podalsky analiza un valioso arpegio de nuevas praxis e imaginarios: desde los hoteles de cita, pantalones para las mujeres, la decadencia del tango y fútbol (asociados al Peronismo) hasta el auge de la televisión que “discouraged the interaction between different sectors of the urban population” (70). Y en *Después del silencio* (Demare, 1956) analiza cómo el primer cine independiente transformaría la representación urbana y cómo luego de la RL, las libertades individuales serán confiadas al espacio doméstico, a la Iglesia y a la bonanza económica accesible a los sectores medios del post-peronismo.

Specular City da cuenta de una ciudad innumerable que, atravesando las heridas de la fisura golpista, forjaría también representaciones querellantes como las del crecimiento aluvional en *Villa Miseria también es América* (Verbitsky, 1957). Rastrea la escasa centralidad de las villas en la política habitacional peronista y su asociación post-peronista con la basura material y social. Y si “Verbitsky opposes the everyday, ‘authentic’ humanity of the villa residents to the commodity fetishism of the middle class” (82), sostiene Podalsky, no por ello las villas eludirían ser intersectadas por imaginarios de movilidad social fracturadores de la identidad colectiva villera. En *El jefe* (Ayala, 1958) se interpretan las

transformaciones urbano-culturales del Buenos Aires post-peronista: expansión urbano-habitacional para una clase media ansiosa de altos horizontes de consumo, especulación, fraude y pornografía y varones del tango arrabalero depuestos por aristócratas inmobiliarios defalcadores cuyo cinismo es musicalizado con jazz. Y en *Buenos Aires* (Kohon, 1958) contrapone la gélida piel de la arquitectura corporativa con la Buenos Aires villera. Basura será la acertada clave convocada por Podalsky para contrastar los relucientes imaginarios del desarrollismo industrial e inversionismo extranjero del Frondizismo (1958–52) con los últimos cadáveres de la represión antiperonista que, aunque arrojados a los basurales, son *desenterrados* por *Operación masacre* (Walsh, 1957).

“Interstices” analiza los collages de Antonio Berni como contracara al optimismo desarrollista, explicando cómo fue el primer pintor argentino en comprender cuánto y cómo las villas transformarían Buenos Aires y cómo su imitación al collage de las viviendas villeras golpea imaginarios de carteles publicitarios de modelos en bikini con imágenes de los niños del basurero. Y cómo su plástica querella el desalojo de villeros para construir Catalina Norte. Pero Podalsky tampoco deja de registrar el camino al revés: el *desorden* (antiguas mansiones transformadas en pensiones para la pobreza; villas miserias avanzando sobre terrenos apetecidos por la especulación inmobiliaria) que “upset the conceptualization of the city as civilizing unit” (107). En los '60, la cultura global toma el espacio urbano con galerías comerciales para la nueva burguesía, pasadizos esquivadores de la calle, aunque Podalsky describe en el film *Tres veces Ana* (Kohon, 1961) cómo “the inhumane anonymity” (133) de la escena urbana enajena las nuevas generaciones.

En la segunda etapa del consenso político post-peronista *Specular City* identifica la cultura del desarrollismo económico (viviendas de lujo, consumo de arte y debate político) detallando cómo los aires cosmopolitas del arte moderno patrocinado por empresas automovilísticas (Instituto Di Tella) alentaron espacios urbanos vanguardistas en la Manzana Loca mientras despertaban la vigilancia de la dictadura de Onganía (1966–70). Analiza además el respaldo a la vida democrática de publicaciones como *Primera Plana* y editoriales como EUDEBA cuyas políticas de producción y distribución, si bien reivindicarían un público lector universitario, ofrecerían libros en kioscos. Si la Ley 17401 (1967) censuraba films pro-comunistas, la 17741 (1968) vigilaría el cine erótico de Bo-Sarli y a proselitistas del adulterio y el aborto. En 1968, Fernando Solanas lanzaría *La hora de los hornos* mientras trabajaba para “Gran Publicidad”. Las maniobras de este contradictorio período son extraordinariamente desglosadas por Podalsky a través del espacio interseectivo donde Solanas realizó el film más crítico de la hegemonía neocolonialista post-peronista al oponer *geografías del hambre* al consumo suntuario e industria publicitaria como una democratización que equipaba mercado libre con integración social.

En síntesis, *Specular City* analiza con gran riqueza y versatilidad asociativa las transformaciones inducidas por el post-peronismo. Un profuso cuerpo de textos culturales, literatura y cine, moda, arquitectura, tipologías habitacionales, sexualidad, lenguajes de la ciudad, sistemas de transporte, fronteras socio-urbanas, patrones de producción, distribución y consumo, plástica, periodismo y discurso publicitario se reúnen en esta inspiradora combinatoria interdisciplinaria para dar cuenta de un período particular-

mente difícil de asir, dada su naturaleza transicional. Su iluminadora metodología logra trabajar la cotidianeidad junto con la progresión histórica, esquivando binarismos y dejando fluir las corrientes e interacciones de una cultura debatiente.

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Creating Our Own: Folklore, Performance, and Identity in Cuzco, Peru.

By ZOILA S. MENDOZA. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. Photographs.

Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvii, 235 pp. Cloth, \$79.95. Paper, \$22.95.

Zoila Mendoza's book, which complements her previous work *Shaping Society through Dance: Mestizo Ritual Performance in the Peruvian Andes*, constitutes a passionate defense of the study of folklore as an individual and collective field of creative activity. She shows that artistic expression is a suitable way to comprehend the social experience of practitioners of music, dance, and theater. Starting from the cultural postulates of Raymond Williams, Mendoza posits that no separation exists between the affective elements of consciousness, that is, feelings, and social and ideological thought. Rather, both concepts are equivalent and interrelated, so that folkloric expressions must be studied as autonomous realities and not as simple reflections of social processes. Mendoza proposes that the heterogeneous folkloric activity that flowered in the city of Cuzco between the decades of 1920 and 1950 inspired a creative revaluation of Incaism, indigenism, and *mestizaje*. This cultural view allows her to conclude that, by the end of the 1950s, the renewal and recreation of *cuzqueño* folklore by artists and intellectuals had succeeded in becoming a symbol of national identity, which afterwards was overshadowed by *afro-criollo* artistic expressions developing in Lima.

Creating Our Own offers a chronological review of the artistic *cuzqueño* scene in the twentieth century. Mendoza challenges the view that the impulse of folkloric art was the result of manipulation by the intellectual and artistic elites, in which racist discourse and ethnic exclusion were fundamental. She shows, on the contrary, that there was a continuous interaction between elites and popular sectors, urban and rural populations, and *criollos*, Indians, and *mestizos* in the common wish to create and transmit a new feeling of regional identity. In other words, folklore was a field of redefined identities of all *cuzqueños* and therefore constituted a heritage shared by the upper and lower classes. To examine the popular results of the process of folklorization, the author describes the international tour of the Mision Peruana de Arte Incaico, led by the indigenist thinker Luis E. Valcárcel in 1923 and 1924; the massive regional contests of folklore organized by the Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo in the 1920s and 1930s; the great popularity achieved by the radio program "The Charango Hour" in the 1930s; and, finally, the promotion of *cuzqueño* popular art undertaken by the Instituto Americano de Arte, founded in 1937 by the neo-indigenist writer Uriel García. All these examples show how self-taught and popular artists interacted with the *criollo* and *mestizo* musicians of the elite to develop

new styles and repertoires that were soon adopted as typically cuzqueños. For instance, the author analyzes the individual paths of the *arpista* Manuel Pillco Cuba and the *charanguistas* Pancho Gómez Negrón and Julio Benavente Díaz, and the leadership of popular groups like Centro Musical Cuzco, Conjunto Mosoc Llacta, and Centro Artístico Ollanta. All these show how artistic and cultural cuzqueñismo, in a complex process of negotiation, adopted Inca, mestizo, Indian, and *cholo* values as symbols of identity.

Mendoza's sources come from the newspapers of the period, the archives preserved in the Centro Qosqo and the Instituto Americano de Arte, and interviews with some actors directly involved in the spread of the cuzqueñista cultural phenomenon, such as the composer Armando Guevara Ochoa. Most of the protagonists are now deceased, but information provided by their descendants partly makes up for this, as in the case of the Pillco family. In sum, this book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of Peruvian cultural history in the past century, arising from an admirable methodological meeting between anthropology and musicology. *Creating Our Own* not only brings new ideas and knowledge, but the reader can enjoy the musical works studied here by purchasing recordings listed in the discography.

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El Alto, Rebel City: Self and Citizenship in Andean Bolivia. By SIAN LAZAR. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. Photographs. Illustration. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 330 pp. Cloth, \$84.95. Paper, \$23.95.

Sian Lazar's goal in *El Alto, Rebel City* is to examine the tensions between collective and individual senses of self, citizenship, and political agency. Lazar argues that liberal (and ultimately also communitarian) perspectives of citizenship overemphasize individualism, failing to capture the collectivist traditions actualized in the practices of civil society's organizations in Bolivia. Assuming that citizenship is as much a status as a practice, the author asserts that "national citizenship must articulate with local forms of belonging and citizenship" (p. 25). To observe those local practices, Lazar practiced ethnography in El Alto, formerly a "satellite city" of La Paz which has seen an expansion of population in the last decades as a result of economic changes and internal migration. Rather than painting a Manichean picture of how Western ideas of citizenship are imposed on non-Western subjects, the author examines how people combine individualized and collectivist senses of citizenship in their practices. Lazar aims to demonstrate that the interactions between individuals, local civil organizations, and the state create a hybrid citizenship that mirrors the hybrid *cholo* identity of the majority of El Alto's inhabitants.

In the first part of the book, Lazar focuses on place-based organizations and identities, showing how El Alto became an area of intense commercial, political, and cultural life and how *juntas vecinales* (neighbor committees) and *juntas escolares* (school boards)

interact with patronage networks, the state, and international NGOs. In the second part, she describes the work-based senses of self and the dynamics of trade unions, analyzing the conflicts and negotiations between street vendors, fishermen, and the central and local governments.

In the most insightful sections of the book, Lazar addresses the internal working of civil associations and unions and how they interplay with other organizations and the state. For instance, the author reveals how clientelism and contentious politics constitute two (not necessarily contradictory) faces of political life in El Alto, taking heed of recent literature that aims to bridge the divide between studies on patronage networks and social movements (chap. 3). Equally illuminating is her examination of the street vendors and the conflicts between *pescaderas* (women fish sellers of El Alto), the federation of fishermen, and the state (chaps. 6 and 7). Lazar demonstrates that trade union and communitarian traditions are not antithetical but actually become hybridized in the practices of El Alto dwellers, thereby challenging Bolivian intellectuals that counterpose the legacy of the “Westernized” unions to the heritage of the *ayllu*.

In *El Alto, Rebel City*, Lazar is able to capture the “multi-tiered” version of citizenship in Bolivia, proving that (at least for El Alto) it is more accurate to conceive of citizenship as a series of practices stemming from “nested affiliations” than as a status circumscribed to the individual. The book, however, could have been more pointed if Lazar had concentrated on digging deeper into theoretical debates instead of expanding her areas of ethnographic observation and scrutiny. For example, the chapters on community dances, celebrations, and religious practices are somewhat forced into the discussion on citizenship. The author incorporates so many aspects of El Alto’s life that she is forced to address too many bodies of literature (on collective action and routine politics; on rituals, performance, and community; on religiosity in Latin America; on ethnicity and markets), which may overwhelm the reader. This problem is mirrored in the book’s methodology. Lazar covers such a great variety of situations and actors that she tends to interpret the point of view of the dwellers rather than provide rich descriptions (of situations, interactions, or discourses) that would empower readers to draw their own conclusions. The author also could have better substantiated the book’s methodology by presenting a longer discussion of the constraints she faced as a foreign, female ethnographer.

Overall, *El Alto* offers a clearly written portrait of a city that has become key to understanding current Bolivian politics. This rich case study can inform conceptions of citizenship that emphasize the role of practices, social organizations, and collective traditions. Scholars interested in the making of citizenship in Bolivia and its vibrant and changing civil society will find this book useful and inspiring.

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From Rainforest to Cane Field in Cuba: An Environmental History since 1492.

By REINALDO FUNES MONZOTE. Translated by ALEX MARTIN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Glossary. Bibliographic essay. Index. xv, 359 pp. Cloth, \$65.00. Paper, \$24.95.

Reinaldo Funes Monzote has written a seminal book on the environmental history of sugar in Cuba. Written as a chronicle of the changes that the sugar plantation complex wrought upon the largest of the islands in the Antilles, the text is reminiscent of *Chronicle of a Death Foretold*, the 1981 novel by Gabriel García Márquez that describes an assassination that everyone knew was going to take place but became inevitable nonetheless. The demise in this case was of Cuba's tropical rainforest.

There are no innocents in this sad story about the replacement of the island's rainforest by sugar cane. Yet the book is not a lamentation but a serious analysis of how competing interests maneuvered and sparred throughout the colonial period over possession and use of the forests. The Royal Navy and the sugar planters were the main protagonists interested in forests after the demographic collapse of indigenous peoples brought about by Spanish conquest. Both sought to convince the Crown that their use of the forest was best for the colony and the empire. The book raises questions still pertinent to Cuba and Latin America today: In matters of natural resources, should private property or state control prevail? Who represents the public interest best: individuals or the state? What is the proper role for the state in resource management? Who is more likely to protect natural resources?

If the history of Cuban forests is a guide, answers to these questions will be hard-fought, a complex mix of political muscle, changing ideological constructs, technology, capital flows, and global economics. Those are the factors Funes Monzote selects in order to demonstrate convincingly that the turning point for the Cuban rainforest came in the late eighteenth century, when a perfect storm of circumstances beyond the island convinced the Spanish monarchy to turn its back on the navy and support the planters' Lockean theories about the superiority of private property to determine the fate of the island's forests. That shift, in turn, meant private owners gained total freedom to deforest Cuba despite the navy's heeding that deforestation would hurt the shipbuilding industry and change the climate. Funes Monzote identifies the following fateful combination of factors: the collapse of French rule in Haiti and the increase in demand for Cuban sugar; the arrival of the industrial revolution on the island in the shape of great sugar-producing *centrales* and steam-powered locomotives to move the sugar to market; and the Bourbon reforms liberalizing Cuban trade.

The last of these allowed the United States to enter the picture as both investor and market for Cuba's sugar industry. The potent mix of ideas, technology, and new actors meant that not even the bloody wars of independence in the mid and late nineteenth century stopped the advance of Big Sugar. Formal independence as a U.S. protectorate only accelerated the rate at which cane stalks replaced trees. By 1926, according to Funes

Monzote, all land that could be blanketed in sugar was covered by the sweet grass. In a short 150 years, the rainforest had been turned into one vast cane field, leaving a mere 16.5 percent of the island still forested (p. 255). Cuban authorities now raised the alarm, as the results of massive deforestation became painfully obvious: loss of soil fertility, erosion, flooding, and loss of biodiversity, among others. Monocrop industrial agricultural production on that scale, Funes Monzote concludes, was truly akin to strip-mining in its environmental effects: it simplified ecosystems to an extreme degree, extracting more from the earth than it ever returned.

Still, the text raises questions for this reader: why were labor and slavery not important in the argument? Also, Funes Monzote mentions that the transformation in the land had a significant impact on state formation but loses that narrative thread along the way. Surely the fact that Cuba's plantation labor force was enslaved and then became free just at the moment that the pace of environmental change sped up must have been a factor in both the changes in the land and the process of state formation. If not, one wishes the author had noted it in this splendid example of the richness of Latin American environmental history.

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Bound in Twine: The History and Ecology of the Henequen-Wheat Complex for Mexico and the American and Canadian Plains, 1880–1950. By STERLING EVANS. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007. Photographs. Maps. Tables. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxv, 314 pp. Cloth, \$42.00.

Bound in Twine is an ambitious study of a seemingly ordinary commodity: binder twine used in the reaper-binders favored by wheat farmers in the U.S. Midwest and Canadian Prairie Provinces between the 1880s and the 1930s. The book studies the commodity chain that began with the production of henequen in the Yucatán, followed by its transformation into binder twine by the North American cordage industry, and ultimately wheat farmers' use of twine in their horse-drawn reapers. A deep mutual dependency arose between henequen producers in the Yucatán and North American wheat farmers, constituting a "henequen-wheat complex." Mediating between *henequeneros* and wheat farmers was the predominantly U.S.-controlled cordage industry, though prisons also produced cordage in several states. The henequen-wheat complex survived until ecological and technological upheavals in the 1930s and '40s spelled an end for the reaper and hence the henequen trade.

Sterling Evans, whose previous work on the history of conservation in Costa Rica has established him as a pioneering environmental historian of Latin America, opens the book with a history of the reaper-binder and its mass production by the McCormick Company, which transformed wheat farming in the U.S. and Canadian heartlands in the 1880s and '90s. The binders automatically tied twine around shocks of wheat

in preparation for threshing. The cordage industry grew concomitantly, also centered in the United States and dominated by the McCormick Company (International Harvester after 1902). Evans then turns to an overview of the growth of henequen plantations in the Yucatán and their devastating appropriation of Mayan land and labor in the henequen zone. While Mexican historians are familiar with the broad outlines of these events, Evans adds an important new element to the story by dedicating a chapter to the brutal deportation of thousands of Yaqui people to conditions of quasi-enslavement in the Yucatán during the first decade of the twentieth century, an ethnocidal depopulation of the Yaqui Valley that occurred with the full knowledge of North American authorities. Ironically, the mestizo farmers who occupied the Yaqui lands often harvested wheat using McCormick implements, a "clear case," in Evans's words, "of protoglobalization based on a North American dependency model that predated NAFTA by a hundred years" (p. 87).

Subsequent chapters significantly add to historians' understanding of various elements of the henequen and cordage trades. For example, one chapter analyzes the tense diplomatic standoff between Mexico and the United States in 1915 when President Venustiano Carranza ordered a naval blockade of Yucatán's primary port in an effort to keep arms from reaching counterrevolutionaries. Evans shows that the United States misunderstood Carranza's action as an attempt to wring concessions from the United States and nearly ordered an attack on Mexico to ensure a continued supply of fiber. Another chapter investigates the use of prison labor to manufacture twine, a strategy employed by nine states and one province between 1891 and 1964 in an effort to provide the cheapest possible twine to farmers. The final chapters convincingly trace the demise of Yucatán's henequen industry to the North American droughts of the late 1930s (which devastated harvests and diminished the demand for cordage at the same time as President Lázaro Cárdenas was breaking up henequen plantations), to competition from other henequen- and sisal-producing regions, and, most fundamentally, to the introduction of the combine for harvesting wheat.

The word *ecology* in the book's title and its publication in a series on environmental history seem to promise that the environment will have a prominent place in the discussion. Indeed, we do learn of the deforestation in the Yucatán to make way for henequen and about how nonforest species have reclaimed the land since its near disappearance in the 1950s. Likewise, Evans carefully explains how the drought and dust bowl in the latter 1930s helped to bring the henequen-cordage industry to its knees. Overall, however, I wish the book had offered a more sustained discussion of the relationship between the henequen-wheat complex and ecological change in the Yucatán and the North American Midwest.

Evans has given us an impressive work demonstrating that the commercial nexus of Yucatecan fibers and Canadian/U.S. wheat production drew in a dizzying array of historical actors, including diplomats, political leaders, Yaqui Indians, farmers, and convicts. In the best traditions of the dependency school, it also raises questions about who benefits from the headlong rush to develop an export monocrop, and what happens once

the boom is over. It is not a pretty picture, but Evans paints it with extraordinary care and skill. Historians of the Yucatán henequen industry, Great Plains agriculture, and transnational commodity chains will thank him for thoughtfully tracing out the surprisingly tight political, social, and economic bonds that for half a century were formed by binder twine.

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A Social History of Mexico's Railroads: Peons, Prisoners, and Priests.

By TERESA MIRIAM VAN HOY. Jaguar Books on Latin America. Lanham, MD:

Rowman & Littlefield, 2008. Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index.

xxvi, 237 pp. Cloth, \$80.00. Paper, \$34.95.

This multilayered study of the railroad industry in the states of Oaxaca and Veracruz focuses on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in the second half of the nineteenth century. The book is well researched and based on a broad array of archival sources from Mexico, the United States, and Great Britain. Its title is somewhat misleading since this study is as much a social history as it is a top-down economic history of railroad construction and operation. Emphasis is evenly placed on federal officials, railroad developers, and local residents (that is, “ordinary” smallholders, workers, passengers, and freight customers). The author is rightly critical of earlier scholars for their elite-centered studies of Mexico’s railroads and their “zero sum” arguments, most notably that the gains made by the elite from the railroads came at the expense of the poor. In this account, Mexico’s popular groups are appropriately portrayed as active agents who frequently welcomed railroad development, tempered authoritarian policies, and manipulated the process of railroad expansion for their own ends by taking advantage of new laws and institutions, while playing policy makers against each other. According to Van Hoy, railroad owners and government officials were forced to win widespread public support in order to access the resources controlled by local residents.

It appears throughout the book that each side got what it wanted. As the railroad elite developed some of the poorest regions of the country, they “gained access to land, water, construction materials, labor, customer patronage, and political favors. And local residents maximized their gains from wages, contracts, free passes, surplus materials, and services (including piped water) that were controlled by the railroad” (pp. xix–xx). According to the author, Mexican railroad policy toward the poor was “fair” because the lower classes left officials and owners “little choice.” To avoid squatting and sabotage by locals should their concerns be ignored, railroad developers won over residents by addressing local demands, including just compensation for expropriated land, adequate payment for natural resources, high-paying jobs for workers, labor autonomy, graduated freight and passenger rates that favored third-class passengers and subsistence goods, and safety standards for construction and operation. According to Van Hoy, the “bureau-

cratic edifice” created by the railroads fostered a new definition of the rights of citizens whereby all Mexicans were entitled to public services, subsistence living, and fair treatment by those in power. For the owners and government officials, fairness toward the locals ensured that railroad construction would not be hindered.

Unlike many earlier scholars, Van Hoy does not limit her analysis to the outflow of goods from a community; instead, she deftly shows how the inflow of products delivered by the railroads benefited working-class consumers by breaking up monopolies and bringing competition to isolated economies that were dominated by local elites. Through the construction of warehouses along train routes, the railroads alleviated food shortages and the chronic fluctuations in the supply and price of grain in rural areas. The trains also provided smallholders affordable access to markets beyond their locality. The author challenges the traditional argument that most capital invested in railroad development leaked abroad; she demonstrates that instead, local economies were stimulated by the railroads as nonresident railroad workers rented houses and purchased food and other daily supplies in local towns. Also, local Mexicans from all social groups supplied much-needed building materials for the railroads.

While Van Hoy provides a valuable corrective to the history of Mexico’s railroad industry, she tends to gloss over inconsistencies, lump actors together (especially workers), and not fully develop her arguments. Although she claims that elite fear of sabotage shaped railroad policy, she gives few in-depth accounts of this or of elite reaction to subaltern resistance. Also, in light of inflation and rising property costs, how did expropriated landowners fare after they lost control of their holdings to the railroads? Van Hoy cannot answer this question because she does not follow them far enough to see if their quality of life improved, declined, or remained unchanged; this makes her argument about “fairness” with regard to indemnification problematic. Some of these shortcomings stem from the fact that the coverage of local residents, especially the poor, is at times anecdotal and lacking in the depth of analysis that one would expect from a more exhaustive social history. Finally, while her claim appears plausible that local demands shaped the larger renegotiation of citizenship, Van Hoy could say more on this subject. Despite these weaknesses—some of which are hard to avoid due to the dearth of source material on working-class people—this is an important book and should be essential reading for anyone interested in the railroad industry or nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Mexico.

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Palace Politics: How the Ruling Party Brought Crisis to Mexico. By JONATHAN SCHLEFER. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. Photographs. Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 297 pp. Cloth, \$60.00. Paper, \$24.95.

Palace Politics is a thoroughly researched exploration of the evolution of Mexico's politically stable system of the 1950s which culminated in a dramatic political decline in the 1990s. Jonathan Schlefer, for many years editor in chief of *Technology Review* at MIT, originally initiated this project as his PhD dissertation. The published result combines field research and analytical craftsmanship to provide a powerful and provocative interpretation of elite economic decision making as the crucial determinant of the downfall of Mexico's long-standing political model.

This book makes an original addition to Mexican oral history as an archive of the observations and actions of two generations of cabinet members and presidents, some of whom are now deceased. The central argument Schlefer develops through the accompanying narrative is that elite cooperation in the 1950s and 1960s prevented Mexico from falling into the pattern of economic crisis common to most of its Latin American neighbors. He fully documents how even losing factions within the broad Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI) remained active participants in each administration until the 1980s, providing crucial support to the regime's continuity. Indeed, elites' perception of active participation and their implementation of it in practice became an unwritten rule of Mexican political behavior until 1987. Schlefer's recounting of oral recollections and interpretations are supported strongly by empirical analysis of longitudinal economic data.

Most controversially, the author concludes that democratic and social movements, reflecting a new phase in electoral democracy, were significant in propelling Mexico toward the historic election of 2000, but that elite politics never took a backseat to these civic influences. Only when elites discovered that all viable political avenues were blocked did the pace of democratic change increase significantly, as when Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and Porfirio Muñoz Ledo left the party after initiating a democratic movement within the PRI shortly before the 1988 presidential elections. These arguments are developed within the "elite settlement" literature introduced by John Higley and others and are contrasted with recent illustrations from South America.

The author provides numerous examples of how increasing fissures among economic decision makers impacted adversely on the efficacy and consistency of economic policy. Perhaps the most astounding example, which contributed to the crisis during the first weeks of the Zedillo administration in 1994, was the president's decision to ruthlessly purge the treasury ministry of all individuals thought to be loyal to Salinas's treasury secretary, Pedro Aspe, whom Zedillo considered a political enemy. In addition to removing Aspe himself, who offered to remain temporarily to help stabilize the economy, all assistant secretaries, 90 percent of director generals, 79 area directors and 176 subdirectors were fired, thus making economic continuity nearly impossible (p. 217).

Earlier in the book, Schlefer provides equally fascinating examples of how elites who lost out in the presidential succession process remained loyal to the system.

This book provides a welcome alternative to the nearly universal focus on electoral politics by political scientists on both sides of the border. Indeed, since 2000, elections have received excessive attention compared to such neglected institutional actors as the Catholic Church, the armed forces, and the bureaucracy, as well as elite actors. It is clear from recent political events that specific decisions of individual actors, including Presidents Vicente Fox and Felipe Calderón, as well as the losing presidential candidate in 2006, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, have determined in large part both the outcomes of the last two elections and the success or failure of legislative agendas.

Not all readers will be convinced of the weight Schlefer assigns to Mexican elites and elite decision making as the central explanation for Mexico's often-cited economic stability. Nevertheless, he is able to combine dozens of firsthand statements with existing secondary literature on elite decision making to make a convincing argument. Anyone interested in the evolution of Mexico's political system in recent decades, the nature of Mexican economic decision making from the 1950s through the 1980s, or the process through which Mexico dramatically shifted its macroeconomic policies in the 1980s will find this book intriguing and exciting. For anyone teaching a course on recent Mexican political history, the paperback version of this book would make a readable complement to a primary textbook.

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Mexico's Middle Class in the Neoliberal Era. By DENNIS L. GILBERT. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007. Photographs. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 141 pp. Cloth, \$35.00.

The Mexican middle class has generally been neglected in academic literature. Dennis Gilbert's *Mexico's Middle Class in the Neoliberal Era* is an important addition to the few focused studies available on the Latin American middle class, for instance, Brian Owensby's study of the Brazilian middle class during the Vargas era, *Intimate Ironies*; Soledad Loaeza's *Clases medias y política en México: La querella escolar*; or Larissa Lomnitz and Ana Melnick's *Chile's Middle Class: A Struggle for Survival in the Face of Neoliberalism*. These studies find a necessary complement in Gilbert's book on the Mexican experience after the economic crises of 1982 and 1994. Using interviews with middle-class Mexicans living in the city of Cuernavaca, Gilbert achieves insightful conclusions on this sector's influential role behind the profound political and economic transformations of the country during the last 20 years, the period known as the neoliberal era.

According to Gilbert's analysis of data from electoral polls, most middle-class Mexicans voted for political change in 2000, favoring Vicente Fox, the PAN (National Action Party) candidate. Six years later, they reaffirmed their electoral preference for the center-right PAN as they voted for Luis Felipe Calderón. For Gilbert, rather than

expressing an ideological trend, these outcomes demonstrated the middle-class's goals of maintaining economic and political stability. According to Gilbert, after the 1994 financial crisis, the ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) could no longer guarantee economic stability, and the PAN appeared as the new viable alternative for the disappointed Mexican middle class.

Despite persistent income inequalities in the country, Gilbert finds that instead of decreasing during the neoliberal era, the middle class in fact expanded. Newer cars, larger houses, and more household appliances have become available for this social sector, evidencing relative economic stability for its members. Better education has also been available for middle-class young people, corresponding to the importance given by this sector to creating cultural and social capital.

Education is one of the most important values for the Latin American middle class. Gilbert's work on the Mexican middle class suggests that this sector values education above anything else. Even in the aftermath of the 1982 economic crisis, amid the implementation of the neoliberal model in the country, middle-class Mexicans limited expenses in different areas, but never in their children's education. According to Gilbert, paying private school tuitions turned out to be a matter of middle-class survival and preservation of their standard of living.

Gilbert's analysis of the Mexican middle class is based on family households where the head falls into one of the upper white-collar categories and income exceeds 150 percent of the median household income in the country. While using this particular unit offers the advantage of grouping people sharing family income and general cultural traits, it neglects the importance of the educational status of single people, which is particularly important in defining the middle-class condition in Mexico, as elsewhere in Latin America. Many professionals and recent graduates live by themselves and are part of a middle class that is becoming typical of large urban areas such as Mexico City. This means that around 20 percent of middle-class households are not considered in Gilbert's study (p. 114). This situation might not have a major effect on studying the family-oriented Cuernavaca middle class, but it would have a strong impact if we were to approach the complexities of the Mexican middle class in larger cities.

Why was Cuernavaca's middle class chosen for Gilbert's study? He explains that Cuernavaca's inhabitants come from different parts of Mexico and that this city congregates an important number of middle-class representatives, partly as a result of its proximity to Mexico City. Yet Gilbert recognizes that the families participating in his study "cannot be considered a statistically representative sample of middle-class Cuernavaca or middle-class Mexico" (p. 109). For example, a focus on the intellectual/academic/artistic and highly politicized middle-class group is practically absent from Gilbert's sample of Cuernavaca. Informal merchants are not a part of the sample either. Because Mexico is a predominantly urban country, where most middle-class people live in big cities such as Mexico City, Guadalajara, Monterrey, and Querétaro, it would make sense to perform research on one of these large urban areas whose middle-class compositions show tremendous complexity and heterogeneity.

Gilbert's book offers a smart approach to the correlation between social class and recent political-economic issues that are becoming ever more important in Mexico. It is also a strong invitation to keep exploring and discussing the importance of this social sector in Mexican history.

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Missionaries of the State: The Summer Institute of Linguistics, State Formation, and Indigenous Mexico, 1935–1985. By TODD HARTCH. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxi, 245 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is a curious hybrid: part serious linguistic research institution, part evangelical Christian missionary organization. In this well-written and meticulously researched monograph, Todd Hartch details the emergence of the SIL in the revolutionary Mexico of the 1930s and its steady growth over the next four decades in an improbable alliance with the Mexican state.

Mexico in 1934 may seem an unlikely time and place for “a conservative evangelical from the United States,” Cameron Townsend, to make common cause with “the leading revolutionary nationalist in Mexico,” president Lázaro Cárdenas (p. 14). But Townsend, an astute politician in his own right, saw that the Mexican state would be an inescapable partner in realizing his dream of translating the Christian Bible into the tongues of the “wild tribes of Latin America” (p. 2), and he cultivated close personal ties with Cárdenas and key figures in Mexico's official *indigenista* movement and educational bureaucracy. To insulate his Mexican partners from charges of favoring foreign missionaries, Cameron segregated the task of Bible translation into an organizationally separate organization, Wycliffe Bible Translators, and cultivated a strictly scientific and academic image for the SIL. Cárdenas, meanwhile, overlooked Townsend's evangelical obsessions; his revolutionary anticlericalism was aimed at the powerful, reactionary Catholic hierarchy, not at Mexico's vanishingly small Protestant population, who were at least as anti-Catholic as the ruling party. What attracted him to Townsend's proposal was its promise of attaining on the cheap one of the main goals of the revolution: incorporating “the Indian” into the Mexican nation-state.

The first six chapters relate the evolving relations between the SIL and the Mexican state. Hartch never explicitly states his own stake in the history that he describes, but he is consistently sympathetic toward the SIL and its members, the primary subjects of his history. As an anthropologist, I would prefer less about the SIL's own history and more (indeed, anything at all) about the internal dynamics of the communities where it operated—the place of traditional religion in their social structure, social implications of conversion, the cultural dynamics of indigenous literacy—or about the Catholic bishops, priests, and lay leaders who viewed the SIL as a meddling rival. A book is what it is, and wishing it to be another book is not a legitimate critique; however, the general

neglect of the local social situation and of Catholicism points to a blind spot in Hartch's approach to religion in rural Mexico and what I cannot help reading as a bias against traditional rural Mexican religion, which he never analyzes seriously on its own terms.

This authorial point of view is most pronounced in the final four chapters. In chapter 7, Hartch analyzes the "successes and failures" of the SIL, defining these exclusively in terms of the SIL's own "actual work of Bible translation and evangelism" (p. 94), not, for example, in terms of nation building, community development, or rural transformation (to pick three other possible vantage points on "success and failure"). Chapter 8 is a close-up view of the SIL in action in one Otomí village, based on interviews with the SIL missionaries/linguists, many of their local informants/converts, and an apparently smaller number of nonconverts. The result is a microhistory of "Indians into Protestants" that focuses on the experiences of the SIL personnel. Contrasting views of Catholic and traditional local religious practice, drawn largely from secondary sources, are reduced to background material. In the concluding chapters, he defends the SIL against charges of cultural imperialism leveled by a younger generation of indigenistas and anthropologists in the late 1960s to 1990s. This apologia would be more credible if Hartch dealt substantively with cultural imperialism, a term he seems to take as an empty token of radical posturing. In the case of the Otomí village, the fact that local converts "embraced enthusiastically" (p. 120) evangelical Christianity and cultural change of their individual free will is presented as evidence against the charge; but Hartch also shows how SIL linguists used political connections as a trump card to gain entrance to the community. Making deliberate use of superior access to political elites, money, and resources in order to introduce a new Otomí translation of the New Testament aimed at religious transformation is the very definition of cultural imperialism, regardless of "the complex nature of the conversion process" (p. 118) or how willingly the subjects of change adopt it. For anthropologists, this is a question of basic research ethics; as a missionizing organization, the SIL may treat such ethical questions as secondary, or ignore them altogether. It is a pity that Hartch ignores them as well. As a history of a peculiar institution at the crossroads of religion and state building, however, his study will be read with profit by all students and historians of modern Mexico.

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Partidos políticos, elecciones y lealtades partidarias en Costa Rica: Erosión y cambio.

By FERNANDO F. SÁNCHEZ C. Biblioteca de América. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2007. Illustrations. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. 355 pp. Paper.

Though parties are key organizations of any democracy, they typically get short shrift even in academic research about the political systems of developing countries. In Costa Rica, historians rarely study them; Héctor Pérez-Brignoli was the last one to publish a short book on one of them (the now basically moribund Social Christian party) in 1998. Costa Rican political scientists infrequently attend party meetings, interview the leaders or rank and file (much less conduct a systematic survey of party members), or see how parties reach out to society and how they produce legislation.

Fernando F. Sánchez's fine monograph, the first ever on the country's party system, begins to fill this void. His book is a lightly revised version of his Oxford DPhil thesis at St. Antony's College, Oxford University (under the direction of Alan Angell). Its most important virtue is comprehensiveness: Sánchez presents a mass of aggregate electoral returns and public opinion polls to chart the rise and fall of the two-party system, which came into existence in the mid-1980s and collapsed by 2006. Sánchez turns out to be prescient: soon after he defended this thesis, the jailing of two former Social Christian presidents, Rafael Angel Calderón Fournier (1990–94) and Miguel Angel Rodríguez Echeverría (1998–2002), on corruption charges left the United Social Christian Party (Partido Unidad Social Cristiana or PUSC) bereft of supporters. His book usefully mines studies of the Costa Rican political system for data and insights that make this an indispensable book on the country's political parties and on its political system as a whole.

The first two parts of the book contain a theoretical overview of the subject and background history on the now-defunct party system. Parts 3, 4, and 5 form the core of Sánchez's study of the Party of National Liberation (Partido Liberación Nacional, PLN) and the virtually extinct PUSC. Sánchez shows that the signs of weakening partisan attachment to parties gradually became evident during the 1990s, when the percentage of independent voters began to rise, in large part because the long influential PLN lost adherents faster than the PUSC could create new ones. All too many of us were oblivious to these changes, largely because studies of Costa Rican electoral behavior are uncommon. Sánchez, in fact, is only one of two political scientists that I am aware of (Jorge Vargas Cullel being the other) that have even bothered to collect polling data (generously provided by CID-Gallup) on party identification, for which he must be thanked.

Sánchez also writes several informative chapters on how parties became isolated from the Costa Rican public. He suggests that economic decline and the combative style of PLN president José María Figueres (1994–98), along with intense factional struggle, weakened this party. He also hypothesizes that an increasingly educated society also grew disenchanted with a two-party system that, I would add, offered voters little in the way of choice. Between 1950 and 2000, for example, the share of Costa Ricans with postsecondary education went from 1.2 to 11.7 percent of all individuals.

This book would have been stronger with more analysis of electoral behavior. This topic receives scant attention, despite the fact that Sánchez argues that sociological change contributed to declining rates of party identification. Running statistical models on individual-level data would have permitted the author to determine whether dealignment is more of a function of education and related factors or whether it is a function of disenchantment with the two-party system or party platforms, as more political explanations would hypothesize. Other future directions for research should be to study the internal party conventions that end with nominations for elected office. Studying how parties organize themselves to listen to citizen demands and how they produce the bills they debate in the Legislative Assembly would shed additional light on what remain crucial organizational links between state and society.

Partidos políticos, elecciones y lealtades partidarias en Costa Rica is ideal for the reader who is unfamiliar with this country's party system. It provides a wealth of detail and sets the stage for future research on the party system of one of the world's oldest democracies.

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Shining Path: Guerrilla War in Peru's Northern Highlands, 1980–1997.

By LEWIS TAYLOR. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006. Maps. Tables. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 232 pp. Cloth, \$85.00. Paper, \$32.50.

This work is the first to focus on the Shining Path in Peru's northern highlands, and it is likely also to be definitive. The author's goal is to explore how a consideration of the northern highlands modifies our understanding of the insurgency's rise (1979–92) and its retreat (1992–97). Heretofore, our understanding was based on the Shining Path's trajectory primarily in the southern highlands (where it built its largest social base) and secondarily in the central highlands.

The book is the fruit of Taylor's decades of research in the Cajabamba-Huamachuco region of Peru, which is near the northern-highlands city of Cajamarca. His 1979 doctoral dissertation analyzed trends in the economic development of Cajamarca through 1976. This study includes a particularly rich analysis of the impact of the 1970s agrarian reform in Cajamarca, emphasizing the reduction in land concentration but also the continued landlessness of peasant majorities and the complex problems of the new cooperatives, which replaced the traditional haciendas. Also building on previous research, Taylor provides a rigorous description of the Shining Path's 1979–82 entry into the region: he shows that, despite the insurgency's lack of a prior presence, it exploited divisions within Peru's left and gained active support from a minority of the rural population. It is clear that Taylor built a great deal of trust among a vast network of friends and informants in the Cajabamba-Huamachuco region and that they expressed their views sincerely. The many direct quotes in the book from these Peruvians are resonant and

convincing. Taylor also reached out successfully to officials in the region for their perspectives and carefully reviewed relevant documents.

One of Taylor's most important analytical innovations is to show how the greater capitalist agrarian development of the northern highlands shaped the insurgency in the area. In Peru's southern highlands, which were not inaptly described by the Shining Path's "semi-feudal" label, there were very few haciendas of any significance and accordingly the agrarian reform had scant impact. By contrast, in the northern highlands between the 1930s and the 1960s, major livestock and dairy enterprises were established. A considerable number of people worked in these enterprises and some even started their own businesses. Consequently, in the northern highlands the agrarian reform had a significant impact: on the one hand, agrarian-reform beneficiaries opposed (usually unsuccessfully) the Shining Path's demolition of the cooperatives set up under the reform; on the other hand, the large number of peasants who did not gain from the reform were resentful and were more likely to be attracted by the insurgency and its attacks on the cooperatives. Concomitantly, whereas the majority of Shining Path militants from the southern highlands were young, relatively well-educated students and schoolteachers, among a group of 50 imprisoned terrorist suspects from the northern highlands (whose profiles Taylor reviewed) 50 percent were peasants and 70 percent were over 25 years old. Also, to a degree that has never before been documented, "recruitment was effected by close relatives or friends" (p. 180).

A second, complementary analytical innovation is to show how the Shining Path's expansion in the northern highlands was inhibited by the relatively strong roots in the region of APRA (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*, Peru's longest-standing political party). Founded in 1924 on Peru's north coast, "APRA grew in explosive fashion between 1930 and 1932 to become the dominant political party in the northern highlands" (p. 63). From the 1930s into the 1960s, APRA's promises of social justice, anti-imperialism, and land redistribution had strong appeal in the northern highlands, and the party spurred the establishment of trade unions and union confederations in the region. Overall, as a result, in the northern highlands the rural populations was more politically skilled and aware than in the southern highlands. Also, whereas in many areas of the country citizens condoned the Shining Path's assassination of APRA officials because the party was considered corrupt, in the northern highlands citizens did not condone assassination; instead they "regarded [APRA officials] as *compañeros*" who "were perhaps personal acquaintances who had assisted them with some problem in the past." Further, despite the Shining Path's assassination of 17 political figures, by Taylor's count, in the region between 1986 and 1991, Taylor notes the courage and commitment of many older APRA party members who, "despite being in their seventies, were prepared to accept public office under extremely perilous circumstances" (p. 106).

Given that scholarship has focused much more on the Shining Path's rise than on its retreat, Taylor's chapter on the defeat of the insurgency in the northern highlands is especially valuable. Taylor reports on the major impact in 1990-92 of the accelera-

tion of land titling in the region and the arming of self-defense committees. Taylor also provides a chilling account of the effects of the 1992 repentance law; especially after the capture of the Shining Path's leader Abimael Guzmán, militants were demoralized and sought reduced sentences by providing information to the police—but too often, the people charged as terrorists by the informants were innocent.

In the first and last chapters of the book, Taylor provides a valuable review of key studies of the Shining Path in both English and Spanish and puts his analysis of the rise of the Shining Path in the northern highlands into a nationwide perspective. Concurring with my own analysis in *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path* (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1998), Taylor highlights the importance of widespread rural hunger and misery in a context of frustrated expectations, a significant erosion of state legitimacy, and a revolutionary organization that, for a period, effectively exploited Peruvians' resentments.

Several points could have benefited from more elaboration. It is known that Shining Path received considerable funds from its role in coca production and even paid salaries to militants. Although Taylor points out that the Shining Path gained income from coca in the eastern slopes of the northern highlands, the militants in this region appeared to have little cash; they regularly preyed on peasants and others in the region for food. Taylor could have spelled out how the Shining Path managed its finances in the area. Also, although Taylor's review of the literature on Shining Path is generally thorough, he provides no discussion of the voluminous 2003 report by Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (which put considerable emphasis on ethnic factors).

In sum, Taylor's book is an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of the Shining Path. Taylor seamlessly integrates his insights about the characteristics of the Shining Path's trajectory that are specific to the northern highlands with the nature of the movement as a whole. Based on both decades of research in the northern highlands and a thoughtful review of the many studies of the insurgency, this jargon-free, lucid, and compelling work provides both an excellent introduction to the Shining Path for students and the general public, and important new insights for specialists.

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International and Comparative

Path of Empire: Panama and the California Gold Rush. By AIMS MCGUINNESS.

Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008. Plates. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 249. Cloth, \$35.00. Paper, \$19.95.

Despite its long and contentious encounter with the U.S. empire, Panama has received little attention from North American scholars. Rather than a lived-in place with its own history, it usually appears as a transit point. This is certainly true of most studies of the California Gold Rush, which rarely note that 200,000 Americans crossed the isthmus between 1848 and 1860, and even more rarely consider the impact of that migration on Panama itself. Yet, as Aims McGuinness observes, “the making of the United States as a transcontinental nation and U.S. expansion overseas in Panama were coincident with one another and intertwined” (p. 12). Drawing upon research in Panama, Colombia, and the United States, his fine study *Path of Empire* not only provides new perspectives on U.S. expansion but explores events whose broader importance within Latin American history are often overlooked.

In mid-nineteenth-century Panama, questions of transit, sovereignty, and empire were inextricably tied to race. A loosely controlled province of Nueva Granada, Panama had long held promise as a potential “emporium” of the world. Yet, like the rest of Latin America, it struggled to reconcile republican ideals with colonial legacies. Panama suffered from deep racial and class divisions though not the binary racial divide of U.S. society. This social hierarchy helped shape Panama’s encounter with the American migrants who began appearing in the late 1840s. Despite their predictions of U.S. domination, white Americans found Panama’s racial complexity unsettling. As McGuinness notes, “while many recognized that color mattered in Panamanian society, they were often unsure how it mattered” (p. 42). Particularly jarring was the effectiveness with which black laborers controlled transit across the isthmus, forcing migrants to depend upon their services. This entrepreneurial success, in turn, contributed to Afro-Panamanians’ political inclusion, marked by the abolition of slavery in 1852 and the establishment of universal manhood suffrage the following year. This resulted in the rising power of the Liberal Party, which most people of color supported. In short, black Panamanians were becoming increasingly assertive and empowered even as the influence and demands of American interests grew.

As McGuinness shows, these tensions reached new levels in the mid-1850s, as U.S. transportation companies consolidated their power at the expense of local entrepreneurs. The key player was the New York-based Panama Railroad Company, which completed the first transcontinental railroad in 1855. Although many Panamanians had hoped the railroad would bring prosperity and progress, the completed line instead created a foreign-controlled transit enclave that sharply curtailed the economic benefits foreign migration had brought to Panama. Indeed, McGuinness observed that, although historians have dated U.S. enclaves to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, “the

classic strategies of the enclaves were pioneered by the Panama Railroad Company in Panama half a century before" (p. 82). This included not only the use of West Indian immigrant labor but a private police force and strictly enforced racial hierarchy.

Resentment of this foreign domination contributed to the famous "Watermelon Slice Riot" of April 15, 1856. Sparked by the refusal of a white American migrant to pay a vendor for fruit he had sampled, the riot left 15 Americans and 2 Panamanians dead and helped prompt the first U.S. military intervention in Panama months later. Yet McGuinness convincingly argues that the uprising must be placed in the context not only of resentment toward the railroad company and U.S. racism but of local anxiety toward William Walker's filibuster war in neighboring Central American nations. Equally important, as he shows in his fascinating analysis of Panamanian intellectual Justo Arosemena, these events helped lay the foundation for both Panamanian nationalism and an early formulation of Latin American regional identity. In a July 1856 essay entitled "La cuestión americana," for example, Arosemena posed a "spiritual" and "chivalrous" Latin race against the "cold" Yankees' "invasive spirit of conquest" (p. 160), thereby anticipating themes later advanced by figures such as José Enrique Rodó and José Vasconcelos. Yet, as in the case of those authors, Arosemena's conception of national and regional identity left little room for people of African and indigenous descent.

In sum, *Path of Empire* is an innovative study of a largely unexamined topic. By drawing upon Panamanian sources and narratives, McGuinness places Panama at the center of a crucial episode in global history, providing a fresh perspective on Latin America's encounter with U.S. empire. Although some discussion of later, seemingly related events, such as the 1885 Prestán rebellion, might have proved useful, this is an original and provocative book, and McGuinness's recounting of his travails in Panama's National Archive are alone worth the price. *Path of Empire* will appeal to scholars of U.S. as well as Latin American history and would serve as an excellent early reading in courses on U.S.-Latin American relations.

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Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race. By LAURA E. GÓMEZ. New York: New York University Press, 2007. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 243 pp. Cloth, \$35.00.

Laura E. Gómez's *Manifest Destinies* offers a new interpretation of the ideology of Manifest Destiny and how that ideology worked to create a Mexican American race in New Mexico. Gómez states that "more than a century-and-a-half ago, a series of events occurred that resulted in the formation of Mexican Americans as a *racial* group in the United States" (p. 1). Such a statement invites criticism from Mexican American historians who, like me, were trained to consider the terms "Mexican" and "Mexican American" as ethnic or national designations. While Gómez's thesis is not without problems, she

stands on firmer footing than some scholars might suppose. After all, race is socially constructed. Gomez explores the ways in which Anglo politicians, court officials, settlers, and the Mexican Americans who had long called New Mexico home constructed the racial identity of Mexican Americans.

Gómez traces the racial history of New Mexico from Spanish colonization to the present, although she primarily concentrates on the nineteenth century. She first examines colonialism, which set the stage for Anglo-American identification of Mexican Americans as a distinct racial group. Indeed, Spanish colonization of the region and later the American takeover, a process the author accurately refers to as “double colonization,” worked to shape Mexican Americans racially. A second theme is how the law served to mold Mexican Americans into a racial group. Finally, Gómez traces how “the construction of Mexicans as an American racial group proved central to the larger process of restructuring the American racial order in a key period stretching from the [Mexican American] war to the turn of the twentieth century” (p. 5).

Once the United States wrested what became the American southwest from Mexico in 1848, U.S. officials debated how (or if) Mexicans could (or should) be absorbed into the American body politic. This proved problematic in New Mexico because the government refused to allow the territory to become a state due to its large Mexican-origin population. White racial sentiment generally equated Mexicans/Mexican Americans with Indians or African Americans, who were not citizens. To fight for statehood, Anglos in New Mexico understood that they had to increase the number of whites in the territory; they achieved this by positioning Mexican Americans as white. Mexican Americans benefited from what Gómez calls the “reverse one-drop rule . . . one drop of European ancestry (Spanish in this case) was sufficient to confer some modicum of white status, and thus a host of corresponding legal rights” (pp. 142–43). Gómez demonstrates this racial positioning with a number of examples. For instance, in the quest for statehood, Mexican Americans opposed slavery before 1850 but shifted to a racist, pro-slavery position shortly before the Civil War. “Mexican Americans took up American racism by claiming whiteness . . . and seeking to distance themselves from other non-white groups,” Gómez writes (p. 114). Their attitudes toward slavery had as much to do with obtaining statehood as with acquiring white rights.

In attempting to establish Mexican Americans as a racial group, Gómez enters controversial territory. For example, while she correctly shows that the creation of the new category “Mexican American” was very much akin to the social construction of race, Gómez does not adequately acknowledge that the focus on whiteness did not fragment, but rather strengthened, the existing black/white racial binary. When Mexican Americans (and some Anglo allies) pushed for white rights, they became a part of the white race, not a separate racial group. Further, whiteness had a powerful social, economic, and political attraction that most likely influenced Mexican Americans at all socioeconomic levels. Gómez claims that this attraction appealed only to elites, but whiteness surely appealed to nonelite Mexican Americans. Moreover, I would suggest that many elites disliked white racial positioning and chose to embrace their mestizo heritage. Addition-

ally, while some Anglos appeared receptive to granting Mexican Americans white status, others were not. Race involves both how a dominant society perceives a group and also how that group perceives itself. In New Mexico, both Anglo and Mexican American perceptions of Mexican American racial status simultaneously undermine and reinforce Gómez's argument. For such a complex racial history, the author needed a more nuanced, critical analytical focus. Yet, given the dearth of scholarship on Mexican Americans in the nineteenth century and in New Mexico, Gómez goes far in complicating the historical discussion on Mexican Americans and race in the United States. Ultimately, this book should reignite the debate about whether ethnic or racial analyses work best for investigations of Mexican-origin people.

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American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism. By JULIAN GO. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. Illustrations. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 378 pp. Cloth, \$84.95. Paper, \$23.95.

One hundred and ten years after the invasion of the Philippine and Puerto Rican archipelagos by the U.S. military and the subsequent subjection of their peoples, which in the case of Puerto Rico has continued to this day, there is finally a much-needed and welcome comparative study focusing on the relations between U.S. imperial authorities and the local elites. Julian Go's *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning* looks at the cultural front from 1898 to 1912, identifying it as the most strategic field in the process through which the U.S. agents attempted to educate the local elites in the ways of self-government. This is what came to be known as "Americanization," a complex and somewhat haphazardly put together set of programs and institutions set up to provide the local population with lessons in democracy, which usually came to be dispensed in the most undemocratic of ways. The book is clearly written and should prove stimulating and accessible to a wide audience. Many of its conclusions are backed up by quantifiable data drawn from local periodicals of the time. Go understands culture as "a semiotic system-in-practice" (p. 62) and identifies several modalities of action in the never-ending quest to profit by controlling the polyvalence of signs. The first system presented is domestication, a process that, far from producing effective cultural change, entails the adoption of imported signs and the reproduction through them of pre-existing forms of kinship, political institutions, and cultural mores. According to Go, this was the initial movement in both theaters of action, given that the local elites already had well-developed notions of self-government and democracy. The Puerto Rican elites had used to great advantage a particular concept of *autonomía* (autonomy) based on the model of Spanish federalism and not in the sense of "home rule" that is the basis of the notion of self-government in the Anglo-American world. Similarly, the Philippine intelligentsia had constructed an

entire symbolic universe based on the interplay between the principles of *razón* (reason) and *inteligencia* (intelligence) that, while inherited from the traditions of the Spanish Enlightenment, were deeply rooted in the Tagalog concept of *kalayaan*, or on a notion of liberty as an “ideal state of perfect reciprocity” (p. 105).

Soon after the invasions there was an abrupt break in the path toward cultural reproduction followed by the elites in both countries. Go attributes this primarily to the devastating consequences of the San Ciriaco hurricane that hit Puerto Rico in 1899, destroying the coffee crop and the economic power that favored the rise of the Creole elite. Gone were the notions of the *gran familia puertorriqueña* (the greater Puerto Rican family) and the self-given right of the otherwise confident patriarchs to rule over the allegedly servile masses. Meanwhile, the Filipino patrons were able to grow and strengthen their power by holding important governorships at the regional level and building a new sense of national unity from Manila. For Go, this explains the divergence whereby Filipino elites were able to validate their initial approach to the U.S. authorities through domestication and reproduction of their homegrown models. In contrast, the Puerto Rican elites faced what he calls “recalcitrance,” both from the United States and from the masses, forcing them to accept and accommodate the imported cultural forms and political institutions. It follows that the Puerto Rican experience resulted in the structural transformation of the cultural system, while the Filipino elites were able to continue to promote their own institutions of knowledge and power.

On the whole, this study marks a most significant break with the insularist ideology of both the Puerto Rican and the Filipino schools. It also points to a possible exit out of the mental cage of colonial subservience—and to the otherwise Manichean theories derived from the master/slave dialectic—while at the same time providing a thread out of the labyrinth where, together with the Cubans and other unfortunate victims of U.S. expansionism, these peoples continue to behave as the aberrant products of a pernicious and less than benevolent tutelage. The work can be equally valuable for U.S. readers as it sheds light on the foundations of their country’s imperial ideology and on institutions that have been continuously recycled without much variation from the Caribbean to the Middle East. Yet, the semiotic approach has its great perils. Foremost among these is the risk of dismissing the most devastating exercises of colonial oppression and human devastation as a consequence of “a kind of misunderstanding” (p. 76).

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Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist, Feminist, and Mrs. Marcus Garvey Wife No. 1, or, A Tale of Two Amies. By TONY MARTIN. Dover, MA: Majority Press, 2007. Photographs. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xv, 450 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

Amy Ashwood was an activist in the pan-African movement, a feminist, and the first wife of Marcus Garvey. Their marriage ended after two months, when Garvey left her for Ashwood's chief bridesmaid and best friend Amy Jacques. This short-lived marriage and the divorce, which she never acknowledged, loomed large in Ashwood's life. Tony Martin's biography of Ashwood, the most recent volume in what the author calls the New Marcus Garvey Library, centers on her relationship with Garvey and its aftermath.

Amy Ashwood was born in Port Antonio, Jamaica, in 1895 or 1897, and spent part of her childhood in Panama where her father was a businessman. She returned to Jamaica to attend high school. She met Garvey at a debating society in 1914 and soon became involved in the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). In 1918, Ashwood moved to the United States and became involved in UNIA's New York branch. She married Garvey on Christmas day in 1919 in a lavish ceremony. Following her divorce in 1922, Ashwood traveled extensively in the Caribbean, the United States, Europe, and Africa. Martin seems to blame her for moving among Garvey's followers and associates, but given Ashwood's interests, that doesn't seem abnormal. From 1935 to 1938, she lived in London, where she was a leading member of the African community. C. L. R. James called her "one of the brightest women I have known" (p. 144) and included her in his list of the four most brilliant conversationalists he had met (one of the others was Leon Trotsky).

The restless Ashwood returned to Jamaica, where she began to drift away from Garvey's race-based ideology toward class-based ideas, and embraced feminism. She devised many new projects but never took the time to implement them. She then moved to West Africa and lived there for three years in the late 1940s. She assumed an Ashanti name and for the rest of her life wore African dresses. It was a successful tour and it makes Martin wonder how Garvey would have been received if he had had the chance to visit Africa. In 1956 she visited Ghana, then within months of achieving its independence.

Martin bases his sketch of Ashwood's life on her private papers and unpublished manuscripts. He is not slow to give his opinion on Ashwood's memories. In the first pages he calls her recollections "problematical" (p. 18), her claims "probably fictional" (p. 22), her testimonies "often unreliable," and her later recollections "fanciful and erratic" (p. 29). Martin disputes Ashwood's claim that she was the first member and cofounder of the UNIA because, even if she had been the first member, she could not have been a cofounder of the organization that "Garvey had already conceived and planned" (p. 22). He also challenges her statement that she was the secretary of the UNIA by pointing at Garvey's deposition that she was "one of the many secretaries" of the association (p. 23). Martin acknowledges, however, that she was a key figure in the UNIA.

Martin acknowledges that the charismatic Ashwood was an "excellent" public speaker (p. 99) and "an ardent Pan-Africanist in her own right and one who, despite

her shortcomings, managed to impact positively on the uplift of African people" (p. xi). In the end he counts her as one of the "lesser activists of the second, third and lower tiers, many of them now half-forgotten, but all of whose lives revolved around the Pan-African ideal" (p. 319). On her feminism, he writes that "Amy Ashwood was later in life to describe herself as a feminist, and her experience in the early UNIA would certainly have stimulated her developing interest in women's issues" (p. 24). He seems to doubt her self-described feminist ideas but doesn't adequately explain why he questions her feminism. Martin labels her move away from Garveyism as "ideological confusion" without seeming to take into account that decades of international developments and new experiences might lead to new insights. In this biography of Amy Ashwood Garvey, the author hasn't been able to free himself from his admiration for Marcus Garvey. As a result, he has written a book that views Ashwood's life mainly through Garvey's eyes.

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Que se queden allá: El gobierno de México y la repatriación de mexicanos en Estados Unidos (1934-1940). By FERNANDO SAÚL ALANÍS ENCISO. Tijuana, Baja California: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte / San Luis Potosí: El Colegio de San Luis, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 346 pp.

Both in the historical literature and in popular memory, President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-40) is celebrated as a champion of Mexican sovereignty and as a benefactor of his country's poor. To be sure, as the expropriator of Mexico's oil wealth and an energetic agrarian reformer, Cárdenas looms large as the president most committed to the nationalist and redistributive tenets of the Mexican Revolution. To the extent that he has been credited with providing valuable assistance to Mexican citizens who returned to their homeland from the United States in the latter years of the Great Depression, however, his reputation may be exaggerated, or so Fernando Saúl Alanís Enciso argues in *Que se queden allá*. Though Mexican officials in the late 1930s at times spoke grandly of the reincorporation of Mexicans returning from beyond the Río Bravo as a noble nationalist project, Alanís Enciso shows that the resettlement of *repatriados* was at best a secondary concern for the Cárdenas administration.

Between 1929 and 1933, more than 350,000 Mexicans returned from the United States, forced across the border by adverse economic conditions and stepped-up U.S. enforcement of immigration laws. As the economic situation improved and the number of deportations dropped toward the end of the decade, the flood of returnees during the early years of the Depression slowed to a trickle. Cárdenas was therefore never obliged to give the question of resettling repatriados his sustained attention. Though official discourse held that both Mexico and the repatriados would benefit if skilled farmers and laborers returned to contribute to the development of the nation, Mexican attitudes

toward resettlement projects were in fact ambivalent. Many feared that returnees would compete for jobs and put a strain on a struggling economy. Indeed, despite the alleged advantages of repatriation, and despite rhetorical links made by the Cárdenas administration between resettlement projects and other parts of the president's nationalist program, a widespread sense existed that it might be best if Mexicans in the United States remained there—*que se queden allá*.

Alanís Enciso reviews various plans that were drawn up to encourage the repatriation of Mexicans in the United States, describing how these plans came to naught. He also examines in some detail the one concerted effort that the Cárdenas administration made to implement a resettlement program, the establishment in 1939 of the Colonia 18 de Marzo, a farming community in northern Tamaulipas. The creation of the colony has been cited as evidence of Cárdenas's commitment to the project of repatriation, and certainly it fit into the president's broader nationalist program. Indeed, the name of the settlement itself referred to another part of that program, March 18 being the date in 1938 on which Cárdenas decreed the expropriation of foreign oil companies. The colony failed, however, as official attention to the project quickly lapsed. Alanís Enciso suggests that the general ambivalence toward resettlement ensured that little progress was made in encouraging repatriation on a large scale.

This study draws primarily upon Mexican newspapers and archival sources to examine a fairly specialized facet of Cárdenas's social policies. While the subject is a rather specific one, and the conclusion—that a coherent Mexican policy toward repatriation was lacking in the late 1930s—is not especially grand, Alanís Enciso makes a significant contribution by opening up to further examination relatively little-studied assumptions about migratory trends and about the policies and actions of the Cárdenas administration. *Que se queden allá* will be of interest to scholars of the *cardenista* period and of immigration history. It may be of broader interest, too, because of Alanís Enciso's suggestion that Mexican policy makers still today harbor an unspoken hope that Mexicans in the United States will remain there.

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(Note: The views expressed here are those of the author and not those of the U.S. Government or the U.S. Department of State.)

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In from the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War.

Edited by GILBERT M. JOSEPH and DANIELA SPENSER. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. Photographs. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. ix, 440 pp. Cloth, \$99.95. Paper, \$26.95.

The Cold War in Latin America continues to be a major topic of analysis in many academic disciplines, made all the more enticing because new information is constantly emerging. *In from the Cold* asks us to look beyond the opening of new archives, testimonies, interviews, and declassified documents and instead to reconsider the conflict itself. For many years, scholars have viewed Latin America as caught between two great powers in a largely reactive position that left little space for autonomous action. The chapters in the book aim, as Gilbert Joseph writes, "to transcend frayed, dichotomizing paradigms of interpretation that themselves appear to be artifacts of the conflict" (p. 17).

This is a refreshing approach, since it is easy to be lulled into a sense that the Cold War is already well defined. The chapters are of a uniformly high quality even if, at times, characterized by a bit of overreach. Regardless, given the array of authors, the book would be a very useful addition to a number of different courses, and its challenge to the status quo should spark probing discussions of precisely how to understand the nature of the Cold War in Latin America.

That there are several chapters on Mexico is a welcome corrective, since it is an ambiguous case. Seth Fein's chapter on United States Information Service efforts to feed Cold War propaganda to Mexicans through newsreels in the 1950s (known as Project Pedro) reveals how frustrated U.S. officials became when they were forced to filter their messages according to Mexican government dictates and local tastes. Triumphant assertions of "propaganda impact of 1,643,540 persons per week" (p. 184) were outweighed by the Mexican government's refusal to allow extensive negative reporting on Cuba. Piero Gleijeses also reminds us that Cuba was no Soviet pawn. Indeed, the Soviets were often exasperated by Fidel Castro's failure to toe the line, and Cuban guerrillas evinced an idealism that surprised those they fought alongside. They considered themselves not as bit actors in a great power drama, but as messengers of a better way of living.

Victoria Langland offers an excellent chapter on Brazil in 1968, examining the gendered side of political conflict. The participation of young women in radical politics was deemed a threat to the state more for cultural than ideological reasons. Even for men, introspection about gender relations sparked a challenge to prevailing norms. As one male activist said, "I decided that having trysts with the maids was counterrevolutionary" (p. 319). That women's role in politics was sexualized is a perfect example of how traditional analyses of the Cold War fail to adequately capture the nuances of political motivations.

Yet it is still an overstatement to refer to the failed "master narratives" from conceptual "Olympian heights" (p. 29) or to "calcified historiographies" (p. 205). Indeed, many of the relevant Latin American political actors consciously viewed themselves as part of

such a narrative. As Ariel Armony's chapter on Argentina demonstrates, the military junta ended its activities in Central America when it was clear that the United States would not provide reward (as evidenced by its response to the Falklands/Malvinas war). Steven Bachelor's analysis of striking Mexican workers in a Chrysler plant shows how the Mexican government used the excuse of Communism to repress union independence. Similarly, Stephen Pitti explains how the participation of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in California labor movements sparked local fears of Communist infiltration, even though they were just tapping into traditional Mexican labor activism. At the very least, authorities used the excuse of great power rivalry (for example, activists were commonly portrayed as agents of the Soviet Union) to attack opposition leaders.

The master narrative of great power rivalry is no mere invention. What this book makes clear, however, is that it was not nearly as all-encompassing as is generally argued. Daniela Spenser's conclusion offers specific suggestions for future research, connecting the opening of archives (including, someday, those in Cuba) and personal testimonies with research questions. Those who seek to use all the new information that is coming to light would do well to consider this advice to avoid missing compelling deviations from conventional wisdom.

GREGORY WEEKS, University of North Carolina at Charlotte

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2009-044

Hostile Intent: U.S. Covert Operations in Chile, 1964–1974. By KRISTIAN GUSTAFSON. Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2007. Plates. Appendix. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 317 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.

The rise and fall of the Allende administration has been and still remains a topic for intense debate. Basically there are two ideological camps: those who favor Dr. Allende and describe him as the victim of a U.S. directed putsch, and those who blame the fall of the Unidad Popular (UP) on Chilean domestic forces. Kristian Gustafson belongs to the latter group.

Beginning in 1960, the United States became more deeply interested in Chile. Believing Eduardo Frei constituted the best alternative to the Marxist Dr. Salvador Allende, the Kennedy administration helped elect the Christian Democrat to the presidency. The Frei government also received U.S. economic largesse and technical aid. Washington still favored the Christian Democrats, even when it became clear that Radomiro Tomic and the PDC's left wing had more in common with the UP forces than Frei and his adherents. The failure of Washington to recognize this fundamental shift in the locus of power and its refusal to support robustly the candidacy of Jorge Alessandri resulted in the UP's 1970 triumph and Allende's winning the presidency. President Richard Nixon, whose anticommunism had brought him to the attention of the U.S. public, overreacted: he ordered the CIA to work with anti-Allende forces to prevent the Unidad Popular leader from taking power.



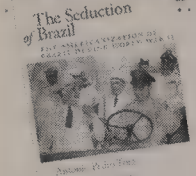
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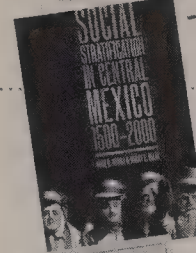


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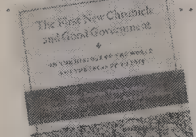


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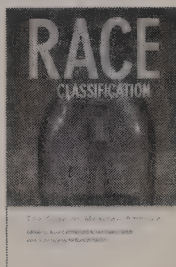
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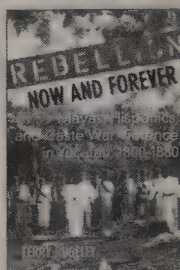
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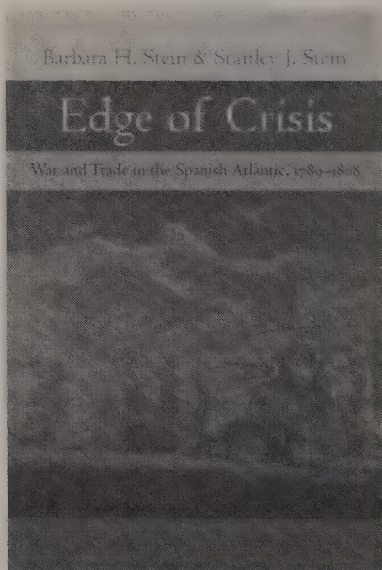
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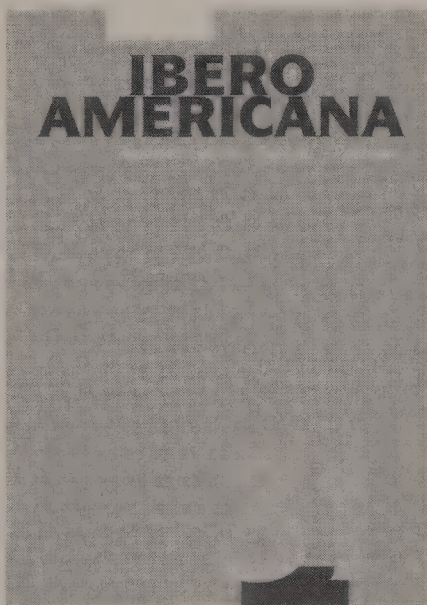
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In This Issue

The articles in this issue exemplify some of the new trends in the historiography of Latin America. Two of the articles study transnational processes involving ideas, actors, and institutions in the United States, Mexico, and Europe. The third article contributes to the burgeoning field of Latin American legal history and suggests how legal cases were used to construct complex social renderings of the criminal subject in different historical moments.

Paul Ross discusses how medical professionals in Mexico, many of whom had been trained in Europe, played key roles in developing the Porfirian state and in projecting the international image of a modern, progressive Mexico. These images mattered, as public health concerns were invoked to justify U.S. expansionist plans at the turn of the century, and fears of epidemic disease led to quarantines and other disruptions of commerce. Public health was therefore central to the Porfirian modernization project. Moreover, the Mexican Superior Health Council, which joined the American Public Health Association in 1890, came to act as an informal diplomatic branch of the Mexican state. The prominence of Mexican sanitary science was grounded on at least two factors. First, the exposure of Mexican scientists to the latest European technologies of disinfection and sanitation placed them at the vanguard of the international movement for sanitary reform. Furthermore, personal, clientelistic ties between physicians such as Eduardo Licéaga, president of the Superior Health Council, and Porfirio Díaz cemented the connections between science, state building, and modernization. Through rigorous sanitary regulations and campaigns against tropical diseases, Mexican sanitarians asserted the country's sovereignty even as the Mexican economy became increasingly intertwined with that of the United States.

Relations between the United States and Mexico are also central to Karin Roseblatt's study of the "culture of poverty" paradigm created by anthropologist Oscar Lewis in 1959. Roseblatt explains that this concept was not only a transnational creation, shaped by Lewis's own training and by his interactions with the Mexican intelligentsia, but also that it had a transnational impact as it shaped debates about culture, race, poverty, and national character in Mexico and the United States. Although Lewis tied the creation of this "subculture"

to colonialism and global capitalism, some conservative intellectuals in Mexico attacked Lewis's work as an imperialist affront to the nation, foregrounding in the process a triumphant nationalism that emphasized differences between the United States and Mexico. Radical intellectuals criticized this approach, noting that poverty was a universal problem, while acknowledging that differences between the countries did matter. After all, American scholars had the means to study poverty in Mexico, yet the opposite was not true. In the United States, in turn, the concept got entangled with policy debates about the black urban poor and President Johnson's War on Poverty. In a context of widespread fears of black militancy, feminist activism, and worldwide revolution, American intellectuals interpreted poverty in personal and cultural terms as a problem that typified the history of certain groups, primarily black Americans. In other words, class problems were reduced to race. Furthermore, the culture of poverty was understood to be so ingrained and deeply embedded that it acquired a rigidity that was not too different from biology.

The creation of social subjects is also at the center of María del Carmen Baerga-Santini's study, which analyzes a case of infanticide in Puerto Rico in 1904. The woman found guilty of this murder, Luisa Nevárez Ortiz, was condemned to death—the only woman condemned to the gallows in Puerto Rico—but her sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in 1906 and she was pardoned by the island's governor in 1913. Yet when the case was resurrected three decades later by journalist Jacobo Córdova Chirino, it was still chronicled as part of a series on hideous crimes that resulted in the death penalty. Baerga-Santini is less interested in reconstructing the social history of Nevárez Ortiz than in understanding how the case was represented to the public and how it contributed to the formation of criminal subjectivities in the island. At the time the alleged crime took place, the delinquent subject was being defined in Puerto Rico, but Luisa was excluded from such definition, which referred to males in possession of a malicious intellect and a capacity for social action. This rendered her unintelligible and unknowable, a being that could enter historical narratives only as a monster or madwoman. By mid-century, however, Nevárez Ortiz's story contributed to defining the subject of the delinquent woman, a category that came to be associated with certain social, racial, and sexual attributes (ignorance, blackness, and licentiousness). The protagonist of journalist Córdova Chirino's story is therefore not a human subject named Luisa Nevárez Ortiz but "the criminal woman," a social type that is beyond redemption. That is why in Córdova Chirino's narrative Nevárez Ortiz had to die in prison; her subsequent pardon and later marriage would have undone the very boundaries that the journalist was building.

Mexico's Superior Health Council and the American Public Health Association: The Transnational Archive of Porfirian Public Health, 1887–1910

Paul Ross

Between 1887 and 1910, public health experts working within the government of Porfirio Díaz of Mexico joined and fortified international medical networks that tied together Europe, the United States, and Latin America. Led by Dr. Eduardo Liceaga, members of the Mexican medical elite leveraged the knowledge they gained from study in Europe and their interactions with American and Canadian counterparts to both elevate the profile of public health within the Mexican political system and defend Mexico's sovereignty against perceived imperial designs on the part of the United States. The American Public Health Association brought together the sanitarians of the United States, Canada, and Mexico for the first time. Celebrated as a public health movement for "this side of the Atlantic," this scientific alliance will be seen here in light of Atlantic medical currents, the development of state institutions in Mexico, and Mexico-U.S. relations.

The American Public Health Association (APHA) was already a key institution of U.S. Progressivism when it issued an invitation for Mexican participation in 1889. The association's U.S. and Canadian members hoped to create organizational structures that would be able to cope with the sanitary challenges posed by an era of intensified commerce with Latin America. They acquired an assertive new partner when Mexico joined the APHA, for Mexico's sanitarians saw in the APHA an opportunity to conduct U.S.-Mexican politics on the terrain of science.

By the time members of the Mexican medical elite attended their first annual APHA convention in 1890, the Mexican medical profession was well organized, the fruit of a half-century's efforts to modernize the profession and its institutional structures. The Superior Health Council (Consejo Superior de Salubridad), board of health for the Federal District and Mexico's federal terri-

ories, was thriving under the leadership of Dr. Eduardo Licéaga. Licéaga typified the virtues of a generation of medical professionals capable of implementing bureaucratic procedures for the state. These men often dealt personally with the caudillo Díaz, advising him on matters related to public health. Under Licéaga's stewardship, the Superior Health Council was stabilized and strengthened and devised the comprehensive Sanitary Code of the United Mexican States, enacted in 1891 and reformed and revised in 1894, 1902, and 1904. The Mexican Sanitary Code would be admired by leading figures of the U.S. public health movement, such as APHA secretary Dr. Irving Watson, who called it "the most extensive, comprehensive, and the broadest ever adopted by any government in the world, probably."¹

The Atlantic World of Mexican Medicine

The official medical profession in nineteenth-century Mexico was essentially an offshoot of European medicine. Mexico's independence in 1821 made it possible for medical modernizers to seek non-Spanish European models on which to base new institutions, such as the Establishment of Medical Sciences (*Establecimiento de Ciencias Médicas*, 1833) and the Superior Health Council (1841). It is not an overstatement to say that Mexican medicine effectively became a satellite of the French medical tradition during these years. For instance, when medical reformers founded a new medical school after independence in 1833, all of the textbooks were French.² During the cholera pandemics of 1833, 1850, and 1853–54, European medical publications (medical manuals, cholera treatises, eyewitness accounts of epidemics, therapeutic programs, and advertisements for miracle cures) traveled across the Atlantic, much like *vibrio cholerae* itself.³

1. Irving A. Watson, "The Republic of Mexico—Medicine Curative and Preventive," *The Sanitarian, a Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Preservation of Health, Mental and Physical Culture* 29 (July–Dec. 1892): 122. Dr. Watson made this statement in a speech to the New Hampshire Medical Society.

2. Francisco Flores, *Historia de la medicina en México desde la época de los indios hasta la presente*, vol. 3 (Mexico City: Oficina Tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1886–88), 135.

3. Examples are numerous. See for instance, Mejía, undated letter to Ayuntamiento (bound between documents from early September 1832) introducing translation of F. J. V. Broussais's treatise on cholera morbus, Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico City, Policía Salubridad, Cólera morbus, vol. 3676, exp. 2, pp. 6–7; and Dr. Ignacio Erazo, "Report on Cholera" (based on Broussais's work), 4 Oct. 1832, Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Ramos Municipales, Policía Salubridad, Cólera morbus, exp. 12, p. 4.

The French Intervention (the invasion and occupation between 1861 and 1867 of much of Mexico by the France of Napoleon III, which installed the imperial government of the Austrian Hapsburg Maximilian) heightened what one medical historian identified as the paradox of Mexico's nineteenth-century cultural Francophilia. On the one hand, scientific Francophiles were promoters of national progress, "seeking in French science the elements necessary to elevate national culture and place it on the level of the most advanced countries." On the other hand, political Francophiles retarded the country's progress when they collaborated with Napoleon III to import Emperor Maximilian in the 1860s. Today's National Academy of Medicine (Academia Nacional de Medicina) evolved between these poles. Mexico's most prestigious medical association was founded in April 1864 as the medical section of the Scientific, Artistic, and Literary Commission of Mexico (an organization sponsored by the invaders, but with significant Mexican participation), but by December 1864, the group separated from the commission, becoming the Medical Society of Mexico (Sociedad Médica de México). From its inception, the society published a medical gazette. Revealingly, many of the articles in the early issues were published in French, authored by the French military doctors who co-founded the group that went on to become Mexico's foremost medical association. Its current designation—National Academy of Medicine—dates to 1877.⁴

It is thus not surprising that the Mexican medical elite's public health initiatives were strongly shaped by Atlantic medical currents. Although none of the Mexican actors seems to have used the phrase "public health movement" to describe Mexican developments, the keywords denoting public health (*salubridad, higiene, sanidad, salud pública, policía sanitaria*) all implied a collective, indeed civilizational effort toward the reform of public health and the goal of controlling epidemic disease. Founded in 1841 during the centralist republic as a board of health for the Department of Mexico, the Superior Health Council became the institutional home for Mexico's elite hygienists. When federalism returned, the Superior Health Council's jurisdiction was the Federal District and federal territories. Constitutional framework aside, the Superior Health Council's activities rarely had any practical impact beyond the urbanized precincts of Mexico City until the twentieth century.

The institutional record leaves no doubt that over its first quarter-century the council consolidated the scientific repertoire that was known at the time as *hygiène publique* in France or as sanitationism or sanitary science in the English-

4. Germán Somolinos d'Ardois, *Historia de la fundación de la Academia Nacional de Medicina y su tiempo* (Mexico City: Academia Nacional de Medicina, 1964), 11–12, 17–23.

speaking world.⁵ Mostly, this meant an inglorious struggle, short staffed and underfunded, to regulate medical practice, remediate the urban environment, vaccinate a recalcitrant population against smallpox, and attempt to organize the state's response to outbreaks of epidemic disease that sometimes claimed thousands of lives. With its active medical profession, Mexico City was the site of the most intense activity of the public health movement in Mexico, but health boards were founded throughout the republic, carrying the ideals of *higiene pública* to Mexico's provinces. Like their French role models, Mexico's sanitarians explained disease as a complex relationship between local environmental conditions (especially miasmas) and individual predisposition.

The history of medical ideas in nineteenth-century Mexico was largely the history of the reception of European theories until the late 1880s, when Mexican medical leaders began to project themselves outwards. This soon included personal attendance at events of the international public health movement and publication in some of Europe's most prestigious journals.⁶ In fact, the Atlantic was never really a one-way street. Some Mexican physicians, such as Dr. Manuel Soriano, left Mexico in search of medical training before the 1880s. The most famous Mexican medical returnee was Dr. Gabino Barrera, who came home from Paris imbued with the doctrines of Comte's positivism.⁷ However, after 1887, the distance and frequency of these medical pilgrimages increased dramatically. The international efforts of Mexico's Academy of Medicine oper-

5. Dr. José María Reyes's annual memorandum of the council's activities, written in 1866, is the most complete report written before the book-length *Memorias* of the Porfiriato. See Reyes, *Memoria de los trabajos del Consejo de Salubridad en el año de 1866* (Mexico City: Imprenta Imperial, 1867). For the foundation and early years of the Superior Health Council, see Fernando Martínez Cortés, *De los miasmas y efluvios al descubrimiento de las bacterias patógenas: Los primeros cincuenta años del Consejo Superior de Salubridad* (Mexico City: Consejo de Salubridad General, 1998). A very clear and concise account of the French hygienists who were the principal role models for their Mexican brethren may be found in Catherine J. Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1996), 71–81.

6. *Verhandlungen der Berliner medicinischen Gesellschaft aus dem Gesellschaftsjahre 1886/86*. (Berlin: L. Schumacher, 1887), 142. "Für die Bibliothek sind eingegangen: . . . 2) D. Eduardo Licéaga, Leçons sur l'étiologie et la prophylaxe de la fièvre jaune, Mexico 1885." Appropriately, given Mexican medical Francophilia, Dr. Licéaga's reflections on yellow fever found their way into the library of the Berlin Medical Society in French.

7. Manuel Soriano, *Memoria sobre la canalización quirúrgica, llamada en francés drainage* (Mexico City: Imprenta de J. M. Aguilar y Ortiz, 1865), Yale Latin American Pamphlet Collection #8001952. On Dr. Gabino Barrera, see Charles A. Hale, "Political Ideas and Ideologies in Latin America, 1870–1930," in *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), 148–52.

ated in parallel to those more directly organized by the state, and scientific talent flowed across the Atlantic in these years as Mexicans went abroad for such purposes as to study European laboratory practices and to display their own accomplishments at universal expositions.⁸ By the early 1890s, a number of distinguished graduates of the Mexico City Medical School, including Jesús E. Monjarás and Angel Gaviño, were acquiring specialized training in Europe.⁹ Institutions such as the Superior Health Council, the Academy of Medicine, the Medical School, and the Bacteriological Institute, as well as individuals, sponsored Mexican medical sojourns in Europe.

Complementing the intensified schedule of foreign travel by Mexican doctors, the official medical establishment also began to host international medical congresses in Mexico City. The first of these events, the APHA convention of 1892, was the culmination of nearly two decades of hygiene congresses convened in the Mexican capital. These events consolidated the scientific prowess and group identity of Mexico's public health experts prior to their encounter with the APHA. For instance, the Congreso Nacional de Higiene, which met from September 1883 to April 1884, provided an important forum for elaborating the details of Mexico's Sanitary Code, ultimately promulgated in 1891.¹⁰

No individual illustrates the new international scope of Mexican medicine better than Eduardo Licéaga. Most of Licéaga's trips were related to his official role as president of the Superior Health Council, which he assumed in 1885. In 1890, he attended the Tenth International Medical Congress (X. Internationaler Medizinischer Congress) in Berlin with five fellow members of the Mexican Academy of Medicine, a useful reminder that Mexico's foremost medical association was also supporting physicians' attendance at international medical events, which had become highly desirable additions to a medical résumé.¹¹

8. Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1996), 143–44, 147–49.

9. Ana María Carrillo, "Los comienzos de la bacteriología en México," *Elementos* 42 (2001): 24.

10. The first Congreso Médico met in the famous Casa de los Azulejos to discuss a great fecal stink that had settled on Mexico City, which hygienists feared might herald a typhus epidemic (1876, reconvened 1878). A Congreso Higiénico Pedagógico (1883) and Congreso Nacional de Higiene (1883–84) followed.

11. The *Transactions of the 1890 Berlin Medical Congress* noted that "even Mexico" was named as a possible site of the next International Medical Congress. Other cities nominated were St. Petersburg, Madrid, Paris, and Rome. Licéaga's colleague Dr. Rafael Lavista chaired one of the congress's meetings. *Verhandlungen des X. Internationalen Medicinischen Congresses. Berlin, 4.–9. August 1890. Band 1: Allgemeiner Theil* (Berlin: August Hirschwald, 1891), 173. See Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*

Table 1. Dr. Eduardo Licéaga's Foreign Travels, 1883–1912

1883	Licéaga and his family travel to the United States with Porfirio Díaz and the Díaz family; visits to Pullman City (model factory town) and the New York City Board of Health
1887	First official trip to Europe; visits to the Pasteur Institute and tours of municipal sanitary installations in Paris, Brussels, and Rome
1887	Berlin; attendance at the Congress of Hygiene and Demography in Vienna
1890	Tenth International Medical Congress, Berlin (delegate of the Mexican Academy of Medicine)
1896	American Public Health Association meeting, Buffalo, New York
1897	International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, Moscow, Russia
1898	APHA, Ottawa, Canada
1899	APHA, Minneapolis, Minnesota
1901	APHA, Buffalo, New York
1902	Sanitary Conference, Havana, Cuba
1903	Sanitary Convention, Washington, D.C.
1904	APHA, Havana, Cuba
1905	APHA, Boston, Massachusetts
1908	Congress on Tuberculosis, Washington, D.C.
1912	International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, Washington, D.C.

Source: Dr. Eduardo Licéaga's Service File, Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Salubridad y Asistencia, Mexico City, Expedientes de Personal, caja 42, expediente 65.

Mexican physicians' increasingly international outlook coincided exactly with the Porfiriato, the period of Mexican history that takes its name from the long presidency of the dictator Porfirio Díaz (1877–1911, including the four-year term of Díaz's ally Manuel González). In terms of public health, the Porfiriato was marked by the consolidation of hygiene as a formal medical specialty and the development of a strong alliance between medical experts and the state. The state's commitment to hygiene before the Porfiriato had never been particularly strong. The Superior Health Council had no function outside Mexico City, was confined to an advisory role, and lacked the personnel or funding to consistently implement its agenda.¹² The Porfirian state-building project made possible a new relationship between medical power and the power of the state, facilitated at the highest levels by the personal relationship between Díaz and Licéaga.

Licéaga's first journey abroad was in the company of Porfirio Díaz himself, who traveled to the United States between his first and second presidential

(Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2000), for the parallel history of U.S. figures seeking models for "Progressive" governance in Europe.

12. Martínez Cortés, *De los miasmas y efluvios*.

terms for meetings with a U.S. investment cartel whose spokesman was former U.S. president Ulysses S. Grant. Licéaga's presence in the Díaz entourage in 1883 might be little more than a minor footnote to the bigger story of Mexico's entry into the orbit of U.S. capitalism, but during their trip, Díaz and Licéaga cemented the clientelistic relationship upon which they would build a formidable public health apparatus. The tie between Porfirio Díaz and Licéaga was at the center of the Porfirian nexus among *caudillismo*, the growth of the bureaucratic state, science, and rapid economic modernization. Their 1883 journey to the United States was important enough to Licéaga to merit a full chapter in his memoirs. In addition to the courtesies paid to him by Mexico's most influential families, the Díazes and Romero Rubios, Licéaga recalled a number of illuminating excursions to sites of sociological and scientific interest. These side trips to places such as the model company town of Pullman, Illinois, and the sanitary institutions of several U.S. cities reveal the scientific interests shared by the leaders of the American Public Health Association and Licéaga, who would deal with them later in the decade.¹³

A few years later, the Superior Health Council sent Licéaga (by then, president of the council) on a mission to Europe "to study diverse matters of public hygiene." He departed Veracruz on July 12, 1887, with a mandate to investigate European techniques for preventing epidemic disease, particularly disinfection practices in hospitals and pesthouses; to study special stoves employed for disinfection; to learn about the best sewage systems used in European cities; to study the procedures followed by the municipal laboratories of Paris for detecting the adulteration and falsification of food and drink; and finally, to "seek to establish relations between this Council and analogous institutions existent in the places that are to be visited."¹⁴

At "the laboratory of Mr. Pasteur" in Paris, Licéaga was given a demonstration of the workings of a modern disinfection stove. In his correspondence with the council he noted that samples from the objects subject to disinfection were first examined in the Pasteur Laboratory. "If the toxic germs [*germenes morbosos*] that were found in the first place have disappeared after the effects have passed through the stove," Licéaga wrote, "then they consider the dem-

13. Eduardo Licéaga, *Mis recuerdos de otros tiempos* (Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1949), 63–78. Licéaga's interests closely paralleled those of the U.S. "cosmopolitan progressives" studied by Daniel Rodgers, who undertook similar social-scientific tours of Europe in this era. See Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 209.

14. Archivo Histórico de Salubridad y Asistencia (hereafter cited as AHSSA), Mexico City, Salubridad Pública (hereafter cited as SP), Presidencia, Secretaria, caja 6, exp. 6.

onstration complete.”¹⁵ He noted that the use of similar disinfection stoves was already accepted in many European cities, but that he had decided not to make a purchase until he could learn more at the upcoming 1887 Congress of Hygiene and Demography in Vienna. “I hadn’t thought to visit this city [Vienna], in which we have no official representative and in which I have no private ties,” he reported to his colleagues in Mexico City, but the main scientific centers of Paris, London, and Berlin had shut down for the long European summer vacation. The Vienna Congress offered an excellent way to become acquainted with “the sum of opinions that are being professed at the moment about diverse issues of public hygiene.”¹⁶

With the blessing of Dr. Emile Roux, head of the Pasteur Institute and a distinguished collaborator of Louis Pasteur, Licéaga was able to attend sessions in which antirabies serum was cultured. He followed the process step by step, starting with the extraction of spinal fluid from rabbits that had perished after being inoculated with rabies. Shortly before his return to Mexico, Licéaga requested one of the institute’s inoculated rabbit brains, which he carried in his baggage in a sterile jar filled with glycerin. When he returned to Mexico City, Licéaga immediately duplicated the process, and after gathering sufficient serum, he began human inoculations on April 18, 1888.¹⁷ The Mexico City Antirabies Institute was soon up and running, the first fruit of the Atlantic crossings instigated by the Superior Health Council. His Pasteurian laboratory experience placed Dr. Licéaga in the vanguard of international science, much as it did for his Brazilian contemporary Osvaldo Cruz, and probably helped him later in his dealings with the Americans.¹⁸

Licéaga’s letters illustrate the period’s “hygienic tourism.” Of the Paris sewer, he would write, “It is a most beautiful edifice, constructed in conformity with the precepts of modern science. The part which I will describe here is that which is relative to the circulation and evacuation of household water, urine,

15. Dr. Eduardo Licéaga to Superior Health Council, Vienna, 28 Sept. 1887. AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Secretaria, caja 6, exp. 6. All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

16. Ibid.

17. Licéaga, *Mis recuerdos de otros tiempos*, 88–89.

18. Nancy Stepan, *Beginnings of Brazilian Science: Oswaldo Cruz, Medical Research and Policy, 1890–1920* (New York: Science History Publications, 1976). Other Latin American medical leaders of the period also entered transatlantic scientific networks and discussions during this period. For a South Atlantic view, consult the memoirs of Dr. Emilio R. Coni, Argentina’s foremost hygienist of this era. Emilio Coni, *Memorias de un médico higienista: Contribución a la historia de la higiene pública y social Argentina (1867–1917)* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos A. Flaiban, 1918), 649–53.

excrement, and rain water.”¹⁹ He noted the similarity of the Paris sewer’s reservoirs to ones that had recently been recommended by the Superior Health Council and which some (well-heeled) private individuals had already installed in their Mexico City homes, reflecting the existing demand for “the delicacies of hygiene” among Mexico City’s wealthy residents.²⁰

To my knowledge, the 1887 Congress of Hygiene and Demography was the first large event of the European public health movement attended by a member of Mexico’s Superior Health Council. Over two thousand people converged on Vienna, mostly Europeans, but also Americans and representatives from New South Wales, Egypt, and South America. Papers discussed topics ranging from recent European experiences with cholera to smallpox vaccination in the Ottoman Empire.²¹ Licéaga would later use ideas that he encountered in Vienna in 1887 to enunciate the objectives of Porfirian public health legislation. Thus, the preamble of the 1891 Mexican Sanitary Code incorporated almost verbatim a fragment of the Austrian crown prince’s speech to the congress’s inaugural assembly in which the prince declared that “the life of every man represents a value, and to preserve that value intact is a requirement of humanity and moreover a duty in the interest of states.”²² In Licéaga’s rendering this turned into the statement, “But let us forget for a moment that man is our brother and fellow citizen and consider him instead from an economic point of view, as a value in the state, and as such we are obligated to preserve health, prolong life and improve his physical condition.”²³

Licéaga’s attendance at the 1887 Congress of Hygiene and Demography probably helped him to complete his personal scientific evolution from the miasmatic sanitarianism of his youth to the international bacteriology of the 1890s.²⁴

19. AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Secretaria, caja 6, exp. 6. Donald Reid describes tours in the Paris sewer system in *Paris Sewers and Sewermen: Realities and Representations* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), chap. 4.

20. See Claudia Agostoni, “Las delicias de la limpieza: La higiene en la ciudad de México,” in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México*, vol. 4, ed. Ann Staples (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004).

21. AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Secretaria, caja 6, exp. 6.

22. Eduardo Licéaga to Superior Health Council, Vienna, 6 Oct. 1887. AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Secretaria, caja 6, exp. 6.

23. Eduardo Licéaga, “Preamble to the Mexican Sanitary Code,” in José Alvarez Amézquita et al., *Historia de la Salubridad y de la Asistencia en México* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Salubridad y Asistencia, 1960), vol. 1, p. 327.

24. Documentation generated around the 1876 Medical Congress, which Dr. Licéaga organized, shows that he was a dedicated sanitarian who related the threat of epidemic typhus to the decomposition of organic wastes and poor circulation in Mexico City’s drainage

By 1892 he was preaching the gospel of germs: "Bacteriology is the hope of hygiene, both now and for the future. It will discover germs as yet unknown, will continue to study the natural history of those that are known, and when it has found out their mode of generation, their habitat, their nourishment, the conditions under which they thrive, and, above all, those under which they die off, then it will be in a position to place more effective weapons in the hands of hygiene."²⁵

Licéaga's 1887 mission to Europe ensured that when the Superior Health Council joined the American Public Health Association, Mexico possessed independent access to the latest European hygienic technologies. Licéaga had become a practitioner of Pasteurian science. Unlike the Mexican economy, Mexican medicine was not in danger of becoming a satellite of the United States during the Porfiriato. As Mauricio Tenorio points out, "in certain areas Mexican scientists were as close as they had ever been—or would ever be—to the mainstream development of their respective disciplines. The scientific gap, albeit still wide, had never been as narrow for Mexico as it was in the late nineteenth century."²⁶ The technologies and procedures implemented by the Superior Health Council in the late 1880s placed Mexico on the leading edge of international sanitary reform. Mexican public health's modernized face received legal force in the *Sanitary Code of the United Mexican States* (1891), which autho-

system. He may have been agnostic on the question of miasma, since he never used the term in those writings. See *Trabajos emprendidos para mejorar la salubridad del valle y de la ciudad de México por una asociación de médicos — promovida por el Sr. Lic. Martínez de la Torre — 1876 y 1877* (Mexico City, 1877), Yale Latin American Pamphlet Collection #8004642.

25. Eduardo Licéaga, "Address," *Public Health Papers and Reports* 18 (1892): 18.

26. Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*, 157. Tenorio-Trillo observes that "in certain fields, Mexican scientists, though often few, were working modestly but efficiently." For a less sanguine view of early Mexican bacteriology, see Manuel Servín Massieu, *Microbiología, vacunas y el rezago científico de México a partir del siglo XIX* (Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, 2000). American medicine was itself relatively underdeveloped in the 30 years before World War I, leading approximately 15,000 Americans to go to Germany and Austria to study medicine between 1870 and 1914. The first American medical school to require a college degree for admission was Johns Hopkins, opened in 1893. The United States did not become the world leader in biomedical research until after World War I. On the backwardness of U.S. medicine in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century see John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History* (New York: Penguin, 2004), especially 42 and 65. See also Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 115–16.

rized an unprecedented degree of state intervention in society in the name of public health. The code would also serve as the foundation for a highly effective public relations campaign waged by Mexican public health technocrats within the APHA.

The New Era of American Influence

The economic and political context for the Superior Health Council's international activities was what John Hart calls "a new era of American influence," which began during Porfirio Díaz's first presidential term (1876–80). According to Hart, "Díaz and his followers were determined to modernize what they believed was a poor and backward country, but the Mexican government was deeply in debt and had few cash reserves." As a result, "[Díaz] believed that only American involvement in all aspects of the Mexican economy could transform the country."²⁷ To protect Mexico's economic sovereignty, the Científicos (Díaz's technocratic advisors, so called because of their devotion to the Comtian principles of "scientific politics") also "looked to Europe to offset American influence and they anticipated the day when . . . domestic capital, already dominant in some sectors, would assume a greater, determining role within the economy."²⁸

Licéaga, who was present at the 1883 New York meetings at which Díaz and his aides negotiated a program of "free trade, foreign investment, and privatization of the Mexican countryside," surely gained an appreciation of the economic and political stakes in the Mexico-U.S. relationship.²⁹ Later, these political and economic considerations were among the important motivations for Mexico to join the American Public Health Association. Tropical disease (especially yellow fever) led to the regular imposition of quarantines, which interrupted exports important to Mexico's economic growth. Over time, the Superior Health Council became an informal branch of Mexican diplomacy, participating in the negotiation of many international sanitary agreements. Its members consistently sought scientific standards and a clear, multilateral framework to limit the frequency of quarantine. In the process, they came to see themselves as defenders of Mexico's "sanitary independence."³⁰

27. John M. Hart, *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico since the Civil War* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2002), 73.

28. Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, vol. 1, *Porfirians, Liberals, and Peasants* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1990), 22–23.

29. Hart, *Empire and Revolution*, 73.

30. Licéaga, *Mis recuerdos de otros tiempos*, 225.

This story of the new form of economic integration between Mexico and the United States is familiar to historians of Latin America. Somewhat less familiar is the history of how public health emerged as a highly politicized terrain in the western hemisphere in the late nineteenth century. The quickened pace of economic exchange raised justifiable fears about the spread of disease, and it was not long before the United States began to use public health as a pretext for intervention in other countries' affairs. In 1889, the year before Mexico entered the APHA, Dr. Benjamin Lee, a Philadelphia physician who was a leading figure in the U.S. medical profession, delivered a paper with the ominous title, "Do the Sanitary Interests of the United States Demand the Annexation of Cuba?"³¹ After depicting Havana's unsanitary conditions in particularly lurid terms, Lee suggested that with a proper system for sewerage, "yellow fever in Havana would soon be a thing of the past, and the island would become a noted health resort rather than a plague spot." Forming his plan before mosquitoes were identified as agents in the spread of disease, Lee believed that "the only means by which the germs of this disease can be eradicated are a proper system of sewerage and drainage, which shall deliver the filth of the city at a distant point into the waters of the ocean, and the removal of the feculent soil." Lee concluded that only the United States had the capacity to carry out a project of this magnitude, which was in the U.S. national interest because "a single widespread epidemic of yellow-fever would cost the United States more in money, to say nothing of grief and misery which it would entail, than the purchase-money of Cuba."³² With such opinions present among the APHA's leadership, it is not surprising that the Mexicans approached the relationships they made in the APHA in terms of sovereignty.

When U.S. forces occupied Cuba in 1898, the sanitary justification for U.S. intervention in Latin America surfaced again and was incorporated in the infamous Platt Amendment. Drafted by Secretary of War Elihu Root, the Platt Amendment passed the U.S. Congress in 1901 and was added (despite serious opposition) to the Cuban Constitution in 1902. Fulfilling Lee's vision, the Platt Amendment's fourth article stipulated: "The Government of Cuba will execute, and, as far as necessary, extend the plans already devised, or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented,

31. Benjamin Lee, "Do the Sanitary Interests of the United States Demand the Annexation of Cuba?" *Public Health Papers and Reports* 15 (1889): 47–52.

32. Lee, "Do the Sanitary Interests of the United States Demand the Annexation of Cuba?" 48.

thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the Southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein.”³³

By 1902, U.S. government reports celebrated the improvements in Cuban sanitary conditions brought about by the work of the occupation government's Sanitary Department, directed by Dr. William Gorgas.³⁴ Havana served as the laboratory for testing the practical aspects of using mosquito control to eliminate yellow fever, practices that were later applied not only in the U.S. effort to construct the Panama Canal, but also in Mexican efforts to rid the Gulf of Mexico region of yellow fever, at least near major urban centers. Ultimately, the control of urban yellow fever was one of the major practical accomplishments of Porfirian public health.³⁵

In addition to its direct sanitary intervention in Cuba, the United States developed a system for the sanitary surveillance of Central America and the Caribbean. In 1899, the surgeon general of the U.S. Marine-Hospital Service appointed seven inspectors for the fruit ports of Central America, the origin of most shipments of bananas to the United States. The inspectors were responsible for reporting any suspicion of yellow fever, because if fruit ships had to be detained after reaching ports in the United States, the valuable but perishable cargo of bananas could easily be lost. The inspectors' work had potentially serious economic consequences for the countries in question, because if “well-defined yellow fever” were discovered in one of the ports, no vessel from that country would be permitted to land in the United States.³⁶

In short, by 1900 public health had become an integral part of the United States' imperial repertoire in the Caribbean basin. Within the new ideology of empire, public health and hygiene were imagined as essential to the United States' civilizing mission. Hygiene was easily incorporated as a pillar of the imperialist imaginary because it appeared to be above politics, a universal value of modernity. This view offered significant rhetorical possibili-

33. Internet Modern History Sourcebook, “Modern History Sourcebook: The Platt Amendment, 1901,” <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1901platt.html> (accessed 26 May 2008).

34. A report from 1902 summarizes the decline in yellow fever mortality as a result of U.S. efforts in Cuba. *Monthly Bulletin of the International Bureau of the American Republics, International Union of American Republics* (May 1902): 1179–81.

35. See Anne-Emanuelle Birn, *Marriage of Convenience: Rockefeller International Health and Revolutionary Mexico* (Rochester, NY: Univ. of Rochester Press, 2006), 45.

36. *Monthly Bulletin of the International Bureau of the American Republics* (Jan.–June 1899): 1799–1800.

ties for Mexican public health officials. Through the establishment of hygienic credentials, the Mexican government acquired a strong position from which to talk back against the United States. The possibility of such a reversal was explicit in some statements by U.S. politicians. Theodore Roosevelt addressed the delegates to the Second International Sanitary Convention, held in Washington, D.C., in 1905:

The outside world is only beginning to understand the astonishing progress made, not only socially and industrially, but in science, literature, and art, by the Central and South American Republics. In medical matters, in industrial, scientific, social, artistic matters, each of our countries has something to learn from the others, and *I welcome you as colleagues and as teachers*. Of course I could not overstate the all importance of the medical profession in modern life, and as it is now becoming in modern international life. In the old days a plague that happened in one country was regarded as only concerning that country, until it spread over into some other, helpless to defend itself against it. Now we recognize that the stamping out of disease, the warfare against unhygienic conditions, must be done by the organized effort of the medical profession of all the countries joined together.³⁷

Mexican physicians addressed the APHA in exactly the way Roosevelt had suggested, as colleagues and (sometimes) as teachers. In doing so, they exploited terms of an imperial discourse defined by the United States. An excellent example is a statement made in 1906 by Dr. José Mesa y Gutierrez:

I may presume that this is also the occasion for telling you that *you maybe have something to learn from us*. You have not a sanitary institution capable of putting into action the measures to which I have referred; with sufficient authority and responsibility and broad-minded enough toward your own country and neighboring nations. Had you such a powerful institution, the bubonic plague would not have reached the port of Mazatlán from its focus at San Francisco, concealed as it was, by the local authorities, nor would our board have had to fight the empirical

37. Theodore Roosevelt, "Remarks of President Roosevelt to the Members of the Second International Sanitary Convention," in *Transactions of the First General International Sanitary Convention of the American Republics* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 223. Emphasis added.

quarantine measures taken not long ago in Texas, without being able to meet at the northern side of the Rio Grande a competent authority to deal with.³⁸

To sum up, Mexican doctors responded assertively to what they perceived as the imperialist connotations of many U.S. public health proposals. They dealt with leaders of the U.S. public health movement like Lee, who had openly argued for annexation as a strategy to defend the health of the southern United States and personally knew Gorgas and Dr. Juan Guiteras, supervisor of the U.S. Army's sanitation efforts in Cuba and Panama. For Licéaga and his associates, those experiments seem to have evoked a mixture of technical curiosity (Mexico soon applied the U.S. Army's antimosquito techniques in Mexico) and nationalist misgivings about the aims and justifications of U.S. policies. Many statements made by U.S. politicians could sound like threats in Latin American ears, even when they dealt with humanitarian objectives such as the eradication of yellow fever.

"Our Health Organization Judged the Best"

Despite Atlantic ambitions that were first aimed at Europe, the strongest connection that the Mexican wizards of sanitary progress forged with other members of the international public health movement was with their American and Canadian peers in the American Public Health Association. The 1872 organization of the APHA defined the efforts by American sanitarians to professionalize public health in the United States after the Civil War. By the late 1880s, public health reform symbolized important aspects of emerging Progressivism. As John Duffy explains,

Professionalization and efficiency were the key methods by which the Progressive Movement, in full swing by 1900, hoped to create a new society. Health departments helped lead the way toward professionalization, and their successes undoubtedly reinforced the optimism of Progressive reformers. . . . Recognizing that disease knew no boundaries and that public health problems were universal, in 1884 Canada was invited to become a constituent member of the association.

38. José Mesa y Gutierrez, "Contribution to the Study of Problems of National and International Sanitary Legislation" (Mexico City: Imprenta de Hull, 1906), 4. Emphasis added.

Five years later approaches were made to Mexico, Cuba, and the Central American countries.³⁹

As Duffy's account implies, the decision to seek Latin American participation in the APHA was governed by both U.S. sanitarians' self-image as progressive reformers and their increasingly international view of disease. Large-scale immigration and fears about epidemics (especially the threat posed to the southern United States by yellow fever) "contributed to doubts about traditional maritime health, which began to be perceived as a set of arbitrary, disordered, authoritarian measures, and as the source of mutual recrimination and rancor among states and nations," writes Marcos Cueto.⁴⁰ Discussions within the APHA led to a resolution passed at the association's 1889 meeting in Brooklyn, New York:

Resolved, in view of the rapidly increasing travel and commercial intercourse between this country and Mexico and Cuba, and the United States of Colombia, and the consequent growing importance of establishing and cultivating the most friendly relations between the health authorities of our own and those of the countries above named, that a cordial invitation be extended to the sanitary authorities of Mexico and Cuba to send representatives to the future meetings of this Association, and that the secretary be instructed to open correspondence with these authorities, looking to this end.⁴¹

The Superior Health Council sent two of its members to attend the APHA's 1890 meeting at Charleston, South Carolina: Dr. Domingo Orvañanos and the veterinarian Dr. José de la Luz Gómez. According to the proceedings, "great applause" followed the reading of the correspondence between the APHA's secretary, Dr. Irving A. Watson, and Dr. Nicolás Ramírez de Arellano, secretary of the Superior Health Council. Then Dr. Albert L. Gihon, medical director of the U.S. Navy, offered the following motion, which was unanimously adopted: "*Resolved*, That the American Public Health Association expresses its

39. John Duffy, *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1990), 131. Duffy's excellent *Sanitarians* is the standard history of U.S. public health.

40. Marcos Cueto, *The Value of Health: A History of the Pan American Health Organization* (Rochester, NY: Univ. of Rochester Press, 2007), 16.

41. "Proceedings and Discussions of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting," *Public Health Papers and Reports* 15 (1889): 297. Italics in original.

high appreciation of the action of the Mexican government and of the Superior Board of Health of the Republic in sending delegates to this Association, and cordially welcomes them to the fraternity of American sanitarians who are laboring in the common cause of Public Health.”⁴² Taking advantage of the assembly’s enthusiasm, Orvañanos and Gómez immediately invited the APHA to hold its 1892 convention in Mexico City.⁴³

Mexican participation in the APHA signified the creation of a continental public health movement whose expanded scope was felt to be necessary in an era when economic forces were bringing the United States and Mexico closer together. As Watson put it in an 1891 letter to the Superior Health Council: “It is the desire of the Association that your own *progressive Republic*, as well as the countries still further south, including the West Indies islands, shall become so closely identified with our work as to reap the unlimited benefits that would follow from such an alliance.”⁴⁴ The reference to “your own progressive Republic” shows the positive and somewhat naive view that U.S. progressive reformers held of Díaz’s Mexico.

The APHA hoped that the Superior Health Council would “take such action as you may deem necessary to secure a large delegation from your country to attend the forthcoming meeting of this Association.”⁴⁵ Indeed, the council did not delay in mobilizing the Mexican state and the medical profession to foster their emerging ties to the APHA. In fact, the APHA’s attention provided the Superior Health Council with an additional tool to seek support from Porfirio Díaz’s government. On August 25, 1891, the council forwarded Watson’s correspondence to the Interior Ministry. The council stressed “the honor that will result for Mexico from taking part in the deliberations and resolutions of the American [Public Health] Association, [and] the advantages that would be obtained for international hygiene.” These advantages included uniform sanitary legislation in the Americas, which would simplify Mexico’s treaties with other countries, and international support in case an “exotic” (that is, foreign) epidemic struck Mexico.⁴⁶

42. J. J. R. de Arellano to Irving Watson, 7 Aug. 1890, *Public Health Papers and Reports* 16 (1890): 310.

43. AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Actas de Sesión, caja 4, exp. 4.

44. Dr. Irving A. Watson, Secretary of the APHA, to Dr. Juan J. R. de Arellano, Secretary of the Superior Health Council, 6 July 1891. AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Congresos y Convenciones, caja 1, exp. 9. Emphasis added.

45. Ibid.

46. Memorandum, Superior Health Council to Secretary of the Interior, 25 Aug. 1891. AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Congresos y Convenciones, caja 1, exp. 9.

The success of Mexican sanitary experts in the APHA fortified their standing at home and lent an international glamour to the bureaucratic routines of public health work in Mexico. At Licéaga's request, the minister of the interior wrote to the state governors, asking them to name delegates to the APHA's 1891 meeting. The APHA meeting thus served as an occasion for the leaders of Mexican public health institutions to recruit the power of the federal executive to organize and mobilize the medical profession in Mexico. Prior to this time, medical civil society in Mexico had been largely self-organized, but now the state began to play an important auxiliary role.⁴⁷

The 1891 APHA meeting, held in Kansas City, was a triumph for the Mexican physicians. The assembled delegates elected Orvañanos as first vice-president of the association. (U.S. surgeon general Walter Wyman, who would lead the transformation of the U.S. Marine Hospital Service into the U.S. Public Health Service in 1902, was elected second vice-president.) Orvañanos presented a paper summarizing the Mexican Sanitary Code for the American and Canadian conventioners. After the paper was read, Dr. Henry B. Baker, who had organized the Michigan State Board of Health and was a past president of the APHA, rose and offered a challenge to those present. Baker said, "I wish someone could get up and truthfully describe such a system for the United States of America. I hope that someday we shall be able to go to Mexico and describe to them truthfully as good a system for our country."⁴⁸ Baker's public compliment to Mexican sanitary laws was followed by a lively discussion about establishing a national health bureau in the United States. A certain Professor Daniells responded to Baker, saying, "I call the attention of Dr. Baker to the constitution of the United States, that each state has its own laws: we cannot establish laws for the state of Missouri or any other state." In any case, there was a note of victory in the message that Orvañanos cabled home: Mexico City had been designated to host the APHA's 1892 meeting. And with all the brevity of the telegraphic age, Orvañanos added "our health organization judged the best."⁴⁹

47. For aspects of medical civil society, see Ana María Carrillo, "Profesiones sanitarias y lucha de poderes en el México del siglo XIX," *Asclepio* 50, no. 2 (1998): 149–68.

48. "Proceedings and Discussions at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting," *Public Health Papers and Reports* 17 (1891): 247–49. In his memoirs, Eduardo Licéaga (who was not present) remembered Dr. Baker saying, "Si hay algun representante de las autoridades sanitarias que tenga conocimiento de que en alguno de los estados de la Unión Americana haya una colección de preceptos sanitarios tan completa como el Código Sanitario de México, que se levante y lo diga." Licéaga, *Mis recuerdos de otros tiempos*, 222.

49. AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Congresos y Convenciones, caja 1, exp. 9. Orvañanos's telegram was sent in English via Galveston.

As a result of the 1890 and 1891 APHA meetings, Mexico entered into direct sanitary cooperation with the United States and Canada almost immediately. On December 12, 1891, Watson wrote to the state and local boards of health of the United States and Canada, informing them that henceforth, Mexico would be participating in the interstate and interprovincial warning system of disease notification. In a significant slip, Watson referred to the Superior Health Council as the "National Board of Health of Mexico."⁵⁰ He may have chosen the title "National Board of Health" in this instance because it sounded more impressive, or to stress to the recipients of his letter that Mexico already had something that many American sanitarians desperately wanted, namely a health agency with de facto national power.

The rapid courtship with the APHA had already brought several tangible benefits to the Superior Health Council by the end of 1891. The council had been recognized by one of the most important associations of the international public health movement and as a desirable partner for international sanitary cooperation. American recognition, combined with the election of Orvañanos to the APHA's vice presidency, enhanced hygienists' standing within the Mexican state, strengthened the council's bid for budgetary resources, and deepened the commitment of the executive branch of Mexico's government not only to the project of public health but also to the general professionalization of medicine. The Superior Health Council's first opportunity to display Mexico's sanitary modernity to their new North American partners came in 1892, when American and Canadian doctors converged on Mexico's capital for the APHA convention.

The American Public Health Association Meets in Mexico City, 1892

Porfirio Díaz's corps of hygienic experts put Mexico City's most modern, sanitary face on display for the APHA in 1892. This required a certain amount

50. Dr. Irving Watson to State Boards of Health, 12 Dec. 1891. AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Congresos y Convenciones, caja 1, exp. 9. "I recently had the honor of presenting the subject to the National Board of Health of the Republic of Mexico, and this most active, efficient and accomplished board . . . will hereafter promptly notify your board of the outbreak or existence of such diseases in the Federal District of Mexico, at all the Mexican Ports, and along the frontier between Mexico and the United States. Beyond this the State authorities have control in these matters, and in order to extend this system of notification to these States, the National Board of Health will ask the governors of the several States to request that such notification be promptly made. I have assurance that in a short time the system will embrace every State in Mexico."

of sleight of hand, since both the capital and the country as a whole had serious problems with health and sanitation.⁵¹ Licéaga expressed a deliberate and perhaps disingenuous modesty when he welcomed the American and Canadian delegates to Mexico City, declaring,

Little has been done as yet towards the sanitation of our cities, but this is a truth which we need not to be ashamed to confess, for we are a young people, desirous of understanding thoroughly the evils under which we labor before seeking a remedy. Our governments have given us good sanitary laws, and it remains for us to devote our intelligence, our energy, and our zeal to the service of our countrymen and the fulfillment of those laws.⁵²

Since they knew that at least some of their guests might be critical of Mexican hygienic circumstances, Licéaga and his associates consistently sought to define discussions of Mexican public health in ways that emphasized their own technical expertise and legislative successes and skirted over the country's hygienic deficiencies. They hoped to control the international representation of Mexico's stark sociohygienic divide, and for the most part they succeeded. Thus it must have stung when the Texas delegate observed that "to-day, while the advanced sanitarians of Mexico are in the forefront of sanitary progress and enlightenment, the peasantry of that country are as benighted as though Jenner had never lived, nor Pasteur made a discovery."⁵³ Luckily for the Superior Health Council, such statements proved to be the exception rather than the rule.

51. The reader should note that health of the country's rural majority was not part of the Porfirian public health agenda, but in this regard Mexico was not different from other Latin American countries. The Porfiriato's most successful later campaigns against disease focused their efforts on the urban cores of provincial locales. For dimensions of the Porfirian public health project in Mexico City during the Porfiriato, see Claudia Agostoni, *Monuments of Progress: Modernization and Public Health in Mexico City, 1876–1910* (Calgary: Univ. of Calgary Press / Boulder: Univ. Press of Colorado / Mexico City: UNAM, 2003). For an account of the bubonic plague epidemic that broke out at Mazatlán in 1902 and which featured the first Mexican campaign against infectious disease based entirely on bacteriology, vector theory, and tropical medicine, see Ana María Carrillo, "¿Estado de peste o estado de sitio? Sinaloa y Baja California, 1902–1903," *Historia Mexicana* 54, no. 4 (2005): 1049–1103.

52. Licéaga, "Address," 24.

53. R. M. Swearingen, "The Sanitary Relations of Texas and Mexico, and the Official Correspondence Relating Thereto," *Public Health Papers and Reports* 18 (1892): 323; and "Proceedings and Discussion of the Twentieth Annual Meeting," *Public Health Papers and Reports* 18 (1892): 424–25.

Practically the entire Mexican medical profession attended the meeting, which was carefully planned and coordinated by the Superior Health Council. Licéaga recruited physicians and politicians to speak, planned banquets, and organized excursions to sites of interest such as Teotihuacán and the new drainage works of the Valley of Mexico. Employing the clout of the Interior Ministry and his personal relationships with many physicians as a medical school professor, Licéaga mobilized hundreds of Mexican doctors to attend.⁵⁴

Once in Mexico City, members of the APHA toured the physical infrastructure of Mexico's health system, ranging from the capital's hospitals and asylums to the laboratory of the Superior Health Council. The American and Canadian delegates were plied with propaganda about the legal infrastructure of Mexican public health reform, particularly the recently implemented Sanitary Code. Three mutually reinforcing processes—urban modernization, the creation of a modern bureaucracy, and the redefinition of Mexico's national image—converged in the early 1890s, just in time for the APHA convention. A renovated Mexico City offered new suburban *colonias* with Victorian-style villas and a refurbished colonial business district, a modern capital in line with the tastes of Mexico's positivist elite.⁵⁵

Since Licéaga and several other leading hygienists were also members of the team who designed Mexico's entries for the universal expositions of the era (Mauricio Tenorio's "wizards of progress"), we can assume a high level of self-consciousness in the way that they went about presenting a modern Mexico to foreign medical guests.⁵⁶ Porfirio Díaz's wizards of *sanitary* progress assumed a central role in redefining Mexico's image in accordance with "the international field of ideas and models of civilization, science and development, that forms

54. Licéaga issued a personal appeal to virtually every doctor in Mexico to write scientific papers and travel to Mexico City to attend the conference. The secretary of the interior wrote to the state governors urging them to send state delegations consisting of local sanitary authorities, and President Díaz approached the Chamber of Deputies to ask for a credit to cover the costs associated with holding the event in the capital (which was granted). In subsequent years, Licéaga worked out a deal whereby Mexico's federal government and the state governors shared the cost of sending delegations to the APHA's annual meetings. See Licéaga, *Mis recuerdos de otros tiempos*, 222.

55. For the apotheosis of Porfirian efforts to create the image of a modern capital, which he calls "the ideal city," see Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (Feb. 1996): 75–104. See also Claudia Agostoni and Elisa Speckman, eds., *Modernidad, tradición y alteridad: La Ciudad de México en el cambio de siglo (XIX–XX)* (Mexico City: UNAM, 2001); and Pablo Piccato, *City of Suspects: Crime in Mexico City, 1900–1931* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2001), 18–33.

56. See Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*, especially chap. 9.

part of what could be called the civilizing horizon of nation-states.”⁵⁷ This process continued throughout the Porfiriato at subsequent international medical events held in Mexico City.⁵⁸

Not all Mexicans wished the nation to be defined by science. The 1892 APHA meeting was contested on antimodernist grounds by leaders of the Catholic Church. Under the headline “The Medical Congress and the Provincial Council of Oaxaca,” the liberal-positivist newspaper *El Siglo Diez y Nueve* quoted the Catholic press in its November 21, 1892, edition, presumably to shock its liberal readership with the troglodyte opinions of the conservative clergy. Calling for a congress of *moral* hygienists in lieu of the upcoming APHA convention, a Catholic publicist had written,

That congress of hygienists has no interest for anyone other than the initiates of the most disgusting aspects of human materiality [*grandes porquerías de la materia humana*] and what interest could one possibly glean from this kind of medical parliament when one starts not even knowing the names of the things they deal with? . . . What we need more is a congress of moral hygienists. The day when that congress can speak freely and propose to our country to relieve the moral afflictions that trouble it, on that day, farewell to this most false freedom and farewell to that hollow progress which covers all the gangrenes and moral ulcers that have been dragging us along since we were constituted as a nation!⁵⁹

There is no evidence to suggest that the American and Canadian delegates were aware that hygiene possessed the power to arouse this kind of controversy in Mexican society. They may have been conscious of the fact that they were helping to refashion Mexican culture in relation to the international discourse of science, for that was the purpose of the hygiene movement in all countries. Indeed, the presence of the APHA in Mexico City ratified the goals of the hygienists before both the Mexican state and the public. By tapping science as a

57. Claudio Lomnitz, “‘Contact Zones’ and the Topography of National Identity,” in *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2001), 130. The rôle of the Superior Health Council in organizing the international medical events held in Mexico City during the Porfiriato is abundantly documented in thousands of pages held in AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Secretaria, Congresos y Convenciones.

58. Subsequent international medical events held in Mexico City included a Pan-American Medical Congress (1896); International Sanitary Conference (1902); and another APHA meeting (1906).

59. “El Congreso Médico de esta Capital y el Concilio Provincial de Oaxaca,” *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 21 Nov. 1892.

cosmopolitan and international source of legitimacy, the *higienistas* were beginning to define a new form of population-oriented governmentality in Mexico. They devised structures of the state for monitoring and protecting the people's health, and by promoting the bodily practices of hygiene in Mexican society began to create the sanitary citizens who were the ideal subjects for this biopolitical form of rule.⁶⁰ The dictator Díaz could provide political and material support for this project, but he could not legitimate it. In fact, it seems to have been the other way around: public health helped to legitimate Porfirian development. Indeed, the Porfirian hygienists' biopolitics would survive the fall of their master and continue to influence the shape of the Mexican state after the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

It was almost inevitable that the issue of U.S.-Mexican relations would surface during the 1892 APHA meeting. The way that the issue was managed demonstrated the Mexicans' finesse at handling their American partners. In his paper on "The Sanitary Relations of Texas and Mexico," Dr. R. M. Swearingen, chief health officer of Texas, argued that the Mexican peasantry was a reservoir of disease for Texas, which "with a border-line of hundreds of miles confronting the republic of Mexico, is, of course, more exposed to invasions of this kind than are all the other states combined." In 1891 Swearingen had imposed quarantine against ships arriving from Veracruz, Tampico, and Tuxpan "on account of yellow fever."⁶¹ His paper also presented the correspondence between officials in Austin and Washington and Matías Romero, Mexican minister to the United States. Two communications came from U.S. Surgeon General Walter Wyman, who proposed calling a U.S.-Mexico conference to negotiate the issue in Mexico City concurrently with the APHA's meeting.

Licéaga seems to have been caught off guard by Swearingen's aggressive posture and moved to postpone the discussion, saying, "As the paper which has just been read treats of a question whose discussion is of the greatest interest to ourselves, I move that the paper, which unfortunately has not been translated for want of time, be held for discussion until the Mexicans have been able to

60. See Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1978). Luis E. Ruiz, a disciple of both Licéaga and Gabino Barreda, authored two hygiene treatises that may be considered exemplary of Porfirian biopolitics, one for children, and the other for medical students. Luis E. Ruiz, *Cartilla de higiene (profilaxis de las enfermedades transmisibles) escrita para la enseñanza primaria* (Mexico City and Paris: Bouret, 1903) and *Tratado elemental de higiene* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Fomento, 1904).

61. Swearingen, "The Sanitary Relations of Texas and Mexico," 324.

read it, so that we may be able to take a part in its discussion.”⁶² The next day, Licéaga was prepared, agreeing that commissions from Mexico and Texas meet to study the question of quarantine and devise “a plan which should be least prejudicial to the interests of commerce.” Moreover, Licéaga contended that Swearingen’s quarantine was already unnecessary due to the modernization of public health bureaucracy and technology in Mexico’s ports, carried out in accordance with Mexico’s Sanitary Code. He even asserted that Mexico’s new sanitary infrastructure would defend the United States from disease. The technology in question was none other than the disinfection stoves that he had purchased in Europe in 1887–88 and which had already been installed in sanitary stations on the Gulf of Mexico.⁶³

None of the other American delegates brought up Mexican hygienic deficiencies during the association’s 1892 meeting, at least during the public sessions for which we have a transcript. At present, no diaries or private correspondence are available that might offer a window into the private thoughts of the APHA members (of any nationality) who met in Mexico City that year. The public statements stressed the idea that the Mexico City meeting was a milestone for the North American public health movement’s international aims. In the words of Dr. Felix Formento of New Orleans, the APHA’s outgoing president, it was “the first real International Health Congress held on this side of the Atlantic.”

The ideological conviction that science could (and should) overcome nationality made the APHA a favorable forum for Licéaga and his associates. “We recognize that in science, in public hygiene, the different nations of a whole continent are as much our fellow-citizens as those living under our flag and institutions,” Formento declared.⁶⁴ In other words, science possessed the ideological power to transform its practitioners into equals—cosmopolitan bourgeois subjects. The APHA was a bourgeois public sphere, in Habermas’s original sense, where rational discussion among equals prevailed.⁶⁵ Needless to say,

62. “Proceedings and Discussions of the Twentieth Annual Meeting,” 424–25.

63. *Ibid.*, 432–33.

64. Felix Formento, “Anniversary Address,” *Sanitarian* 21 (Jan. 1893): 8.

65. Issues of class origin were irrelevant, for all the participants were members of the bourgeoisie, and the issue of national origin was bracketed by decorum. Leaving aside lengthy debates about the utility of Jürgen Habermas’s notion of the public sphere for historical analysis, I have intentionally used his original term *bourgeois public sphere* here because Habermas’s original formulation captures resonances that are so close to the historical practice preserved in the archive that I have studied. All participants in the APHA belonged to a social formation recognizable as bourgeois, despite the obvious differences between the social stratification of Mexico, the United States, and Canada. See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

in both Mexico and the United States, the public health movement embraced the hygienic upper layers of society and directed repressive and exclusionary measures toward the “unwashed masses.”

Several presentations at the 1892 convention took the 1891 Sanitary Code as a subject. We have seen that leaders of the U.S. public health movement admired Mexico's Sanitary Code, as when Baker declared the Mexican code superior to contemporary U.S. examples. They praised Mexico's sanitary legislation not only in the context of the convention (where such remarks could be dismissed as flattery) but even at home.⁶⁶ The Mexican Sanitary Code was the fruit of a detailed study of many nations' sanitary legislation, and portions probably seemed familiar to the American delegates, because the Superior Health Council had incorporated elements from the health codes of several U.S. states.⁶⁷ In the end, the perceived superiority of Mexican sanitary legislation had less to do with specific details than with its national scope. Many of the American members of the APHA were still licking their wounds after the rapid decline into irrelevance of the United States' first federal health agency (the National Board of Health) between 1879 and 1882.

Mexico's authoritarian political structures made it relatively easy for Porfirio Díaz to grant powers to the federal government that probably still belonged to Mexico's states. After all, Díaz controlled the Mexican Congress and the Supreme Court.⁶⁸ The Mexican Constitution of 1857 made no specific mention of public health, but it clearly established a federal system in which the sovereignty of the states was very strong. Díaz's willingness to undermine states' sovereignty in matters related to public health went back at least to 1883. That year, advised by Liceaga, he federalized the country's ports to defend against a potential cholera epidemic. Díaz and his sanitary advisor ignored the complaints of the municipality of Veracruz, which protested that the federal government could not intervene without injuring the sovereignty of the state of Veracruz.⁶⁹

According to the Superior Health Council's lawyer, José Gamboa, the Superior Health Council could intervene in the states at practically any time, as long as the federal executive acquiesced (and he usually did). A detailed expla-

66. Watson, “The Republic of Mexico—Medicine Curative and Preventive,” 122 (see note 1).

67. In 1886–87, the Superior Health Council had an agent in New York City who remitted copies of U.S. sanitary legislation to the council, including the public health laws of Maine, Pennsylvania, and New York. See AHSSA, SP, Presidencia, Congresos y Convenciones, exp. 7.

68. See Knight, *Mexican Revolution*, 20–21.

69. Liceaga, *Mis recuerdos de otros tiempos*, 80–82.

nation of the Sanitary Code (and its amended versions, enacted in 1894 and 1903) is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that it arranged local, state, and federal health authorities in one structure, with the Superior Health Council at the apex, but it was promulgated without any alteration to Mexico's constitution. Gamboa, who was a primary author of the code, made a presentation to the APHA with the suggestive title, "In Countries under a Federal Regimen, Can and Should the Union Exercise Any Intervention on Sanitary Matters?" The Superior Health Council's answer was a strident yes, and Gamboa goaded the American delegates, implying that the United States should follow Mexico's lead in erecting a health agency with sweeping national power. According to Gamboa, Mexico's federal government enjoyed jurisdiction not only in ports, frontier towns, and in all dealings with foreign countries, but "on all those subjects that bear on general interests," and "in all cases of conflict on these matters the federal authorities shall always have the preponderance over state authorities."⁷⁰

Mexico's Sanitary Code proved to be an apple of discord for the American delegates to the APHA, divided between advocates of a strong federal health agency and supporters of states' rights. Perhaps sensing these divisions, Licéaga presented a paper detailing the plan devised by the Superior Health Council to defend Mexico against cholera in 1892.⁷¹ After hearing Licéaga's paper, Albert L. Gihon of the U.S. Navy sponsored a resolution that stated, "in view of the impending danger from cholera in 1893, it is the opinion of the American Public Health Association that a National Health Service should be established in the United States of America, as has been done in the Republic of Mexico, to procure uniformity of action in protecting the sea-coast from invasion by epidemic disease."⁷²

Public Health and the Defense of Sovereignty

In its scientific ambit, the Superior Health Council came close to realizing the Científicos' dream of Mexican development "without U.S. investment," in large part because the council obtained independent access to European ideas and

70. José M. Gamboa, "In Countries under a Federal Regimen, Can and Should the Union Exercise Any Intervention on Sanitary Matters?" *Public Health Papers and Reports* 18 (1892): 127–29, 128.

71. Eduardo Licéaga, "Defence of the Ports and Frontier Cities of Mexico against the Epidemic of Cholera that Invaded Europe and Was on the Point of Invading the United States in 1892," *Public Health Papers and Reports* 18 (1892): 240–58.

72. "Proceedings and Discussions of the Twentieth Annual Meeting," 438.

technologies prior to its engagement with the Americans. Efforts by Mexican hygienists to modernize public health in Mexico bore fruit twice. The hygienists created public health institutions through which medical doctors became essential actors in making modern Mexico, and they persuaded their American counterparts that Mexican experts could be trusted partners in defending the health of the western hemisphere. These two processes supported each other: the Mexican hygienists were surprisingly successful in their role as medical diplomats, and as they developed more influence with their U.S. counterparts, it became more important for the government of Porfirio Díaz to implement their initiatives for creating more forceful public health institutions.

When the invitation for Mexico to join the APHA came in 1889, the Superior Health Council's members realized immediately that participation in the APHA would allow them to address the international ramifications of public health questions, which would bear directly on Mexico's commerce and economic development. A little more than a decade later, Porfirio Díaz's sanitary advisors had devised a consistent and assertive international strategy around the following positions: (1) alignment with international scientific standards; (2) principled defense of sovereignty, with Mexican officials controlling the certification of transmissible disease on Mexican soil; (3) transparency in disease reporting; (4) internationally publicized demonstrations of Mexican competence in campaigns against tropical disease that might threaten the United States; and (5) negotiation of multilateral institutional structures to counter the influence of the United States.

The first three parts of this strategy were in place by 1892. The last two had evolved by 1905 and can be addressed here in brief. The Superior Health Council had shown that it had mastered the newest methods for disease control in successful campaigns against bubonic plague in Sinaloa and Baja California (1902–3) and against yellow fever from 1903 on. In 1910, Licéaga would declare to the APHA that “Yellow Fever Has Disappeared from the Mexican Republic.”⁷³ In addition to the publication of special bulletins that highlighted Mexican successes in using tropical medicine, vector theory, and bacteriological methods against disease, Mexican officials made many presentations on these subjects to the APHA, constantly reinforcing the idea that Mexican officials could be trusted to deal with health emergencies on their own.

73. Eduardo Licéaga, “Yellow Fever Has Disappeared from the Mexican Republic,” *Journal of the American Public Health Association* 1, no. 10 (Oct. 1911): 735 (paper read at the annual meeting of the APHA in Milwaukee, September 1910). For the fight against the bubonic plague see Carrillo, “¿Estado de peste o estado de sitio?”

Perhaps the most important political achievement of the Mexican hygienists in the APHA was to construct a potent image of their technical competence, which was symbolically ratified by the election of two Mexican physicians to the presidency of the association (Licéaga in 1895 and Orvañanos in 1906). The Mexican sanitary authorities used this image of competence and their close personal relationships with U.S. officials to great effect in the negotiation of multilateral sanitary agreements in the years after 1901. U.S.-Mexican relations over public health questions shifted away from the professional forum of the APHA to diplomatic negotiations between the two countries. Between 1901 and 1907, three International Sanitary Conventions produced inter-American agreements on public health questions related to the intercourse between the countries of the western hemisphere, especially maritime sanitation, quarantine, and the control of yellow fever and other transmissible diseases.⁷⁴ These agreements could be seen as the culmination of the APHA's project to create a continental public health movement. In this way, Mexican public health leaders made a distinctive contribution to the development of international health, efforts that are still honored by the Pan American Health Organization, whose parent organization, the International Sanitary Bureau, Licéaga helped to found in 1902.⁷⁵

In the final analysis, Porfirian public health developed an imperative to defend Mexican sovereignty because it could not avoid the field of power created by rising U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean region. The efforts of the Superior Health Council in the APHA and other forums were intended to keep public health from being a pretext for the United States to meddle in Mexican affairs. In this respect, the efforts of the Mexican hygienists may be deemed to have been largely successful, even though sanitary relations between the two countries were sometimes strained as economic integration proceeded. In 1904, the state of Texas, acting on its own, imposed quarantine on Mexican passengers and goods, motivated by its traditional policy of banning commerce with areas that had been infected with yellow fever the previous year. The entire machinery of Mexican and U.S. diplomacy swung into gear as Texas requested the right

74. See Cueto, *The Value of Health*, 39–52.

75. See "A Century of Public Health: PAHO Family Album," *Perspectives in Health: The Magazine of the Pan American Health Organization* 7, no. 1 (2002); http://www.paho.org/english/dpi/Number13_article3_9.htm (accessed 25 May 2008). Marcos Cueto has traced the history of the early twentieth-century sanitary meetings in *The Value of Health*. He underlines the point that Mexico's "role in helping to organize and prepare the resolutions of the International Conference of American States of 1902 and the Washington Convention of 1905 was considered a major triumph of Mexican foreign policy" (45).

to place sanitary inspectors in Mexico as a precondition for lowering its quarantine restrictions. The Texans also sought to pressure the Mexican government through the railroad companies, which stood to incur major economic losses from the interruption of train traffic.

Licéaga protested the Texas quarantine energetically. He argued that it violated international scientific standards to impose quarantine in the absence of an actual yellow fever epidemic. (Licéaga admitted that isolated cases of yellow fever existed in Mexico, but insisted that there was no epidemic.) Furthermore, the Mexican government was already carrying out systematic campaigns against mosquitoes based on the U.S. Army's methods tested in Cuba, which they had demonstrated to officials from Texas and the U.S. Public Health and Marine Hospital Service. Licéaga felt that there were no circumstances under which Mexico could acquiesce to Texan sanitary inspectors issuing official health certificates from Mexican territory and insisted that Texas accept the value of certification by Mexican officials. If they were given the right to rule on sanitary conditions in Mexico, Licéaga feared that Texas officials would acquire an unwarranted degree of control over Mexico's internal affairs. In light of these considerations, Licéaga wrote candidly to George Tabor, health officer of the State of Texas:

I am going to explain with utter clarity why we cannot accept for you to send us sanitary agents. If the Mexican government, in the exercise of its sovereignty, is putting into practice sanitary measures that don't only protect its own territory against transmissible diseases, but is at this very moment implementing measures so that those diseases cannot be transmitted to a neighboring country, this government cannot, for its own dignity, accept that agents of another State come and impose upon it as an obligation that which it is already doing voluntarily.⁷⁶

In short, the Superior Health Council's decade-long campaign in the APHA did not mean that all American officials trusted their Mexican partners. The case shows the limits of the Superior Health Council's strategy for defending Mexican sanitary sovereignty, because Licéaga finally acquiesced to Texas dispatching sanitary agents in an unofficial ("private") capacity to Mexican cities. In the final analysis, even though Licéaga defended a very clear definition of

76. Dr. Eduardo Licéaga to Dr. George R. Tabor, 25 Apr. 1904, in "Expediente formado con motivo que las autoridades sanitarias del Estado de Texas, E. U., han impuesto contra las procedencias de México," *Diario Oficial del supremo gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*, 18 May 1904, p. 255.

sovereignty, he was willing to make "private" concessions in order to resolve a situation that threatened commerce with the United States.⁷⁷

The longtime leader of Mexico's sanitarians finally retired in 1914 at the age of 74.¹ In his memoirs, he stressed the positive ramifications of the encounter between the Superior Health Council and the APHA. "The benefit that Mexico has obtained from the [APHA]," Licéaga wrote, "is the enhanced knowledge that the physicians who attended the Association's meetings have acquired; the propagation of that knowledge in their respective localities, and the benefit of the cultivation of relations between the sanitary authorities of [Mexico] and the United States, relations which became very cordial and very beneficial for the conservation of our independence from the United States in sanitary matters, against the tendency of that country to impose itself upon the Latin American republics."⁷⁸ The evidence presented here largely supports Licéaga's appraisal, while also showing that a degree of unofficial U.S. influence in Mexican sanitary affairs could not be avoided. It is clear that foreign policy objectives decisively shaped Porfirian health policy by obligating the Superior Health Council to devote major resources for the control of the tropical diseases (such as yellow fever) that most concerned the United States. Under Licéaga's leadership, the Superior Health Council's diplomatic function became an integral aspect of its operations, and it was this function that largely accounts for the importance of the council to the Porfirian regime, an importance which alternative explanations (positivist devotion to modern hygiene, or effectiveness in disease control) do not adequately capture.

77. Telegram, Dr. Eduardo Licéaga to Dr. George R. Tabor, 8 May 1904, in *Diario Oficial del supremo gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*, 18 May 1904, p. 258.

78. Eduardo Licéaga, *Mis recuerdos de otros tiempos*, 225. Dr. Licéaga appears to have composed this assessment in 1915.

Other Americas: Transnationalism, Scholarship, and the Culture of Poverty in Mexico and the United States

Karin Alejandra Roseblatt

The anthropologist Oscar Lewis first used the term “culture of poverty” in a 1959 article published in Mexico on rural migrants to Mexico City. The formulation became available in English in his 1959 book *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*.¹ Within months, the idea that the poor had a distinct culture became part of a passionate, decade-long, worldwide debate about poverty. Scholars, policy makers, and broader publics discussed what caused poverty and how to remedy it. How entrenched were the class and racial differences that led to poverty? How did those differences affect a country’s standing in the community of nations?

Lewis’s initial formulation of a culture of poverty drew on his training as an anthropologist in the United States, his extensive dialogue with Mexican intellectuals, and his fieldwork in Mexico. Over the years, Lewis and others reformulated the notion in response to intense public controversies in Mexico and Puerto Rico; the vehement U.S. discussions surrounding the War on Poverty and Daniel Patrick Moynihan’s report on the Negro family; and larger events such as the Cuban Revolution, the U.S. civil rights movement, decolonization,

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1. Oscar Lewis, “La cultura de la vecindad en la Cuidad de México,” *Ciencias Políticas y Sociales* (July–Sept. 1959): 349–64. Oscar Lewis, *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (New York: Basic Books, 1959).

the Vietnam War, and second-wave feminism.² This article tracks the concept of a culture of poverty as a way of probing the reciprocal, if unequal, connections between Mexico and the United States and their relation to national narratives and policy debates.³

U.S. participants in the debates on the culture of poverty drew from and created knowledge about the United States as they came to know the Mexican Other, a process that anthropologist Fernando Coronil has termed Occidentalism. In this process, they reified differences between the two nations and papered over the transnational connections out of which ideas about "Self" and "Other" emerged. Mexicans similarly drew on and constructed knowledge

2. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," in *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy: A Trans-action Social Science and Public Policy Report*, by Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1967), 39–124.

3. For a transnational perspective on Lewis see Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2002). On scholarly exchanges between Mexico and the United States see Ricardo Godoy, "Franz Boas and His Plans for an International School of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Mexico," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 13, no. 3 (July 1977): 228–42; Salomón Nahmad Sittón and Thomas Weaver, "Manuel Gamio, el primer antropólogo aplicado y su relación con la antropología norteamericana," *América Indígena* 50, no. 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1990): 291–321; Guillermo de la Peña, "Nationals and Foreigners in the History of Mexican Anthropology," in *The Conditions of Reciprocal Understanding*, ed. James W. Fernandez and Milton B. Singer (Chicago: Center for International Studies, 1995), 276–303; Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, "Stereophonic Scientific Modernisms: Social Science between Mexico and the United States, 1880s–1930s," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (Dec. 1999): 1156–87; Jesus Velasco, "Reading Mexico, Understanding the United States: American Transnational Intellectuals in the 1920s and 1990s," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 2 (Sept. 1999): 641–67; Casey Walsh, "Eugenic Acculturation: Manuel Gamio, Migration Studies, and the Anthropology of Development in Mexico, 1910–1940," *Latin American Perspectives* 138, no. 31 (2004): 118–45; Mechthild Rutsch, *Entre el campo y el gabinete: Nacionales y extranjeros en la profesionalización de la antropología mexicana (1877–1920)* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, 2007). On the relation between peripheral and metropolitan anthropologies see Quetzil E. Castañeda, "Stocking's Historiography of Influence: The 'Story of Boas,' Gamio and Redfield at the Cross-Road to Light," *Critique of Anthropology* 23, no. 3 (2003): 235–63; Fernando Coronil, "Transculturation and the Politics of Theory: Countering the Center, Cuban Counterpoint," introduction to *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, by Fernando Ortiz (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1995); Claudio Lomnitz, "Bordering on Anthropology," in *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2001), 228–62; Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, "Peripheral Anthropologies 'Versus' Central Anthropologies," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 4, no. 2 / 5, no. 1 (1999/2000): 10–31.

about Mexico's national character as they compared themselves to the United States. But, given differences of power between Mexico and the United States, Mexican attempts to reverse the U.S. gaze were qualitatively different from U.S. Occidentalism and produced a distinct kind of nationalism.⁴ Nationally bounded public and scholarly conversations shaped transnational exchanges. Transnational conversations, in turn, produced differences, hierarchies, and national identities that were reflected in spatial divisions such as North–South and United States–Mexico.⁵

Recently, scholars such as Micol Seigel, Ann Stoler, and Frederick Cooper have shown how, by comparing certain things and ignoring others, scholars create and cement differences, especially national differences, and elevate the importance of the specific categories compared. Seigel, Stoler, and Cooper have argued that essentialized and often dichotomous views of race have been especially important in shaping the rigid notions of national character that have often resulted from comparison.⁶ Yet, as Stoler points out, comparisons rest on notions of commensurability.⁷ I argue here that comparison may lead to the

4. Fernando Coronil, "Beyond Occidentalism: Towards Non-Imperial Geohistorical Categories," *Cultural Anthropology* 11 (1996): 51–87. By showing the impact of Mexico on the United States, I "provincialize" the United States and challenge narratives that give primacy to the West or North in global processes. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations*, no. 37 (Winter 1992): 1–26. See also Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1997).

5. Nancy Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, "Introduction: Racial Nations," in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, ed. Nancy Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2003); Micol Seigel, "Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn," *Radical History Review* no. 91 (Winter 2005): 62–90; Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2002); Sandhya Shukla and Heidi Tinsman, "Editors' Introduction," *Radical History Review* no. 89 (Spring 2004): 1–10. I am arguing not for national traditions but for nationally bounded circuits of debate. See Esteban Krotz, "Mexican Anthropology's Ongoing Search for Identity," *Ethnos* 47, no. 1 (1982).

6. Seigel, "Beyond Compare"; Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post)Colonial Studies," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (Dec. 2001): 829–65; Frederick Cooper, "Race, Ideology, and the Perils of Comparative History," *American Historical Review* (October 1996): 1516–45. See also Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, "On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason," *Theory, Culture and Society* 16, no. 1 (1999): 41–58; John D. French, "The Missteps of Anti-Imperialist Reason: Bourdieu, Wacquant and Hanchard's *Orpheus and Power*," *Theory, Culture and Society* 17, no. 1 (2000): 107–28.

7. Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties."

assertion of similarity and to projections from one context to another (as in modernization theory). By contrast, lack of comparison may lead to strident assertions of singularity and hierarchy.

To understand the meaning and effects of comparison, and how audiences use ideas of similarity and difference for political ends, we need to pay attention to the specific contexts in which comparisons take place.⁸ We also need to examine the categories that structure comparisons and transnational exchange, including race. Scholars and their readers used explicit and implicit notions of race both to delineate particular groups within and across national borders and to assert the similarity, or comparability, of those groups. Scholars, policy makers, and the broader reading public also used ideas about race both to affirm distinct and essentialized national identities and to stress the similarity of Mexico and the United States. By acknowledging the contingent and variegated nature of racial categories, this essay reveals the choices made by commentators who drew on reified ideas about race to stress national differences. Those choices often relied on specific conceptualizations of biology, visible bodily differences, and culture. They also invoked allied beliefs that have received less scholarly attention: ideas about personality, intelligence, and the self; about economic conditions; and about the role of historical legacies in shaping national character.⁹

As I argue below, scholars invoked certain ideas about the body and the mind and their relationship to culture, economy, and history to highlight the intransigence of class in Mexico and of race in the United States. Scholars also used these ideas to assert similarities across borders in ways that undermined essentialized ideas about nation. This ability to make connections across borders was made possible in part by the easy movement between explanations based on race and class; biology and environment; and historical, cultural, and economic determination and the agency of individuals. The key concept of *inheritance*—with its cultural, biological/genetic, and economic registers; its

8. Here I follow a suggestion made by Coronil, "Beyond Occidentalism."

9. On race, culture, biology, and the body see Peter Wade, *Race, Nature and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (London: Pluto Press, 2002). Pioneering works on psychology and intelligence include Alexandra Minna Stern, "An Empire of Tests: Psychometrics and the Paradoxes of Nationalism in the Americas," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2006), 325–43; Ellen Herman, *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in the Age of Experts, 1940–1970* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1996); Daryl Michael Scott, *Contempt and Pity: Social Policy and the Image of the Damaged Black Psyche, 1880–1996* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1997).

conflation of biology and environment; and its insistence on the centrality of family to cultural and economic processes—helped scholars and policy makers to move from race to class and to cross national borders. Many scholars adopted the view, prevalent in the United States, that biological race was immutable; other scholars saw class-based cultural inheritance as fixed; still others viewed as unchanging the entrenched economic inequalities that resulted from the historical legacy of colonialism. Some scholars saw biology as plastic and responsive to material conditions; some saw mental predispositions and cultural patterns as hard to dislodge. This essay tracks these positions, paying close attention to context, circulation, and change in the deployment of ideas.

Lewis's Training in the United States and First Encounter with Mexico

Lewis's initial culture of poverty formulation drew both from his anthropological training in the United States, which inclined him to see race as irrelevant in explaining social phenomena, and from his extensive contact with Mexican intellectuals. An avid fieldworker who spent long stretches in Mexico, Lewis first traveled there in 1943 with his wife and collaborator, Ruth Maslow Lewis. As the U.S. representative to the recently formed Inter-American Indigenous Institute (IAII, Instituto Indigenista Interamericano), Lewis translated articles for the Institute's journal, *América Indígena*. He also coordinated a team of Mexican professionals and students that investigated "the personality development of the Indian child with reference to sociological, biological, and ecological influences," the influence of government programs on child development, and the national state's effects on Indian self-government. The research, based in the village of Tepoztlán and supervised by a committee of noted Mexican scholars, was modeled after a project carried out in U.S. Southwest indigenous communities and was intended to provide a comparative complement to that study. Lewis and his team, like their U.S. counterparts, conducted surveys and interviews, recorded field observations, and applied psychological tests to gauge personality development and acculturation.¹⁰ Through the psychological tests that Ruth and Oscar Lewis applied in Tepoztlán, Lewis first identified many of the traits he would later associate with the culture of poverty.

10. Oscar Lewis, "Memorandum on the Recent Progress of the Personality Study in Mexico," 28 Dec. 1943, Oscar Lewis Papers, University of Illinois Archives (hereafter cited as Oscar Lewis Papers), Correspondence 1942–1946 folder, box 107.

Lewis arrived in Mexico only three years after receiving his PhD from Columbia University. At Columbia, Lewis studied anthropology with Ruth Benedict, herself a student of Franz Boas. Benedict and Lewis came from a U.S. academic world that increasingly defined “culture” and “biology” as separate and independent. In the 1920s, as Mendelism became a dominant paradigm in the U.S. academy, scholars increasingly rejected the neo-Lamarckian view that acquired characteristics could be inherited. Anthropologists and other social scientists now distanced themselves from biology and argued for the primacy of culture. Boas and later Benedict were key figures in this transition. If prior generations of anthropologists had seen linguistic, biological, and cultural evolution as related, Lewis’s and Benedict’s generations would embrace ethnology as distinct from physical anthropology, in contrast to Boas but also following the path he cleared. Physical anthropology was for them biologically determinist and racist. Cultural anthropologists, including those who developed the research in the U.S. Southwest on which Lewis based his Tepoztlán work, concentrated on understanding the relation between individuals and cultures. Some enthusiasts of this “culture and personality” approach were more interested in how individuals replicated or deviated from their cultures. Others, such as Benedict, saw cultures as patterned, integral wholes. Benedict sought to distill the essences of cultures and specify their effects on individuals. She pioneered the study of national character.¹¹

Despite their explicitly antiracist position, students of culture and personality incorporated key issues and methods of racial science. The idea that cultures and nations were bounded and could be characterized through certain essential traits reproduced elements of racial thinking, even when the essences posited were cultural rather than biological. Scholars now saw as cultures entities that had previously been characterized as races, including nations and Native American tribes. The “typing” of individuals—by measuring skeletons or IQs—had long been central to racial science. Students of culture and personality likewise aggregated measurements of individuals to determine the essences of cultures.

11. George W. Stocking Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1968), esp. 161–233; George W. Stocking Jr., *The Ethnographer’s Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1992); George W. Stocking Jr., ed., *Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict and Others: Essays on Culture and Personality* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1986); Hamilton Cravens, *Triumph of Evolution: The Heredity-Environment Controversy, 1900–1941* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1988); Kathy J. Cooke, “The Limits of Heredity: Nature and Nurture in American Eugenics before 1915,” *Journal of the History of Biology* no. 31 (June 1998): 263–78.

They tended to measure invisible personality traits rather than visible features. But, like racial thinkers, they were concerned with how to know if any given individual belonged to, or was representative of, a specific group. Scholars who embraced the culture and personality perspective focused principally on the family and child rearing as critical sites for the reproduction of culture and the formation of personality. While these scholars examined culture and socialization rather than biology and genes, they drew from racial paradigms a concern with inheritance and downplayed other aspects of the environment such as job markets, housing, and health care.

The professional proclivities of Ruth Lewis and her family no doubt helped attract Lewis to the culture and personality approach. Ruth Lewis's brother, the psychologist Abraham Maslow, had introduced Oscar to Ruth Benedict. (Along with Carl Rogers, Maslow went on to create humanistic psychology.) Ruth Lewis herself had studied psychology, and Oscar Lewis was chosen as the IAI's U.S. representative in part because Ruth was qualified to perform the psychological tests needed for the Tepoztlán project.¹²

Lewis, it must be noted, did not accept the culture and personality approach wholesale. His work was marked by an interest in economy, material culture, and history, as shown by his PhD dissertation, a historical study of commerce between Euro-Americans and Native Americans on the U.S. Plains. His Tepoztlán project included a wealth of historical research, and in this and later work Lewis emphasized economic conditions and material culture, taking inventories of the possessions of the poor. He carefully located his Tepoztlán subjects within the local class structure. A 1947 article by W. E. B. DuBois applauded Lewis's attention to class in Tepoztlán.¹³ Lewis objected to the tendency of the culture and personality approach to produce inadequate generalizations, a problem that had plagued racial thinkers who searched for the essences of racial types. Studies of primitive cultures, Lewis noted, wrongly presumed cultural homogeneity and on that basis extracted generalizations about the culture from interviews with a few informants. Anthropologists, he lamented, had "come to deal more and more with averages and stereotypes rather than with real people

12. Susan M. Rigdon, *The Culture Facade: Art, Science, and Politics in the Work of Oscar Lewis* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1988), 11.

13. Oscar Lewis, *The Effects of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture, with Special Reference to the Role of the Fur Trade* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1942). Oscar Lewis, "The Possessions of the Poor," *Scientific American* 221, no. 4 (Oct. 1969): 114–24. Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (1951; Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1963). W. E. B. DuBois, *Chicago Defender*, 30 Aug. 1947. DuBois was likely referring to Lewis's essay "Wealth Differences in a Mexican Village," *Scientific Monthly* 65, no. 2 (Aug. 1947): 127–32.

in all their individuality." In studying families, Lewis wished to highlight members' individuality and to avoid presenting individuals as "insubstantial and passive automatons who carry out expected behavior patterns." He wished to show that a range of behaviors and values could characterize any given culture and even individuals socialized by the same parents.¹⁴ While Benedict had replaced the search for racial essences with the search for cultural and national essences, Lewis turned to examining the unique way each individual was formed by his or her culture and family.

Mexican Influences on Lewis

Lewis followed his Mexican colleagues in linking cultural and racial differences to economic development, class, and material culture. He collaborated on the Tepoztlán research with top Mexican scholars, including Manuel Gamio and Alfonso Caso, and over the years Lewis worked with many other Mexican professionals and Mexican anthropology students. Many of them were part of the heterogeneous and changing intellectual current known as *indigenismo*. Mexican *indigenismo* sought to uplift and redeem native peoples by integrating them politically and economically into the Mexican nation. *Indigenistas* glorified the achievements of native populations, especially the great Indian civilizations of the past. Yet they promoted *mestizaje* (cultural and biological mixing) as a way of inculcating in native peoples economic, political, and cultural habits that, though mixed and Mexican, they saw as more modern. *Indigenistas* were particularly concerned with promoting economic progress. Historian Alexander Dawson has recently argued that early state efforts to assimilate indigenous peoples to Euro-Mexican culture failed, generating a revised *indigenismo* that was more pluralist and tolerant of differences. *Indigenistas*, while still insisting that Spanish was important as a shared national language, began codifying, preserving, and teaching native languages. And as the Mexican scholar Luis Villoro suggests, *indigenistas* increasingly portrayed racial mixing as an unpredictable process rather than a march toward white European culture.

Manuel Gamio, the undisputed intellectual leader of Mexican *indigenismo*, was Lewis's boss at the IAI. Gamio advocated social engineering to retain what he believed were positive aspects of mestizo and indigenous cultures, especially languages and folk arts, and to jettison presumably negative elements, especially inefficient and backward economic practices. Influenced by the cultural pluralism of Boas, with whom he had studied at Columbia University, Gamio lamented

14. Oscar Lewis, "An Anthropological Approach to Family Studies," *American Journal of Sociology* 55, no. 5 (Mar. 1950): 470, 471.

that schools were ignorant of “complex intercultural problems” and taught only Western science and technology. He supported training teachers in “the history, ethnography, and even psychology of the indigenous population.”¹⁵

Mexican indigenistas and Mexican intellectuals more generally sometimes referred to native peoples as “races,” but, like an increasing number of social scientists in the United States, they sought to avoid the word. At times, they employed it as roughly synonymous with “peoples” or “nations”; at times, they used it (as Boas had) to mean “type” or “physical type.” Gamio opened his now-classic *Forjando patria* (1916) by referring to the “virile races” that did battle in the Americas. He claimed that through the consequent “mixing and confusion of peoples, a miraculous alloy . . . was consummated,” leading to a shared “blood” that ran throughout the American continent. Later he mentioned the “Latin” and “indigenous” races. Elsewhere in *Forjando patria*, Gamio spoke more of classes, cultures, and ethnicities than of races, almost always employing the term “race” in conjunction with these other terms. For instance, criticizing the scant ethnic diversity at a Pan-American scientific congress, Gamio noted that—in terms of race, language, and culture—participants represented only 25 percent of their home countries’ population: they spoke Spanish and Portuguese and belonged to “a race and civilization of European origin.” France and Germany were countries united in “race, culture, and language,” in contrast with Mexico’s “ethnic heterogeneity.”¹⁶ In short, Gamio did not separate biological race from concepts such as class, ethnicity, nationality, culture, and language. Lewis, as we will see, would follow U.S. social science in rejecting the relevance of biology. But his use of the term “culture” would conjure the multiple forms of difference so often equated by his Mexican colleagues.

The 1920 Mexican census had counted three “races” (indigenous, mixed, and white; Mexico’s African American citizens remained invisible), but the 1930 census explicitly eschewed these labels and substituted indicators of material culture (footwear, bedding), food (tortillas versus bread), and language.¹⁷ This

15. Alexander S. Dawson, *Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico* (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 2004); Luis Villoro, *Los grandes momentos del indigenismo en México* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1950); Manuel Gamio, “Población Indo-Mestiza,” in *Acculturation in the Americas: Proceedings and Selected Papers*, ed. Sol Tax (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952), 267–70. See also Alan Knight, “Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910–1940,” in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1990), 71–113.

16. Manuel Gamio, *Forjando patria (pro nacionalismo)* (Mexico City: Porrúa Hermanos, 1916), 3–4, 6, 9–10, 58.

17. Departamento de la Estadística Nacional, *Resumen del censo general de habitantes de 30 de noviembre de 1921* (Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1928), 62; Dirección

official excision of “race” did not fully expunge the term from the Mexican vocabulary. For instance, a 1937 indigenista study of proletarian schoolchildren noted that investigating morphological characteristics “did not at all imply an interest in racial problems.” Yet the term “race” nonetheless crept into the work. The authors claimed that “papillary ridges . . . have racial characteristics,” and that fingerprinting would therefore help gauge a person’s “evolutionary stage, from a racial point of view.”¹⁸

Class distinctions increasingly replaced, but also subsumed, racial distinctions in Mexican social science. Scholars considered poverty and economic deprivation as racial conditions and believed that economic uplift would do away with racial inequality, as Villoro has argued in his study of Mexican social thought. President Lázaro Cárdenas, speaking to the 1940 Inter-American Conference on Indian Life, which established the IAIL, asserted: “More than their skin color, or external forms of political organization or artistic expressions . . . their position as an oppressed social class reveals the unity of the native peoples.” Indigenista José Gómez Robleda equated racial fusion with economic leveling: “The progress of civilization—or the surmounting of material obstacles to the fusion of individuals that were until now distinct—and the destruction of economic barriers will without doubt lead to the homogenization of humanity and destroy racial differences.”¹⁹

More generally, Mexican social science increasingly adopted class labels, characterizing rural indigenous peoples, especially in communities where indigenous languages and/or dress were not widely used, as economically deprived “campesinos” (peasants). The city presumably uprooted differences. Urban migrants therefore became “proletarians,” and urban migration could help create a united, and modern, Mexican nation. Oscar Lewis’s own research retraced this trajectory away from race. Having gone to Mexico to study an indigenous community, he ended up studying Tepoztlán, a town in the process of becoming “mestizo.” Lewis documented material and cultural change: the paving of the road connecting Tepoztlán to the Cuernavaca–Mexico City highway, the

General de Estadística, *Sexto censo de población 1940, resumen general* (Mexico City: Dirección General de Estadística, 1943), 34–35.

18. Secretaría de Educación Pública, Departamento de Psicopedagogía Médico Escolar, Instituto Nacional de Psicopedagogía, *Características biológicas de los escolares proletarios* (Mexico City: n.p., 1937), 8, 63, 64.

19. Villoro, *Los grandes momentos del indigenismo*. Lázaro Cárdenas, “Los indígenas, factor de progreso” (1940), in *La antropología social aplicada en México: Trayectoria y antología*, ed. Juan Comas (Mexico City: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1976), 136. Secretaría de Educación Pública, *Características biológicas*, 274.

rise of Spanish and decline of Nahuatl, and the increasing prevalence of modern over traditional dress. In later research, Lewis followed Tepozteicans to Mexico City, where they became just Mexican and poor. His object of study ostensibly became their poverty, which he linked to culture rather than ethnicity or race.

Race and Biology: Divergent Views

Though Lewis's research converged in certain ways with Mexican social science, his relations with Mexican colleagues were filtered through his allegiance to the questions and approaches he brought with him from the United States. In the United States, social scientists associated physical anthropology with racial science. In contrast, Mexican social scientists' aversion to racial labels did not diminish their interest in peoples' physical condition. By the late 1930s, this concern was articulated through "biotypology," a science that measured the physique, physiology, psychological character, and intelligence of diverse groups; determined their most statistically salient characteristics; and categorized them based on those measurements. As historian Alexandra Minna Stern has noted, biotypology allowed Mexican social scientists to embrace Mendelian inheritance partially while still accepting key elements of the now-discredited neo-Lamarckism, especially that biological heredity and environment were equally important and interrelated. Biotypologist Gómez Robleda questioned prevailing views that physical characteristics were "constitutional" and hard to transform while mental characteristics were "temperamental" and easily changed. For him, an individual's physique was not always part of an innate, unchangeable, genetically transmitted inheritance. Instead, the body was plastic, and food, education, and environment interacted with natural endowments to shape both the soma and physiological processes. Gómez Robleda distinguished hereditary, persistent characteristics from acquired, variable ones but believed that only statistical analysis could determine if a characteristic was persistent and therefore "racial." In his view, persistent and hereditary traits, manifested in psyche and body, were what constituted "race." Bodily traits, *per se*, did not.²⁰

Mexican biotypology had much in common with the constitutional and psychosomatic medicine then current in the United States and with the North

20. Alexandra Minna Stern, "From Mestizophilia to Biotypology: Racialization and Science in Mexico, 1920–1960," in Appelbaum, Macpherson, and Roseblatt, *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, 187–209. Secretaría de Educación Pública, *Características biológicas*, 272–73.

American field of biopsychology. All of these fields stressed relationships among environment, body, and mind, making room for the inherited elements of constitution but also recognizing the interactions of body and mind with each other and with social and natural settings. Members of the U.S. research team whose work provided the prototype for Lewis's Mexico project embraced biopsychology; Lewis did not.²¹

In Mexico, the persistence of the belief that environment molded biology helped keep physical and cultural anthropology joined to each other and to archeology and linguistics. To Lewis, steeped in a U.S. cultural anthropology that dissociated itself from biology and race and therefore from physical anthropology, this rapprochement seemed old-fashioned and racist. Complaining in a letter to a U.S. colleague that Mexican social sciences were "years behind the U.S.," Lewis called Gamio unfamiliar with "recent developments," ignorant of the critical culture and personality texts, and enamored of his "beloved 'biotypology.'" To please Gamio and physical anthropologist Juan Comas, both of whom were members of the committee supervising Lewis at Tepoztlán, a physical anthropology component had been added to the research plan. (Apparently, this research was never carried out.) But Lewis believed this physical anthropology research was unnecessary because a medical doctor was already on the research team. "I felt . . . that Gamio was just on the verge of seeing the relative unimportance of cephalic indices in cultural studies, but he must have relapsed to the old Mexican tradition of which he has been a part for so many years."²² Lewis failed to understand that, for the Mexicans, physical markers of Indianness included illness, and those markers were important precisely because "a medical doctor" or teacher, and state policies more generally, might address them. Believing in the superiority of the U.S. social science he had learned, Lewis evaded questions about the relation of person and environment that would later be central to criticism of his work.

The research design for Tepoztlán had originally incorporated elements of biotypology and biopsychology, aiming to gather data on the natural, economic, sociocultural, and historical environment on the one hand, and the psyche and

21. Sarah W. Tracy, "An Evolving Science of Man: The Transformation and Demise of American Constitutional Medicine, 1920–1950," in *Greater Than the Parts: Holism in Biomedicine, 1920–1950*, ed. Christopher Lawrence and George Weisz (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988); Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp* (New York: Octagon Books, 1964), 250.

22. Oscar Lewis to Laura Thompson, 28 Dec. 1943, Oscar Lewis Papers, Personality Study Correspondence 1944–1976 folder, box 107.

soma on the other. But where his Mexican collaborators stressed the impact of the environment on the body and mind, Lewis himself jettisoned all reference to biology and found it difficult to reconcile the two remaining “related but somewhat distinct objectives,” namely the sociohistorical study of government policy’s impact on politics and culture, and the study of personality.²³ His published book reflected this failure to reconcile these approaches: one section discussed history and social structure; another addressed interpersonal relations. Despite his research on social, economic, and historical contexts and on material culture and daily life, Lewis’s later writing increasingly focused on individual psychology. Lewis could not integrate analysis of economic conditions and history (much less biology and the body) with attention to the psychology of the self, although he never abandoned attention to economic conditions. Later U.S. discussions of the culture of poverty would reject Lewis’s attention to psychology. But they, too, failed to draw connections between economic conditions and other aspects of the environment, on the one hand, and interpersonal and familial relations, on the other.

Views on the Mexican Psyche and History

If Lewis’s continuing emphasis on psychology reflected the popularity of the culture and personality paradigm and the long-standing interest in socialization within U.S. anthropology, it also drew strength from a growing Mexican interest in psychology. Spurred by Erich Fromm’s immigration to Mexico in 1950, the publication of Octavio Paz’s *Labyrinth of Solitude* the same year, and the return to Mexico of psychoanalysts trained in Argentina and at Columbia University, Mexico’s first psychoanalytic groups formed at the time Lewis was first conducting field research in Mexico City in the 1950s. Lewis interacted with pioneering Mexican analysts: he enlisted Fromm to interpret a set of 300 dreams he collected in Tepoztlán (though the work was never completed), and he collaborated with analytic psychologist Carolina Luján on projective tests of subjects in *Five Families* and later works.²⁴

Mexican psychoanalysts stressed the relationship of psychology to history

23. Lewis, “Memorandum on the Recent Progress.”

24. Humberto Durán C., “El psicoanálisis en México: Entrevista a Santiago Ramírez,” <http://www.cartapsi.org/mexico/entsan.htm> (accessed 19 May 2005); Juan José Sánchez Sosa and Pablo Valderrama-Iturbe, “Psychology in Latin America: Historical Reflections and Perspectives,” *International Journal of Psychology* 36, no. 6 (2001): 391. Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude . . .*, trans. Lysander Kemp, Yara Milos, and Rachel Phillips Belash (1950; New York: Grove Press, 1985); Rigdon, *Culture Facade*, 64–65, 71 n. 36.

and an engrained national character rooted in colonialism. For instance, psychiatrist Santiago Ramírez, who exchanged letters with Lewis, suggested in *El mexicano: Psicología de sus motivaciones* that Mexican history was sedimented in the Mexican psyche and Mexican national character. For Ramírez, like Paz, Mexican masculinity was troubled. Mexican men—born metaphorically of rape or the illegitimate union of conquistador and indigenous consort and abandoned by their fathers—learned a defensive, reactive, and violent masculinity. They also felt ambivalence and resentment toward father or authority figures, including presumably superior nations such as Spain, France, and the United States.²⁵

The psychologically oriented studies of the 1950s on Mexican national character did not foreground race per se. They linked Mexico's inferiority to its lack of technology or consumer goods as often as to its racial character. References to race were embedded, however, in texts describing the originary meeting of Spanish and indigenous cultures, or "blood," and the difficulties of forging a healthy national identity from ethnic inequality. In a 1951 book that opened Lewis's eyes to the possibility that the urban poor were pathologically disorganized, author José Iturriaga equated the harmonious racial and cultural mixing of Spanish and indigenous peoples with a homogeneous middle class. He argued from history, viewing change as possible, if difficult:

As our country matures, a preference for the indigenous angle of our mestizaje becomes stronger, and, at the same time, the figure of Cortes is still polemical. . . . [O]ur two bloods will not rest until the 2 and a half million bilingual and monolingual Indians [*indígenas*] are perfectly melded into the middling cultural level and the middle economic level of the country; and, perforce then we will be able to recognize him [Cortes] as one of our grandfathers, as he in reality is.

Despite indigenous peoples' geographical isolation, economic inferiority, and "cultural and linguistic endogamy," economic integration would improve native peoples' material conditions. Echoing Gamio, Iturriaga maintained that economic, technical, and cultural mixture could and should "conserve the positive values of the aboriginal culture."²⁶

25. Santiago Ramírez, *El mexicano: Psicología de sus motivaciones* (Mexico City: Editorial Pax-México, 1959). The correspondence between Lewis and Ramírez can be found in Oscar Lewis Papers, Santiago Ramírez folder, box 58.

26. José E. Iturriaga, *La estructura social y cultural de México* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1951), 227–28, 109–10, cited by Lewis in "Urbanization without Breakdown: A Case Study," *Scientific American* 75, no. 1 (July 1952): 41.

Lewis for the most part rejected these Mexican studies of national character. He chided Ramírez for his attempted “historical reconstruction . . . of the psychological conditions of a whole class of women,” who must have exhibited “quite a range of variation.” Yet Lewis shared with Ramírez and others the view that Mexico’s colonial history had bred pathology, writing in his 1961 book *Children of Sánchez* that the culture of poverty was a response to colonialism (as well as contemporary capitalism).²⁷

This, then, was the context that shaped Lewis’s initial formulation of the culture of poverty. If Lewis rejected the overgeneralizing nature of a U.S. academic approach based on culture and personality, he nevertheless asked similar questions: What was the relation of individuals to their cultures? How did cultures reproduce themselves through child rearing? Lewis also adopted aspects of both U.S. and Mexican national character studies. Despite deriding generalizations based on insufficient data, he sometimes slipped into generalizing language, calling his life histories “portraits of contemporary Mexican life.” Although each of the five families he studied was, in his words, “unique” and represented “a world of its own,” each also reflected “something of the changing Mexican culture.” Lewis was especially prone to adopting psychoanalytic analyses of Mexican machismo, considering it a prime example of a trait that reflected “national and class cultural values.” Specifically citing Mexican psychiatrists and their work on the “absent father,” Lewis followed Luján in arguing that Mexican men identified with the mother figure, the lower-status parent.²⁸

Lewis also adopted the Mexican view that ethnic and racial differences were dying out as the nation developed and left behind its colonial past. Echoing the characteristics that signaled ethnic and racial identity in Mexico’s 1930 census and Mexicans’ view of technological innovation as critical to modernization, Lewis wrote in *Five Families*: “More and more rural people sleep on beds instead of on the ground, wear shoes instead of huaraches or instead of going barefoot, use store-bought pants instead of the homemade white *calzones*, eat bread in addition to *tortillas*.”²⁹ The notion that national economic development would erase the backward cultural practices that were remnants of a colonial history, a

27. Oscar Lewis to Santiago Ramírez, 7 Apr. 1959, Oscar Lewis Papers, Santiago Ramírez folder, box 58. Oscar Lewis, *The Children of Sánchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family* (1961; New York: Vintage, 1963), xxv.

28. Lewis, *Five Families*, 5, 6, 16, 18. In making these arguments, Lewis drew on Santiago Ramírez and Ramón Parres, “Some Dynamic Patterns in the Organization of the Mexican Family,” *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* 3, no. 1 (June 1957): 18–21; and his correspondence with Luján, parts of which are reproduced in Rigdon, *Culture Facade*.

29. Lewis, *Five Families*, 7.

view Lewis acquired from Mexican scholars, likely encouraged Lewis to characterize the cultural differences he observed among the poor as a departure from national, and increasingly modern, norms.

Controversy Erupts in Mexico

Lewis was careful to call the cultural differences he observed among the poor a “subculture,” rather than a national “culture” of poverty. He was also careful to argue that the culture of poverty sprung from the colonial past and global capitalism rather than any contemporary failings of the Mexican nation. His references to national character nonetheless prompted certain Mexican readers to criticize Lewis for his imperialist affront to Mexico.

Negative reactions to Lewis’s work were muted at first. The Spanish version of *Five Families* caused little controversy when it appeared in Mexico in 1961, and Lewis’s first book on Tepoztlán was not published in Mexico until 1968.³⁰ But in the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution and the Bay of Pigs invasion, mounting U.S. involvement in Vietnam, and U.S. civil rights struggles, the 1964 publication of *Hijos de Sánchez* caused a furor. In the context of the long-standing and increasingly evident U.S. presence in Mexico, a group of conservative Mexican intellectuals reacted to Lewis’s work by articulating an anti-imperialist nationalism that foregrounded differences between Mexico and the United States. Other intellectuals rebutted that view. Picking up on Lewis’s contention that the culture of poverty was a worldwide phenomenon linked to capitalist development, they outlined a less nationalist position and stressed the need to recognize inequality in both North and South.

The controversy over *Hijos de Sánchez*—a book that used first-person narratives to chronicle the lives of Jesús Sánchez and his children—began six months after the publication of the Mexican edition. Luis Cataño Morlet, secretary general of the Society of Geography and Statistics and a former judge of the Mexico City Superior Court, criticized the book at a talk sponsored by the society. Cataño Morlet objected to the crude language of the narratives, the foregrounding of sexuality and literal dirt, and the unfavorable portrayals of police and state officials. Some parts of the book, particularly Manuel Sánchez’s statement that Mexico would be better off governed by a U.S. president, seemed so un-Mexican that Cataño Morlet assumed Lewis had fabricated them. Like Cataño Morlet, members of the audience at his talk were outraged that a for-

30. Arnaldo Orfila Reynal to Oscar Lewis, 17 Nov. 1961, Oscar Lewis Papers, Arnaldo Orfila Reynal folder, box 59.

eigner had published such an affront, and they urged the society to file charges before the courts. Several days later, the organization's leaders formally accused Lewis of the crime of "social dissolution." They asked Lewis's publisher, the state-funded Fondo de Cultura Económica, not to reprint the book. This action sparked a riotous debate on radio and television: some 583 articles appeared in the press in 43 days; a left-wing student forum at the Escuela de Economía drew between 700 and 1,500 spectators; and an event at the Ateneo Español held the audience for three and a half hours.³¹

Cataño Morlet and his supporters believed Lewis wanted to assert U.S. superiority over Mexico and that he had lied to do so. They claimed that the poor were less uncouth, the police less brutal, and the government less corrupt than Lewis had suggested.³² The critics emphasized tourism and the upcoming 1968 Mexico City Olympics, noting the harm the book would do to Mexico's economy and international image.³³ Although themselves right-wing and anti-Communist, they compared Lewis's actions to those of the United States in Vietnam, a violation of national sovereignty.³⁴ Cataño Morlet even stated that he would prefer the criticisms of a "Russian" to those of a "yanqui."³⁵ Critics also likened Lewis's tape-recording of interviews to espionage, accusing the anthropologist of being an FBI agent—an extreme irony given the FBI's continuing investigation of Lewis for his presumed anti-U.S., Communist sympathies.³⁶ These critics took Lewis's book as a description of Mexico rather than

31. Lewis's collection of reviews, which forms the basis of my discussion below, can be found in Oscar Lewis Papers, *Children of Sánchez* Mexican Reviews folder, box 2. See "Los escritores y el periodismo defienden el derecho a la libertad de expresión," *La Gaceta: Publicación del Fondo de Cultura Económica*, Mar. 1965; "Más polémicas por el libro de Lewis," *Excelsior*, 12 Feb. 1965; "Agria disputa en la mesa redonda sobre la obra Los Hijos de Sánchez," *El Día*, 5 Mar. 1965; "Censuras, elogios y risas, en una reunión sobre 'Los Hijos de Sánchez,'" *Excelsior*, 14 Mar. 1965.

32. "Los Hijos de Sánchez han sido," *Novedades*, 22 Feb. 1965, p. 10.

33. "Texto de la denuncia de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística sobre el libro de Oscar Lewis," *El Día*, 12 Feb. 1965; "Censuras, elogios y risas."

34. On Vietnam, "Intelectuales y editores opinan sobre la denuncia en torno al libro de Lewis," *El Día*, 13 Feb. 1965; "Agria disputa."

35. "Más polémicas."

36. "Texto de la denuncia"; "Comentarios al libro Los hijos de Sánchez," *El Día*, 17 Feb. 1965; "Sorpresa por la acusación contra el escritor O. Lewis," *El Universal Gráfico*, 18 Feb. 1964, p. 18; "Que Lewis era un agente de la F.B.I.," *ABC*, 20 Feb. 1965, p. 3; "Reitera la Sociedad de Geografía los cargos al escritor Oscar Lewis," 20 Feb. 1965. David H. Price, *Threatening Anthropology: McCarthyism and the FBI's Surveillance of Activist Anthropologists* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2004), 237–54.

as a denunciation of poverty. They viewed Lewis as representing U.S. national interests and, labeling his book imperialist, they created a triumphalist Mexican nationalism that did not admit criticism—at least not by foreigners.

Mexican opponents of the society's position included prominent intellectuals such as Rosario Castellanos, Carlos Fuentes, and Carlos Monsiváis and other notable social scientists and psychoanalysts. These opponents did not so much defend Lewis as argue that Mexico's problems had to be acknowledged. They also pointed out that Mexican authors had previously questioned the revolution's unfulfilled promises.³⁷ One scathing parody was Monsiváis's mock film script of *Hijos*, depicting Cataño Morlet's Mexico: a world of flawless poor people and of sensitive and generous government, where the teetotaling, chaste Sánchezes drank soda water, played golf, and spoke perfect Castilian. Workers could afford Paris vacations, and people praised the police and encountered courteous, efficient bureaucrats.³⁸ In other publications, psychoanalysts probed the "defense mechanisms" that made upper-class Mexicans deny their country's problems, implying that poverty was a painful and repressed aspect of the Mexican national Self. Still other opponents of the society equated its actions with racial, political, and religious intolerance, calling its members "*macartistas*" (little McCarthyites), Inquisitors, and Ku Klux Klansmen who perpetrated "lynchings" and "witch hunts."³⁹ These rebuttals chastised the society for denying class inequality, an attitude they portrayed as aggravating discrimination within the nation. They created a picture of a Mexico divided by class and cultural differences. Moreover, by equating the society's denial of class difference with anti-Communism, religious intolerance, and racial discrimination, they equated injustices across a variety of national contexts and even across time. Furthermore, they recognized that inequality had cultural as well as economic dimensions. This group of intellectuals characterized Lewis's detractors as jingoistic ("*patrioteros*"). Poverty was a universal problem, they insisted, so com-

37. "Nuevas opiniones en torno a la denuncia"; Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, "¿El estudio de la pobreza es ciencia subversiva?" *Mañana*, 6 Mar. 1965, p. 5; "¿Es falso el México que vio Oscar Lewis en Los hijos de Sánchez? América, ante la maldita sociología," *¡Siempre!* ca. 24 Mar. 1965.

38. Carlos Monsiváis, "Vástagos del decoro," n.p., 10 Mar. 1965.

39. "Hablan Flores Olea y Fuentes sobre la denuncia contra Oscar Lewis," *El Día*, 15 Feb. 1965. Francisco López Cámara, "Los hijos de Sánchez ante la Inquisición," n.p., n.d.; "Santo remedio," *Ovaciones*, 21 Feb. 1965. "¿Linchamos a los hijos de Sánchez?" *Siempre*, 10 Mar. 1965. The term "witch hunt" is used in "¿Vamos a cazar brujas?" *Siempre*, 10 Mar. 1964, p. 33.

passion, concern, and activism should cross national borders.⁴⁰ Lewis himself observed that U.S. readers had responded to his work with great sympathy for Mexico, not disdain or imperial hubris.⁴¹

Opponents of the society did not deny the power of the United States or the privileges of its citizens. Many pointed to poverty in the United States, asking why Lewis did not look closer to home. Others suggested that his work demanded consideration of broader North–South inequalities. Foundation grants had allowed Lewis to study Mexico; Mexican social scientists were not so fortunate. In a Mexican mock ethnography, anthropologist “Luis Oscar Sánchez” portrayed “*los hijos de Jones*,” a wealthy U.S. family, highlighting how vices operated across social classes and national boundaries. The Joneses were frivolous, apathetic, and often drunk. Father Jones told the Mexican anthropologist: “I’ve heard that *south of the border* you handle all this much better. You have one party that always wins and you know the results beforehand; you don’t waste time with *handshakin* and *baby-kissin*, TV debates and electronic equipment Here in New York . . . there’s no unity. There’s no *leadership*. I imagine things are different in Mexico. I might even dare suggest that we have a Mexican President here in the United States. . . .”⁴² Beyond emphasizing widespread portrayals of the United States as wealthy and Mexico as poor, the parody suggested that vice existed in the United States and among the rich and was not a matter of nationality and/or class. And it brought to light the inequalities that made it impossible for Mexicans to study the United States or for the poor to study the rich. Recognizing these inequalities, Lewis told Mexican collaborators that it was “high time some Mexican anthropologist came up to study our slums, our Negro problem, our migrant workers, etc. etc. I would personally help such a scholar get a grant from a Foundation.”⁴³

In the Mexican debate on the culture of poverty, then, a triumphalist nationalism that posited a united, homogeneous Mexican nation confronted a more cosmopolitan approach to poverty, one that acknowledged both the privileges that allowed U.S. scholars to study Mexico, and difference and inequality

40. “Los hermanos de Sánchez,” *El Día*, 15 Feb. 1965. Rosario Castellanos, “Intelectuales y editores opinan sobre la denuncia en torno al libro de Lewis,” *El Día*, 13 Feb. 1965.

41. See, for instance, the sources cited in footnote 48 below.

42. “Los hijos de Jones,” *Mañana*, 6 Mar. 1965. Italicized terms were boldface in the original.

43. Oscar Lewis to Julio de la Fuente, 24 Oct. 1961, Oscar Lewis Papers, Julio de la Fuente folder, box 55.

within Mexico. Lewis's right-wing critics defined Mexico in opposition to the United States, using comparison to deflect sustained attention to the Mexican national Self. By contrast, left-wing opponents of the society's position assumed that the problem of poverty required a political solution, and they used the debate to expose the ruling party's lack of attention to poverty.

Participants in Mexico's debate on the culture of poverty alluded, often obliquely, to the racial coordinates of poverty. José Domingo Lavín, the society's president, associated race and the culture of the poor with Mexicanness, declaring that *Hijos* showed the "moral, economic, and cultural level" of Mexico as inferior to "African tribes." One author opposing the society invoked colonialism to explain a variety of persisting racial, cultural, and economic differences: conquest had created in Mexican society deep rifts between "*pelados*" (impoverished rural migrants to Mexico City) and decent people, black and white, the poor and those with resources adequate for survival. A journalist found the "real" Jesús Sánchez; he described him as "short, dark [*moreno*], and with indigenous characteristics [*rasgos*]."⁴⁴ These muted expressions likely reflected views on poverty that were more stridently racial and racist than mainstream Mexican public discourse.

In the public debate, however, neither side saw poverty and its presumed cultural manifestations as either so inherited or so entrenched that they could not be addressed by state policies, and neither saw the causes of or the solutions to poverty as lying with the poor. Mexican psychoanalysts, who believed in the historically embedded nature of Mexican racial-national character, counseled that the negative effects of poverty might be harder to root out than many admitted.⁴⁵ But the central questions in Mexico's debate were not about whether the government could address poverty or how. Rather, debate circled around how Mexicans would come to terms with U.S.-Mexican cultural and economic proximity, and how that might—or might not—cloud Mexicans' attempts to understand their country, its inhabitants, and their problems. The central issue was whether Mexico could defend its sovereignty and dignity and at the same time recognize poverty and difference. By contrast, participants in U.S. debates

44. "Reitera la Sociedad de Geografía los cargos al escritor Oscar Lewis," *Excelsior*, 20 Feb. 1965. Fernando Benítez, "El drama nacional de los hijos de Sánchez," *Suplemento de Siempre*, 10 Mar. 1965. "¡Los hijos de Sánchez han sido localizados!" *Novedades*, 22 Feb. 1965.

45. Francisco González Pineda, cited in "Debate en la tribuna de la juventud," *La Gaceta: Publicación del Fondo de Cultura Económica* 12, no. 127 (Mar. 1965); González Pineda in "Censuras, elogios y risas."

would eventually come to equate poverty with race and an entrenched culture that presumably could not be addressed by state policy.

Readers Respond

Cataño Morlet and his supporters feared readers of Lewis's work would use it to affirm national differences and U.S. superiority. But, as Lewis suggested, his vivid, first-person narratives prompted many U.S. as well as Mexican readers to reflect on poverty and racism in the United States and to think about U.S. responsibilities toward Mexico. Readers of Lewis's books drew parallels between Mexico and the United States and between different forms of class inequality and racial discrimination. For instance, letters from readers to Lewis alluded to the Sánchez and Castro families featured in *Five Families* and to Lewis's *Children of Sánchez*. Phil Rude of Guanajuato, Mexico, wrote: "I wonder how does the 'poor white trash' of the United States 'live?' Has anyone studied the 'Red-neck?' The skidrow family of the urban poor? How about male hypergamy in the U.S.A.? Would the picture be like the Castros? I think there is good reason to believe that the people of the U.S.A. do not even know their own 'Children of Sanders.' And I don't mean the negro." Kyle Myer, an eighteen-year-old from Ohio, proposed that Lewis "further the awareness of the 'culture of poverty' [by publishing] . . . a similar personal narrative of a ghetto family in Watts or Harlem, or of a transplanted Appalachian family in Chicago or in Kentucky." And Porfirio Lemus Mendoza, a Mexican, wrote: "Well Mr. Lewis, haven't you stopped to think that charity starts at home? You are the richest country in the world, you boast about your riches . . . Professor: I think you have visited Texas, Arizona, California, and many other States in your country where there is more hunger and misery than we Latin Americans have."⁴⁶

Rude and Lemus reasserted national difference when they countered the notion that Mexico was inferior to the United States with the suggestion that the United States was more depraved and perhaps had greater poverty than Mexico. But we can also read in these letters a lack of firm distinction between Mexico and the United States. Myers and Lemus marked off geographical differences within the United States, and Lemus mentioned "Texas, Arizona, California," parts of the United States that were more Mexican and, like Mexico, more "Indian." Kyle and Rude singled out black poverty as a uniquely U.S. problem

46. Phil Rude to Oscar Lewis, 2 Sept. 1964; Kyle Myer to Oscar Lewis, 7 Nov. 1968; and Porfirio Lemus Mendoza to Oscar Lewis, 7 Oct. 1966, all in Oscar Lewis Papers, Fan Mail c. 1962–1970 folder, box 56.

even as they posited equivalences among U.S. blacks, impoverished whites in the United States, and the Mexican poor.

Some readers who wrote to Lewis warned that his books might lead U.S. readers to view Mexicans, or the Puerto Rican families featured in Lewis's 1966 *La Vida*, as Other. They believed, as Lewis's Mexican critics had, that Lewis's books would be understood as representing all Mexicans or all Puerto Ricans and that the negative aspects of his subjects' lives that Lewis described would overshadow their humanity and warmth.⁴⁷ But most U.S. readers expressed a deep compassion for Lewis's subjects. A group of Indiana junior high school students wrote: "[We have] read about the Gomez and Martinez families and their problems and we have an idea for them to earn more money." Reverend Anthony di Russo wrote from a Colorado monastery that he wanted to send money, shoes, and clothes. Several readers asked to work with Lewis and meet real "Sanchez's."⁴⁸ In some cases, solidarity veered into paternalism. Some readers were subtly judgmental. Quite a few linked Lewis's account to their own, often sensational, travel and study experiences.⁴⁹ Still, for every representation of Mexico or Puerto Rico as distant and exotic, there was an expression of deep empathy.

Lewis's 1964 book *Pedro Martínez* recounted the life of a Tepoztlán peasant who fought in the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Reviews of that book characterized the Mexican peasant experience as alien for U.S. readers, and reviewers alluded frequently to the Cold War and U.S. foreign (rather than domestic) policy. One reviewer called *Pedro Martínez* "a superb short course and textbook on the Twentieth Century's revolutionary man." Though according to the reviewer the book was of no use in understanding a U.S. "hoe hand," it could provide "insight into the mind of the peasant embroiled in the upheavals of Cuba, Viet Nam, Laos, and nobody wants to think of how many more areas in the next 20 years." This author, like Lewis's Mexican critics, viewed Lewis's work on the peasantry through the optic of imperial conflict, stressing conflict

47. Oscar Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty — San Juan and New York* (New York: Random House, 1966). Wm. Walter Duncan to Mr. John Barkham, 23 Sept. 1966, Oscar Lewis Papers, Fan Mail 1966–1969 folder, box 56; Pedro A. Perez Jr. to Oscar Lewis, 7 Dec. 1966, Oscar Lewis Papers, Fan mail 1962–1970 folder, box 56.

48. Sixth Grade Class of Jimtown Junior High School to Oscar Lewis, 7 Jan. 1971, Oscar Lewis Papers, Fan Mail: Posthumous 1970–1976 folder, box 56. Rev. Anthony di Russo to Oscar Lewis, n.d., Oscar Lewis Papers, Fan Mail c. 1962–1970 folder, box 56.

49. Patricia R. Wofford to Oscar Lewis, 13 Mar. 1972, Oscar Lewis Papers, Fan Mail: Posthumous 1970–1976 folder, box 56; Dr. Solomon Goldhirsch to Oscar Lewis, 19 Dec. 1962, Oscar Lewis Papers, Fan Mail c. 1962–1970 folder, box 56.

and national difference, exacerbated by Cold War struggle. But *Children of Sánchez*, the same review noted, offered a worthwhile “guide through the mind of Harlem man.”⁵⁰

More generally, U.S. readers of Lewis’s books set in urban areas related Lewis’s reportage to more proximate settings. Educators and welfare workers connected Lewis’s books to their experiences with poor Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the United States.⁵¹ One reader characterized the War on Poverty as a domestic equivalent of the Alliance for Progress.⁵² In response, perhaps, to such comments and to the Mexican debate around his work, Lewis considered doing research on U.S. African American migration to northern cities.⁵³ He ended up studying Puerto Ricans. His final work, on Cuba, challenged the view that the socialist world was so different from the capitalist that it could not be studied by asking similar questions.⁵⁴

The Eclipse of Mexico and the Rise of U.S. Black Poverty as Problem

Lewis’s books intervened in a broader U.S. discussion of poverty that had begun to simmer with the publication in 1958 of John Kenneth Galbraith’s *Affluent Society*. A 1959 *Commentary* article by Michael Harrington followed, presumably inspired by Lewis’s *Five Families*. In 1960, James Agee and Walker Evan’s

50. Oscar Lewis, *Pedro Martínez: A Mexican Peasant and His Family* (New York: Random House, 1964). *Delta Democrat*, 21 June 1964, Oscar Lewis Papers, Reviews of Pedro Martinez American Reviews folder, box 20. See also “Father of a Rural Mexican Family Interviewed by an Anthropologist,” *New Haven Register*, n.d., Oscar Lewis Papers, Reviews of Pedro Martinez American Reviews folder, box 20; Robert E. Scott to Oscar Lewis, 9 May 1963, Pedro Martinez Correspondence with Readers folder, box 117.

51. Anna-Louise MacNeil to Oscar Lewis, 7 Dec. 1966; Marilyn Reis [?] to Oscar Lewis, 16 Mar. 1967; “The Culture of Poverty: A Review by Enid A. Larson, Pleasant Hill High School”; Dorothy Sue Burman to Oscar Lewis, 10 Feb. 1964; all in Oscar Lewis Papers, Fan Mail 1962–1970 folder, box 56.

52. Raymond W. Mack, review of *Pedro Martínez: A Mexican Peasant and His Family*, *Chicago Tribune*, 26 Apr. 1964, Oscar Lewis Papers, Reviews of Pedro Martinez American Reviews folder, box 20. The Alliance for Progress was a program of U.S. foreign assistance instituted in 1961. It sought collaboration between the United States and Latin American nations to reduce poverty and diminish the appeal of revolutionary social movements.

53. “Mito y realidad de la pobreza en la vida cotidiana del mexicano,” *¡Siempre!* 19 June 1963, p. iv, Oscar Lewis Papers, *Children of Sánchez* Mexican Reviews folder, box 2.

54. Oscar Lewis, Ruth M. Lewis, and Susan M. Rigdon, *Living the Revolution: An Oral History of Contemporary Cuba* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1977).

1941 book on sharecroppers, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, was reissued.⁵⁵ In this context, Lewis's subsequent books attracted a broad audience. He appeared on radio and television, and Italian film director Vittorio de Sica planned to make *Children of Sánchez* into a film. Lewis's 1966 book *La Vida* became a best seller and won a National Book Award.⁵⁶

The poverty debate had already come to a boil by 1963, when President John F. Kennedy, apparently influenced by a review of Harrington's *The Other America* (a popular 1962 book that expanded on his *Commentary* piece), instructed Walter Heller, then chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisors, to study the possibility of an antipoverty program.⁵⁷ Lewis's culture of poverty formulation thus entered the policy world indirectly, mediated by the work of U.S. scholars. This made it easy for politicians to ignore the Mexican context of the original work.

Although policy makers focused on the culture of poverty as a theoretical construct, attention to this aspect of Lewis's work was hardly inevitable. Few lay readers of Lewis's work had much to say about the introductions to his books, where the author laid out his theory of a culture of poverty, and even many scholars overlooked the theoretical formulation. In 1967, 16 international scholars commented in the journal *Current Anthropology* on Lewis's ideas and methods; their applicability to places such as Australia, India, or Africa; and the wisdom of using case studies to generalize. The scholars barely mentioned the concept of a culture of poverty.⁵⁸

55. John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958). Michael Harrington, "Our Fifty Million Poor: Forgotten Men of the Affluent Society," *Commentary* 28, no. 1 (July 1959): 19–27. James Agee and Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men: Three Tenant Families* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960). I have not found direct evidence that Harrington read Lewis. The connection is alleged in Edwin Eames and Judith Goode, "On Lewis' Culture of Poverty Concept," *Current Anthropology* 11, nos. 4–5 (Oct.–Dec. 1970): 479; Douglas Butterworth, "Oscar Lewis 1914–1970," *American Anthropologist* 74, no. 3 (June 1972): 747–57; Oscar Lewis to Richard Morse, 23 Nov. 1965, Oscar Lewis Papers, Richard Morse folder, box 56.

56. On the film project see Rigdon, *Culture Facade*, 149 n. 8.

57. Dwight MacDonald, "Our Invisible Poor," *New Yorker* 38, no. 48 (19 Jan. 1963): 82–132. Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1962). Nicholas Lemann mentions that Kennedy had read MacDonald; Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 130. See also Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), 82.

58. Review forum on *The Children of Sánchez*, Pedro Martínez, and *La Vida*, by Oscar Lewis, *Current Anthropology* 8, no. 5, pt. 1 (Dec. 1967): 480–500. See also Eames and Goode, "On Lewis' Culture of Poverty Concept," 479.

By contrast, the U.S. public intellectuals involved in the War on Poverty debates zeroed in on the culture of poverty. At the same time, as U.S. African American mobilizations escalated and white liberal fear grew, intellectuals such as Harrington and especially Moynihan narrowed the focus of debate to blacks in the United States and portrayed racial differences as particularly tenacious. They transformed the debate from one in which race was embedded in discussions of development, material culture, history, and psyche into one that largely reduced poverty to race, saw race as a quasi-immutable form of embodied inequality grounded in “culture” and family, and equated “race” with “black.” The War on Poverty became a war on the poverty of the black ghettos.⁵⁹

That shift was related to policy makers’ exclusive concern with the United States. Ignoring Lewis’s arguments about the worldwide reach of capitalist modernization, policy makers took a debate in which ideas about transnational processes had coexisted with ideas about national and subnational differences and made it into one that foregrounded the exceptional and exemplary nature of the United States. By reducing backwardness and poverty in the United States to a (noneconomic) question of race and culture, U.S. exceptionalism was made compatible with modernization theory, which posited that countries were fundamentally similar in economic terms. Persistent poverty that could not be erased by economic progress or overcome by individual effort was equated with culture and inheritance, and ultimately with a blackness seen as inherent and essential. The idea that capitalist development would erase poverty was affirmed along with the exceptional economic power of the United States.

In Michael Harrington’s influential work, which first translated Lewis’s concepts for application in the United States, poverty was “*not* primarily racial.”⁶⁰ It afflicted not only minorities but also the elderly, the unemployed, the mentally and physically ill, and residents of Appalachia or urban ghettos. Still, Harrington called the marginalization of the poor “segregation” and portrayed black poverty as both emblematic and exceptionally severe, “the most institutionalized poverty in the United States, the most vicious of the vicious circles.” “In a sense,” Harrington wrote, “the Negro is classically the ‘other’ American.” For Harrington, poverty was *incorporated*—made manifest in body

59. Lemann, *Promised Land*, 156–57; Katz, *Undeserving Poor*, esp. 81–90; Alice O’Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001); James T. Patterson, *America’s Struggle against Poverty in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2000).

60. Harrington, “Our Fifty Million Poor,” 22 (emphasis in the original); Harrington, *Other America*, 20.

and mind. The outside environment, including diet, unsanitary living conditions, and lack of medical attention, affected the individual psyche and soma: "Poverty twists and deforms the spirit," he wrote.⁶¹ Following Galbraith, Harrington distinguished individual and incidental "case" poverty, which might be transient, from the "insular," or clustered, poverty that produced durable, cultural traits. "Disease, alcoholism, low IQ's, these express a whole way of life. They are, in the main, the effects of an environment, not the biographies of unlucky individuals," he asserted.⁶² Harrington thus envisioned environment as affecting culture and read life histories such as those Lewis had compiled as embodied representations of a culture, not of individual idiosyncrasy.

Harrington followed Lewis in arguing that the poor had a distinct, "alien" culture that separated them from mainstream society, equating the "vicious cycle" of black poverty (Gunnar Myrdal's phrase) with Lewis's notion of culture.⁶³ "There is . . . a language of the poor, a psychology of the poor, a world view of the poor," Harrington claimed. Blacks ate, drank, and danced differently from the rest of America. Poverty was persistent, Harrington also stressed, as it was passed down from parent to child. Negroes constituted a "hereditary poor."⁶⁴

Following the postwar orthodoxy that denied the importance of biological race, Harrington was quick to point out that Negro poverty was caused by neither natural nor genetic factors. And it was not simply about skin color. Harrington wrote: "The Negro is poor because he is black; that is obvious enough. But, perhaps more importantly, the Negro is black because he is poor." But even in rejecting biologically determinist arguments, Harrington portrayed the culture of poverty as so deeply embedded, so long-standing, and so profoundly affecting the body and spirit that it could not be changed without a massive program of outside help. With their will bent, the poor needed state programs or labor unions to help them mount the "escalator of social mobility."⁶⁵

These arguments about the causes of entrenched poverty and its remedies became central to the debates about President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Pov-

61. Harrington, *Other America*, quotations on 4, 71–72, 2. See also p. 78.

62. On Galbraith's insular poverty see MacDonald, "Our Invisible Poor"; O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge*, 146–50. Harrington, *The Other America*, 11.

63. Harrington, "Our Fifty Million Poor," 25. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), 78, cited in Herbert J. Gans, *People, Plans, and Policies: Essays on Poverty, Racism, and Other National Urban Problems* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1991), 336.

64. Harrington, *Other America*, 17, 67.

65. Ibid., 72. Harrington, "Our Fifty Million Poor," 25.

erty. Harrington and Lewis both participated in programmatic planning meetings held by Sargent Shriver, appointed by President Johnson to lead the War on Poverty, and the scholars' language permeated policy documents.⁶⁶ A 1963 memorandum of the president's Council of Economic Advisors had claimed: "The vicious cycle, in which poverty breeds poverty, occurs through time, and transmits its effects from one generation to another." The belief that the culture of poverty formulation actually shaped the War on Poverty would follow. The anthropologist Charles Valentine, a staunch critic of Moynihan and Lewis, would write in 1968 that "the 'war on poverty' was mainly aimed at changing the 'culture of poverty' rather than altering the conditions of being poor" (a formulation that, in contrast to Harrington, figured culture and environment as separate realms). Lewis disagreed. After lengthy talks with the architects of the War on Poverty, he was certain that they "had only the vaguest conception of the difference between poverty and the subculture of poverty." The War on Poverty, Lewis said, was "correctly directed at economic poverty and not at the subculture of poverty."⁶⁷

The work of Harrington and Lewis nonetheless put discussion of culture at the center of policy debates about poverty. Lewis said Harrington and others misinterpreted him by equating poverty and the culture of poverty. Yet for the subset of the poor who lived in a culture of poverty, Lewis did counsel that "basic changes in the attitudes and value systems of the poor must go hand in hand with improvements in the material conditions of living."⁶⁸ Increasingly, Lewis, like Harrington, depicted cultural poverty as responding only very slowly to environmental changes such as economic reform, therapy, interventions by social workers, or government programs. In the work of Lewis and especially Harrington, then, "culture" took on the fixity previously attributed to biology. The use of the key word "inheritance," which had cultural and bio-

66. Lemann, *Promised Land*, 150–51.

67. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, ed., *On Understanding Poverty: Perspectives from the Social Sciences* (New York: Basic Books, 1968), 8, see also 85–87. Charles Valentine, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968), 155. Oscar Lewis, review of *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals*, by Charles Valentine, *Current Anthropology* 10, nos. 2–3 (Apr.–June 1969): 191.

68. In Latin America, Lewis argued, revolution would make social work interventions unnecessary. *Children of Sánchez*, xxx–xxxi. Oscar Lewis to Richard Morse, 23 Nov. 1965, Oscar Lewis Papers, Richard Morse folder, box 56; Oscar Lewis to Herbert Gans, 23 Nov. 1966, Oscar Lewis Papers, Herbert Gans folder, box 56; Oscar Lewis, reply to reviews of *The Children of Sánchez*, *Pedro Martínez*, and *La Vida*, *Current Anthropology* 8, no. 5 (Dec. 1967): 499; Oscar Lewis, review of *Culture and Poverty*, 191.

logical valences, and the insistence on the family as a site of reproduction, eased the shift from biology to culture and from the culture of poverty to culturally defined race differences. Still, both Lewis and Harrington saw the culture of poverty as afflicting a variety of racially, culturally, and geographically defined groups (even as they at times associated the culture of poverty with blackness).

Poverty Internalized: History, Family, and the U.S. Black Psyche

The view of poverty as a deep-seated way of life was reinforced by ideas about the historically engrained nature of gendered cultural and psychic differences. Lewis's work on Mexico drew on the Mexican tradition that traced the psychic effects of race and class inequalities to Spanish colonialism. Although Lewis saw inequalities as deeply rooted in history, he believed they could be overturned by the nationalist anti-imperialism of the triumphant Mexican Revolution. He also wrote that the culture of poverty was a response to contemporary economic and political dislocations caused by capitalist modernization and urbanization.⁶⁹ In *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963), Moynihan and coauthor Nathan Glazer similarly portrayed U.S. Negro problems as the result both of the deeply rooted legacy of slavery and of recent social processes such as urbanization and migration. But in making the former argument, they drew from Stanley Elkins's controversial *Slavery* (1958), which argued that the intransigent form of slavery practiced in the United States had broken the will of the slaves and created a psychically deformed male "Sambo" unable to revolt. This personality was, for Elkins, patterned and persistent, a "type," akin to a national character, that would not be "reversed overnight."⁷⁰

Glazer, who had read Lewis's *Children of Sánchez* as an editor for Random House, wrote an introduction to a new edition of Elkins's book published the same year as *Beyond the Melting Pot*. Moynihan in turn drew on that introduction in his report on the Negro family. According to the Moynihan report (a document initially drafted for the Department of Labor), a stunted, childlike, docile male personality rooted in slavery explained black men's contemporary

69. Lewis, *Children of Sánchez*, xxv; Oscar Lewis to Joseph Monserrat, 29 Oct. 1965, Oscar Lewis Papers, Joseph Monserrat folder, box 58.

70. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1963), 52. See also Rainwater and Yancey, *Moynihan Report*, 27, 250, 318, 468. Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968), 83, 126–33, 228–29, 241–42, quotations on 228, 133.

emasculatation. Moynihan's analysis, like Elkins's, resonated with anticolonial discussions about damaged masculinity. It also drew from a postwar U.S. social science that had focused on the psychic damage that school segregation caused black children. But children were deemed plastic and educable in contrast to the adult male "Sambo," and the Moynihan report confirmed the intractability of the problems faced by black families.⁷¹

Moynihan's and Lewis's work appeared in the wake of the birth control pill, Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* (1963), the intensification of Cold War conflicts around gender, and anticolonial movements' attention to masculinity. In this context, both authors underscored the importance of women and child rearing to the culture of poverty.⁷² But though the parallel emphases on women's reproductive and sexual conduct suggested associations between the two works, Moynihan drew not on Lewis but on E. Franklin Frazier's analysis of family disorganization, which again emphasized history as well as gender.⁷³ Frazier believed that urban, black, female-headed families were less disciplined and united in northern cities, where community institutions were weak, and he attributed this in part to slavery's weakening of the Negro family. Moynihan used Frazier to argue that black poverty was a problem based in family dynamics with deep historical roots. More than Lewis, who had originally pinpointed the family because it mediated between the individual and the larger society, Moynihan suggested that nonnormative family arrangements were a kind of cultural bedrock that *caused* poverty.⁷⁴

71. On Glazer's reading of Lewis's manuscript, David Riesman to Oscar Lewis, 26 Jan. 1961, Oscar Lewis Papers, David Riesman folder, box 60. Scott, *Contempt and Pity*, 150–56. Herman, *Romance of American Psychology*.

72. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963). Elaine Tyler May, "Explosive America: Sex, Women, and the Bomb," in *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War*, ed. Lary May (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1989), 154–70. Nathan Glazer, foreword to *The Negro Family in the United States*, by Edward Franklin Frazier (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1966), xi–xii. "American Poverty in the Mid-Sixties," special issue, *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 26, no. 4 (Nov. 1964).

73. For instance, Moynihan and Lewis are connected in Seymour Parker and Robert J. Kleiner, "The Culture of Poverty: An Adjustive Dimension," *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 3 (June 1970): 516–27.

74. Edward Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, rev. ed. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968). On Frazier see Jonathan Scott Holloway, *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919–1941* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2002); Tony Platt, "E. Franklin Frazier and Daniel Patrick Moynihan: Setting the Record Straight," *Crime, Law, and Social Change* 11, no. 3 (Sept. 1987): 265–77; Herman, *Romance of American Psychology*, 188–90.

The issues of gender, history, and psyche so evident in Moynihan's report on the Negro family were also evident at a conference on "The Negro American" sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS) in 1965. The conference, held two months after Moynihan's report was released but before it became public in the fall of 1965, convened leading academics, most of them white, including Moynihan (but not Lewis, who was present with Moynihan at similar events).⁷⁵ The proceedings reveal how questions about the severity and depth of poverty, its psychic manifestations, and its gendered and cultural nature intersected with understandings of blackness in the United States. They also reveal a diversity of opinion regarding the relation of culture, poverty, psyche, and blackness, which would soon narrow.

Conference participants debated whether, following the passage of civil rights legislation, economic changes alone could solve Negroes' remaining problems. Three strands of conversation addressed this issue. The first attempted to clarify the distinct problems of different social strata of blacks, and the diverse strategies needed to address those problems.⁷⁶ This strand flowed into a second one about the black poor, labeled "the other Negro Americans." Some participants focused on aspects of Negro life that were potentially unresponsive to a jobs program or economic improvements. Responding no doubt to the increased attention to women and the family that second-wave feminism prompted, they focused on the deficient families of the Negro poor, which they compared to a normative, middle-class, patriarchal family. Edwin C. Berry, executive director of the Chicago Urban League, spoke of "a very strong matriarchal situation in the Negro community" and the "cultural castration" of the Negro male, who had been denied the resources to care properly for his family. Moynihan

75. Subsequent events included a yearlong American Academy of Arts and Sciences seminar on Negroes and poverty that met during 1966–67; and sessions at the American Anthropological Association. There were also two lengthy debates in *Current Anthropology*. See Eleanor Burke Leacock, *The Culture of Poverty: A Critique* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), 7; Thomas McCorkle to Lee Rainwater, 17 May 1963, Oscar Lewis Papers, Lee Rainwater folder, box 58. Review forum on *The Children of Sánchez*, Pedro Martínez, and *La Vida*, by Oscar Lewis, *Current Anthropology* 8, no. 5, pt. 1 (Dec. 1967): 480–500; and review forum on *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals*, by Charles Valentine, *Current Anthropology* 10, nos. 2–3 (Apr.–June 1969): 181–201. Moynihan, *On Understanding Poverty*; and James L. Sundquist, ed., *On Fighting Poverty: Perspectives from Experience* (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

76. "Transcript of the American Academy Conference on the Negro American—May 14–15, 1965," *Daedalus* (Winter 1966): 287–441, esp. 311. Moynihan, "Negro Family," followed this line, noting that middle-class black families did not manifest the pathologies he described.

stressed, as in his report, the alleged overemployment of Negro women relative to Negro men (in comparison, of course, to white labor force participation). Contesting this position, Peter H. Rossi, director of the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center, argued that the children of mothers who worked outside the home were no different from those of housewives, and that a misplaced emphasis on the absence of a father derived from a "middle-class Freud-saturated viewpoint." Berry replied that he wanted to "help the family structure mean what it is supposed to mean," according to precisely that middle-class viewpoint, because the rules Negroes had to follow were "white middle-class rules." "Family" thus came to stand for cultural, racial difference. Black family disorganization was, for Moynihan, "the most important discontinuity between the white world and the Negro world."⁷⁷ This notion was reinforced by the idea that it was through women's socialization of children that the cultural pathologies of poverty were passed down. Participants thus equated the male-headed family with "middle-class" and "white," in the process papering over class differences within the black community, which had been clearly recognized earlier in the debate.

The third, closely related strand of debate explored whether poverty had a psychic and cultural "hard core" that would not respond to economic incentive. Were pathologies simply a "transitional" phase prompted by massive black migration to northern cities? Or were they a more historically and culturally engrained phenomenon? These discussions culminated in a consideration of whether Negroes carried a unique "stigma," and, if so, if it persisted or varied over a lifetime. Psychiatrist Robert Coles argued for a situational view of culture and psyche and body, suggesting the importance of looking at changes over a life span, which did not necessarily correspond to "childhood memories."⁷⁸ Moynihan argued against attributing black problems to historical roots: "If we could, for heaven's sake, find something besides the inheritance from slavery," he pleaded. Public policies could readily respond to poverty caused by new circumstances, he said, but could not overturn deep historical legacies.

Despite Moynihan's recognition of the problematic nature of historical arguments, he had made precisely that type of argument in his report. And in a speech he coauthored and that President Johnson delivered at Howard University less than a month after the AAAS conference, Moynihan and his coauthor characterized the problems faced by blacks as the "scars of centuries": a cultur-

77. "Transcript of the American Academy Conference on the Negro American," 291, 299, 301.

78. *Ibid.*, 334, 349.

ally engrained historical legacy embedded in the psyche, leading to a recalcitrant form of difference. The speech, which outlined the president's strategies for addressing the inequities faced by African Americans in the wake of civil rights legislation, proposed enhanced access to jobs, housing, health care, and social programs. But it also characterized blacks as "another nation . . . crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope . . . [trapped in] inherited, gateless poverty." Efforts to help blacks were hampered by "the devastating heritage of long years of slavery; and a century of oppression, hatred, and injustice."⁷⁹ This historical legacy had so deformed the bodies and souls of blacks as to create a distinct race—segregated, visibly different, with its own way of life. Moynihan and Johnson believed public policy could change this situation. But increasingly they confronted the criticism that because they focused on history, personality, and family inheritance they were advocating individual solutions, such as psychotherapy, rather than structural, economic solutions. Critics focused on an environment they deemed separate from history and from history's effects on the individual.

Blackness and U.S. Exceptionalism

It is ironic that, given the Pan-American existence of racial slavery, Johnson's speech invoked it to underscore the notion that the United States was not just different but also exceptional. The speech linked both entrenched racism against blacks and the nation's presumed ability to overcome that legacy to the unique place of the United States in the world. Offering the United States as a model for other countries, Johnson papered over influences *on* the United States.⁸⁰ In his report, Moynihan had responded to perceived foreign policy imperatives, writing on the first page that strife at home could divide peoples of different races around the globe, and vice versa. In the then-current context of decolonization, he suggested, the peaceful assimilation of blacks in the United States might also be an important "sign of what can, or must, happen in the world at large." President Johnson's Howard speech opened similarly:

Our earth is the home of revolution. In every corner of every continent men charged with hope contend with ancient ways in the pursuit of

79. Rainwater and Yancey, *Moynihan Report*, quotations on 24, 125, 126, 128.

80. On race and U.S. foreign policy see Mary Dudziak, *Cold War, Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000); Brenda Gayle Plummer, ed., *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945–1988* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2003).

justice. . . . Our enemies may occasionally seize the day of change. But it is the banner of our revolution they take. And our own future is linked to this process of swift and turbulent change in many lands in the world. But nothing in any country touches us more profoundly, nothing is more freighted with meaning for our own destiny, than the revolution of the Negro American.⁸¹

In a perverse twist, revolutions abroad and foreign pressures on the United States to end discrimination against African Americans—including those expressed in Mexico's culture of poverty debates—were reinterpreted as responding to the United States and *its* revolution.

Moynihan's report also cited a question from Glazer's introduction to Elkins's book: "Why was American slavery the most awful the world has ever known?" Moynihan, like Elkins, emphasized differences between the United States and Latin America, highlighting the presumably more severe form of slavery in the United States and the consequent severity of racial discrimination.⁸² Building on this assumption, they portrayed black poverty in the United States as resulting not from the contemporary failings of the economic system but from an unavoidable past that had generated psychic pathologies and pathological cultures. Unequal development and its attendant economic problems were issues faced by "Third World" Latin American countries with presumably different pasts, which had left legacies of economic backwardness and racial mobility.

At the AAAS conference, where social mobility was also a topic of discussion, Talcott Parsons had suggested (as had Glazer and Moynihan in *Beyond the Melting Pot*), that Negroes could follow the assimilationist path of immigrants to the United States. C. Vann Woodward opposed this view, pointing out that blacks had been in the United States far longer than other immigrants. And Harvard social psychologist Thomas Pettigrew argued that Negroes' "really special and particularly potent" situation was not comparable to that of immigrants.⁸³ Assertions about the uniqueness of the African American experience thus generated a debate about the relevance of comparison among U.S. ethnic and racial groups. The practice of comparison across national borders—the very practice that so vexed Mexicans—was not discussed, much less analyzed.

81. Moynihan, "Negro Family," 1. Rainwater and Yancey, *Moynihan Report*, 125.

82. Moynihan, "Negro Family," ix–x, quotation on ix. Elkins, *Slavery*, 63–80.

83. "Transcript of the American Academy Conference on the Negro American,"

The Mexican origins of the culture of poverty formulation were obliterated as scholars debated the unique history of the United States and of its black citizens. Latin America was invoked only to make starkly drawn comparisons that affirmed the racial and economic singularity of the United States.

The Debate Escalates

As Lee Rainwater and William Yancey have pointed out, the debate surrounding the Moynihan report and the culture of poverty heated up less because of the concepts used than because of the broader context within which they were read. The Moynihan report became public scant weeks before the Watts uprising, and press accounts seized on family dysfunction to explain escalating nationwide racial violence. As the views that would come to be associated with Black Power gained ground, questions of historical responsibility and agency came to the fore. The Johnson administration's increasing attention to the Vietnam War made black leaders skeptical about the government's commitment to implementing civil rights laws and enacting further reforms.⁸⁴

In this context, activists and political leaders reframed debates about family, economy, culture, and history in terms of the specific policies they presumably supported. Moynihan's report actually avoided policy recommendations. Some press reports of Johnson's Howard University speech implied that self-help solutions would be most effective, a point Glazer made explicitly in the 1963 work he coauthored with Moynihan. Other press reports called for a massive program of public aid. Moynihan himself sought to promote state policies that could reshape family life by providing employment opportunities for men and a family allowance. Affirmative action was on the Johnson administration agenda. After the Watts disturbance, however, the press sensationalized and simplified the Moynihan report, stressing male frustration and family dysfunction. In turn, civil rights leaders protested the report, which they now read as positing insurmountable, innate differences. Martin Luther King wondered if Negro problems were being "attributed to innate Negro weakness and used to justify neglect and rationalize oppression." Participants in a church-sponsored Detroit civil rights conference said the Moynihan report implied not only that "the Negro family had degenerated . . . [but] that the American Negro was, in fact . . . , somewhat less than human." In general, civil rights leaders feared Moynihan's focus on history would detract from efforts to address current conditions.⁸⁵

84. Rainwater and Yancey, *Moynihan Report*.

85. *Ibid.*, 53, 84–85, 134–36, 202, 214, 240, 244. Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, 53.

Amid escalating controversy, critics of the Moynihan report framed the factors perpetuating poverty as either internal to the black community (family organization and cultural values) or external (economy and environment). They portrayed the former set of factors as static or innate, the latter as fluid and the rightful target of government action; the former as entrenched cultures or deeply rooted stigma, the latter as the result of recent events. Explanations stressing the former, critics believed, implied that poverty would be surmounted through personal responsibility; explanations stressing the latter suggested government responsibility. Stressing the former was wrongheaded, stressing the latter was expedient. William Ryan, a Boston psychologist and civil rights activist, elaborated these distinctions in a widely read essay in which he coined the term "blaming the victim" to criticize Moynihan's approach. Unlike old-style racial ideologies, Ryan wrote, existing racial ideologies did not portray racial differences as genetic, intrinsic, or hereditary but as environmental and acquired. Moynihan and his ilk could thus "concentrate . . . on the defects of the victim, condemn the vague social and environmental stresses that produced the defect (some time ago), and ignore the continuing effect of victimizing social forces (right now)." This served to justify "a perverse form of social action" that would change "not society . . . but society's victim."⁸⁶

In a 1968 book that provided a comprehensive critique of Moynihan, Lewis, and Frazier, Marxist anthropologist Charles Valentine similarly stressed that the problems of black poverty were caused by external forces. "Both material resources and human events from external sources are ultimately prior to, and therefore separate from, the culture of any human collectivity." Countering Lewis's contention that family socialization transmitted culture, he noted that the "the distinct patterns of social life . . . [were] determined by structural conditions of the larger society beyond the control of low-income people." Valentine also viewed culture as rather static, in contrast to situational behaviors and structural forces subject to political intervention. This view supported his cultural relativist affirmation of a presumably distinct African American culture.⁸⁷

In sum, radicals who denied the pathologies of black family and culture questioned whether family and "internal" factors were most important. They did not question the framing of culture, psychology, and family as internal, private, and separate from the economic environment. Though most supported the reaffirmation of patriarchy, a project they shared with the liberal establish-

86. William Ryan, *Blaming the Victim*, rev. ed. (1971; New York: Vintage Books, 1976), 8.

87. Valentine, *Culture and Poverty*, quotations on 6, 129.

ment, they did not view the family as a legitimate object of direct political intervention.⁸⁸ Nor could they see the variety of ways in which family and culture were not just the products of an internalized, static history and environment but themselves sites of social conflict and change. Lewis himself struggled to combine analyses of culture, environment, and history, but he increasingly portrayed culture as autonomous and inert, embracing the terms in which his supporters and critics had recast his work. *Five Families* had not claimed that poverty was transmitted from generation to generation. Lewis first articulated that view in 1960. *La Vida*, drafted amid the Moynihan report controversy, included what became perhaps his most often-quoted passage:

The culture of poverty is not only an adaptation to a set of objective conditions of the larger society. Once it comes into existence it tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effects on the children. By the time slum children are age six or seven they have usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their lifetime.⁸⁹

Conclusion: Culture, Economy, and Nation

The broader approach to poverty manifested in Harrington's work, or to race manifested at the AAAS conference, thus turned into a simplified and polarized debate about the Negro poor. Harrington had related poverty to industrialization and urbanization. Lewis, like his Mexican colleagues, had tied racial, ethnic, and class inequalities to both colonialism and continuing capitalist underdevelopment. But Moynihan and other U.S. liberals did not see anything wrong with the economy overall. This assumption led them to frame poverty as a personal or cultural problem rather than a by-product of the capitalist economy. In general, the view that poverty was "insular" and restricted to well-defined groups facilitated the reduction of poverty to culture and the transit from culture to race. The ideas that cultural patterns and inheritance were persistent and that culture was embedded in the psyche and body echoed core elements of thinking about race, and such ideas facilitated the transit from class to race. The inability of Marxist critics such as Valentine to see gender, family, and reproduction as sites for intervention encouraged a view of family and cultural inheri-

88. This point is made by Herman, *Romance of American Psychology*, 204–5.

89. Oscar Lewis to Conrad Arensberg, 3 Nov. 1960, in Rigdon, *Culture Facade*, 224. Lewis, *La Vida*, xlv.

tance as static and separate from (if dependent on) politics and economy. U.S. left-wing critics of Lewis and Moynihan did not question the notion that these were distinct realms. They figured family relations and inheritance as natural, and stressed economic factors and capitalism as they underplayed the political importance of culture and family.

The reduction of class problems to race problems and the foregrounding of gender in intellectual discourse were, as I have suggested, responses to black militancy in the United States and to revolutionary and anticolonial movements in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Civil rights and black power mobilizations forced policy elites to recognize that race inequalities did not end with the end of legal segregation. The rise of feminist sentiment and the gendering of anticolonial struggle pushed gender to the fore. As the United States sought to show the world that it could overcome its most vexing national dilemma, it paradoxically reaffirmed that gendered race inequalities were part of the nation's unique history and offered capitalism to the world as a (nonracial, heteronormative) solution.

Mexicans configured the relations among history, biology, culture, and the economy to create a national identity different than that of the United States, one that continually made reference to Mexico's place in the world. Biotypologists believed that biology and the inscription of difference on the body were variable, formed by environment, and amenable to government action. Studying them was a necessary part of developing corrective government policies. For most Mexican intellectuals, the past both deeply affected the national psyche and could be left behind because it was colonial. In contrast to U.S. scholars, Mexicans saw economic conditions as a key aspect of their history. Despite seeing class divisions and material backwardness as a deep-seated colonialist legacy, Mexicans saw improvement as both necessary and possible, part of a national project that asserted itself against colonialism. This perspective on social change sprang from a country where popular and official memories of revolution were very much alive.

Over the years, Mexican scholars increasingly replaced a vocabulary of race and ethnicity with one of class. This allowed them to emphasize a shared identity for oppressed groups amid ethnic particularity and to subsume non-Indian ethnic minorities within an economically pragmatic indigenismo. Debate tended to shift away from biology, culture, and language and toward economic modernization and capitalism—the latter presumably universal processes. Whether economic changes should lead to assimilation or be reconciled with difference was perhaps the key question for Mexican indigenistas. In the 1960s, a new generation of Mexican scholars denounced its indigenista predecessors

for their presumably nationalist and assimilationist efforts to annihilate native lifeways.⁹⁰

Lewis saw his work as the collection of diverse cases of capitalist modernization, industrialization, and urbanization, and he continued to wonder how his ideas about a transnational culture of poverty could accommodate both national differences and individual idiosyncrasies. For Lewis, Mexico was not the Other that confirmed the economic and technical superiority of the United States but simply another case. This view was perhaps naive for a North American working at a time when the United States aggressively exported both modernization and modernization theory to the “underdeveloped” world. Lewis’s detractors (and even some supporters) in Mexico and Puerto Rico knew that comparisons involving the United States could be used to cement U.S. claims to superiority. Some nevertheless understood that empathy and solidarity neither began nor ended at national borders. They could at least imagine a more cosmopolitan politics, one where Luis Oscar Sánchez studied “los hijos de Jones” and nationalist elites could no longer use accusations of imperialism to dismiss charges of inequality at home.

Scholars in the United States and Mexico shared a repertoire of ideas about culture and inheritance that Lewis drew from in his initial formulation of a culture of poverty, a repertoire that allowed Mexicans and North Americans to apply the formulation across borders. This shared repertoire was evident in readers’ letters to Lewis, in Harrington’s initial borrowing, and in Lewis’s own work in different locales. It drew from and contributed to the U.S. embrace of a universalizing modernization theory that dismissed local contexts as “culture” separate from economics, and made those Others who did not comply with the United States’ modernizing project into Cold War enemies. It was also woven into a more cosmopolitan orientation.

The consolidation of ideas about the unique race and class characteristics of the United States and Mexico must therefore be accounted for. We must also account for the specific articulation of ideas about history, culture, economic conditions, the body, and the psyche that constituted race and class as categories that articulated fixed, essential national differences. Comparisons played a role in the assertion of national singularity and the delineation of ideas about race and class, but, as I have argued here, comparison also allowed many to see, and create, connections. In the United States, it was the discounting of any comparative or transnational frame in policy discussions and the refusal to analyze

90. Arturo Warman et al., *De eso que llaman antropología mexicana* (Mexico City: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1970).

capitalism and racism as worldwide phenomena that led to ideas about U.S. and Latin American national character.

The widespread view that the United States was unique led to an impoverished understanding of U.S. racism, one that stressed racism's basis in determinist biology and racial slavery, sedimented in a bounded, unchanging culture, and largely failed to theorize its roots in ideas about family, inheritance, the self, and the economy. It also allowed Mexicans, and other Latin Americans, to ignore the local roots of capitalism and portray it as foreign. Mexicans and other Latin Americans would claim that they had a milder form of slavery and less racism, but more entrenched class differences and economic backwardness. As a result, certain solidarities—within and across national boundaries—were precluded.

History and the Contours of Meaning: The Abjection of Luisa Nevárez, First Woman Condemned to the Gallows in Puerto Rico, 1905

María del Carmen Baerga-Santini

On the morning of November 3, 1904, two women were on their way to Honda Creek, some two kilometers from the town of Vega Alta, when they spotted a clump of something by the water surrounded by a cloud of flies. Fleeing in disgust, they soon encountered three men and asked them to go find out what it was. When the men approached, they discovered the body of a nine-month-old baby girl, lying face down with her head beneath the water. Fish had nibbled away her eyelids, nose, lips, and one eye. Maggots swarmed over a wound on the left side of her torso, and she had a second wound in the neck that involved damage to the spine.¹

It was this repulsive scene that brought Luisa Nevárez Ortiz (also known as Luisa Ortiz) to the threshold of history. Luisa is one of those figures who, though outside of history, intrude on our imaginary from time to time, confronting us with the limits and the fragility of history itself. History is not woven of such material as Luisa; it is a discipline that embodies the past in the deeds of rational subjects who sought to maximize the effects of their accomplishments in the interests of personal or social betterment. There is no room within such premises for an infanticidal mother, a woman who, according to her accusers, kills her own child because she is an encumbrance. Such a case constitutes, rather,

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1. "Un caso de parricidio," *La Correspondencia* (San Juan), 8 Feb. 1905, n.p.

a historical anti-subject—that which must be rejected, excluded, disposed of, so that the past may emerge in unequivocal intelligibility. And yet it is her very infamy that places Luisa on the threshold of history and on the borders of the intelligible. She emerges there as an unnatural mother, a parricide. Her contemporaries would toss about a number of epithets, debating which could be of help in understanding this woman. Could she really be called a mother? Was she a criminal? Was she insane? Her entrance into the realm of subjectivity came by way of shame and disgrace; it was the atrocity she committed that transformed her into a social being and gave her an identity.²

As might be expected, I did not find Luisa in a history book or in some official document. I first encountered her a few years ago while leafing through a newspaper (*El Imparcial*) dated 1944. Her case was the first to be featured in a series of articles by journalist Jacobo Córdova Chirino dealing with crimes that had resulted in the death penalty.³ Ten years later, those writings would be gathered into a book entitled *Los que murieron en la horca*.⁴ It is due to Córdova Chirino's narrative that Luisa's name crops up from time to time. When this happens it is almost always in the context of discussions about the death penalty in Puerto Rico, for she has the dubious honor of being the only woman condemned to the gallows on the island, for the murder of her baby daughter.⁵ Although her sentence was commuted to life imprisonment—and Córdova Chirino stated as much in his writings—both Córdova's narrative and historical memory continue to associate the figure and crime of Luisa Nevárez with death on the gallows. Thus, collective memory transforms Luisa into her actions: the person becomes the deed, becomes ignominy.

But why kill Luisa? Why can there be no space for redemption in this story? After all, infanticide has been a relatively common crime throughout the ages, particularly among young single women with little or no support within their communities, those who find themselves obliged to conceal their pregnancies and the birth of their children—a social desertion resulting in dead newborn

2. Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1997), 104.

3. Jacobo Córdova Chirino, "María Luisa Ortiz, la única mujer condenada a la horca en Puerto Rico," *El Imparcial* (San Juan), 3 June 1944, pp. 20–21; 10 June 1944, pp. 20–21.

4. Jacobo Córdova Chirino, *Los que murieron en la horca: Historia del crimen, juicio y ajusticiamientos de los que en Puerto Rico murieron en la horca desde las Partidas Sediciosas (1898) a Pascual Ramos (15 de septiembre de 1927)* (Mexico City: Gráfica Panamericana, 1954).

5. See, for example, Juan Pablo de León Benítez, "La pena de muerte," *El Nuevo Día* (San Juan), 29 July 2000, p. 133; Daniel Rivera Vargas, "Víctimas 17 boricuas de la pena capital," *El Nuevo Día*, 4 Apr. 2005, p. 33.

babies.⁶ Luisa's case, however, deviates to some degree from this profile. Her daughter was about nine months old when she was killed, which means that the child lived with her mother for nearly a year and that everyone in the community was already aware that Luisa was a single mother. When she expressed a desire to leave the family home, her grandmother and her uncle offered to take charge of the little girl. Moreover, when she was accused, Luisa neither showed remorse nor admitted to having committed the crime. At no time throughout the trial did she cry or appear to be distressed; she answered all questions firmly and without hesitation. From this point of view, her crime can hardly be conceptualized as a mere social transgression, since that type of offense is based on understanding and acknowledgment of the statutes or norms that one is violating. The severity or benevolence of the punishment imposed in such cases is related to the degree to which the perpetrator demonstrates repentance and understanding of the laws that he or she has broken.⁷ In contrast, Luisa's great sin appears to have more to do with the difficulty in making sense of her actions than with the fact of her having killed her daughter. Hers was the kind of conduct that alters the rules, challenges the system, blurs the lines between categories that ought to be kept distinct—in short, that turns the world upside down. That is why some of her contemporaries wanted her to receive the worst possible punishment, as shown by the words of the prosecutor in the case, who demanded the death penalty “since the Code provides no greater [punishment].”⁸ This need to literally eradicate her from the society appears to be associated with the difficulty in reconciling categories such as woman, mother, and unrepentant infanticide, and with the threat that this poses to the very warp and woof of society. In this light, it is hardly surprising that historical narrative has jettisoned her, tossed her outside its bounds; there is no language to explain her because she belongs to the world of abjection.

According to Julia Kristeva, the abject draws us toward a “place where meaning collapses.” It is neither object nor subject; the abject is located in a place outside of the symbolic.⁹ It is related, above all, to ambiguity, to that which, “having flouted the rules already in place . . . reestablishes borders, formulates

6. Mark Jackson, ed., *Infanticide: Historical Perspectives on Child Murder and Concealment, 1550–2000* (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 2002).

7. Marilyn Francus, “Monstrous Mother, Monstrous Societies: Infanticide and the Rule of Law in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century England,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 21, no. 2 (1997): 133–56.

8. “Un caso de parricidio,” *La Correspondencia*, 8 Feb. 1905, n.p.

9. Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1982), 1–2, 9. Original title: *Pouvoirs de l'horreur*.

its own rules.”¹⁰ According to Kristeva, “any crime, because it draws attention to the fragility of the law, is abject, but premeditated crime, cunning murder, hypocritical revenge are even more so because they heighten the display of such fragility.”¹¹ In effect, the customary reaction of repugnance to a horrendous crime is not based on the wound covered with maggots or on the mutilated face nibbled away by the fish but rather on the collapse of meaning that such a scene represents. In Kristeva’s words, “It is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite.”¹² When we are confronted with the abject our own identity is threatened. This is because the abject disrupts our notion of order and our boundaries of the plausible. It suggests a world entirely foreign to ours but also one that is, nevertheless, possible.¹³ But the threat in question is not exclusively an external one. It is also an internal threat, for the act of expelling the abject is part of the founding moment of identity, system, and order—in other words, part of their clear delimitation. This tension between the constitution and the dissolution of meaning can be found in the bases of our most precious certainties. What abjection does is to confront us momentarily with the destruction of these certainties, resulting in our discomfort and unease.

Nevertheless, it is within this very climate of chaos that, according to Kristeva, a space is opened for the reconstitution of the boundaries that demarcate the difference. “Discomfort, unease, dizziness stemming from an ambiguity that, through the violence of a revolt *against*, demarcates a space out of which signs and objects arise. Thus braided, woven, ambivalent, a heterogeneous flux marks out a territory that I can call my own because the Other, having dwelt in me as *alter ego*, points it out to me through loathing.”¹⁴

Judith Butler develops this point by suggesting that the formation of subjects, which is a social and historical process, involves the “simultaneous production of a domain of abject beings, those who are not yet ‘subjects,’ but who form the constitutive outside to the domain of the subject.” She adds that the abject

10. Tina Chanter, “Abjection and Ambiguity: Simone de Beauvoir’s Legacy,” *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 14, no. 2 (2000): 138–55. [The quotation is from p. 144; in that section, Chanter discusses Kristeva’s views. —Trans.]

11. Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, 4.

12. Ibid.

13. Samantha Pentony, “How Kristeva’s Theory of Abjection Works in Relation to the Fairy Tale and Post Colonial Novel: Angela Carter’s *The Bloody Chamber*, and Keri Hulme’s *The Bone People*,” *Deep South* 2, no. 3 (Spring 1996): n.p.

14. Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, 10. Italics in the original.

designates “those ‘unlivable’ and ‘uninhabitable’ zones of social life which are nevertheless densely populated by those who do not enjoy the status of the subject, but whose living under the sign of the ‘unlivable’ is required to circumscribe the domain of the subject.” From this perspective, “the subject is constituted through the force of exclusion and abjection, one which produces a constitutive outside to the subject, an abjected outside, which is, after all, ‘inside’ the subject as its own founding repudiation.” According to Butler, “the notion of *abjection* designates a degraded or cast out status within the terms of sociality.”¹⁵

The perspective of abjection enables a different approach to the figure of Luisa Nevárez Ortiz, permitting us to reconcile elements of her story that are not necessarily congruous. We were wondering earlier why it was necessary to kill Luisa, why her name continued to be associated with death on the gallows even though the governor of Puerto Rico commuted her sentence from the death penalty to life imprisonment. This was not the only story about her death. Córdova Chirino’s book relates how Luisa spent the rest of her life imprisoned in the Presidio de San Juan. Although at the end she supposedly repented, confessed her crime, and learned to pray, she died in prison and no one came to claim her body. In other words, she came to an end that was just as shameful as death on the gallows.

Córdova Chirino claims that his narrative is based on a “tireless and meticulous search through forgotten papers, hidden away in dark corners of old archives, where neither the light of the sun nor human eyes had penetrated for years on end.”¹⁶ But Luisa did not die in prison. Those same principles of historical research that he invokes to lend authority to his narrative have allowed me to establish with relative confidence that seven years after her death penalty was commuted, Luisa received a second, full commutation of her sentence of life imprisonment.¹⁷ How, then, can we make sense of Córdova Chirino’s account? What is the source of this need to continue to degrade the figure of Luisa?

This article argues that Luisa Nevárez Ortiz’s condition as an abject being contributed to the formation of important subjectivities in the twentieth century in Puerto Rico. In addition to constituting a formidable example of the anti-mother due to the rejection and repugnance that her actions excited, Lui-

15. Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 3; 243, note 2. Italics in the original.

16. Córdova Chirino, *Los que murieron en la horca*, 10.

17. Penal history file of the prisoner Luisa Nevárez Ortiz, 1905, Archivo General de Puerto Rico, San Juan, Justice Department Collection (*Fondo*), Subject (*Tarea*) 59 A 24, Series Prisons, Sub-series Penitentiary, Row 50, Box 104 (hereinafter cited as AGPR, Nevárez).

sa's abjection helped configure other, less attractive subjectivities. This process can be observed at two different junctures: first, at the beginning of the century, when Luisa allegedly committed her crime and was convicted, and second, in the middle of the twentieth century, when Córdova Chirino published his articles in *El Imparcial* and later his book.¹⁸ The subjectivity that was in process in the early years of the century was that of the criminal. During those very years, public opinion was beginning to focus on the emergence of a new type of offender. Luisa's case, since she was a woman, nonwhite, ignorant, and perceived as not possessing the intellectual capacity to carry out a crime of that nature, served in support of the configuration of the criminal as a masculine subject who is invested with intellectual malice and the initiative to take action, albeit of an antisocial nature. At the same time that this process delimits the criminal subject, it also excludes Luisa and melts her away into the nowhere of no meaning and of alienation.

Around the middle of the twentieth century, the subjectivity of the criminal woman was being developed. This subjectivity combined moral and physical degeneration with the black race and unbridled sexuality. In Córdova Chirino's account, these elements were conjoined in the figure of Luisa in order to present her as an extreme example of the criminal woman: degenerate, black, ugly, and sexually insatiable. In his history there is no room to accommodate the fact that her life imprisonment was commuted by the governor and that all of her rights as a citizen were restored, much less to explain the fact that, within days of her liberation, she married an ex-convict.¹⁹ To do so would weaken Córdova Chirino's instructive discourse and blur the definitive limits that he and others were trying to fix in regard to the newly created subjectivity of the criminal woman.

What follows is a history that oscillates between the attempt to inscribe Luisa's actions within the social script and the manifestation of her abject condition, which emerges sporadically to disturb the certainties that had been constructed regarding her persona. Thus, Luisa dwells outside of history, entering it only in the form of a madwoman, a criminal, or an unrestrained wanton.

18. The crime took place on 31 Oct. 1904, but it was not until February 1905 that Luisa was given the death penalty. That same month, her lawyer appealed her case, and in February 1906 the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico confirmed the decision of the District Court of San Juan, fixing the date of her execution for 28 Apr. 1906. The governor of Puerto Rico commuted the death penalty to life imprisonment on 16 Mar. 1906. Ibid.

19. "Boda de dos presos indultados," *Puerto Rico Ilustrado* (San Juan), 1 Nov. 1913, n.p.

The Monster Emerges

As soon as the authorities received word of the macabre discovery in Honda Creek and learned the name of the child's mother, they ordered that the mother be arrested.²⁰ According to the testimony of her nearest relatives, Luisa had, a few days previously and at an early hour, left the home of her uncle Eduardo Ortiz in Barrio Espinosa of Vega Alta.²¹ On her way to the nearby town of Manatí, she carried her daughter Felícita Ortiz in her arms, as well as an umbrella and a bundle of clothes. That same day, a friend of the family happened to meet her on the road between the two towns. Luisa was carrying the umbrella and the bundle of clothing, but there was no sign of the child. It was this sort of circumstantial evidence that incriminated Luisa and caused her to be charged with murder in the first degree, with no mitigating circumstances.²²

The absence of mitigating circumstances in this case was due to Luisa's alleged conduct prior to the murder of her daughter. Her relatives who testified against the defendant at the trial accused her of mistreating the child:

Eduardo Ortiz, the defendant's uncle, declares: . . . that he is aware that she mistreated her daughter, that she said that she regretted having had her, that both the witness and Luisa's grandmother asked her to give them the child and let them take care of her, but she [Luisa] did not want to; that she stubbornly insisted on taking her with her to Manatí, while saying that the child would never arrive there; that Luisa hit her daughter

20. "Una niña ahogada en Vega Alta," *La Democracia* (San Juan), 7 Nov. 1904, p. 1.

21. Unfortunately, numerous efforts on my part to locate the trial records of this case met only with failure. According to the staff at the Archivo General de Puerto Rico, the judicial records for the District of San Juan were destroyed in a fire sometime in the 1970s. A search of the Supreme Court subcollection (*sub-fondo*) in those same archives was also fruitless, as was the one carried out at the Governors' Collection in the series of General Correspondence, Executive Pardons, Publications. This paucity of documentary evidence puts me in the position of having to depend on what was published in the press at the time, when it was customary not to transcribe testimony but rather to paraphrase or summarize it. Córdova Chirino's book *Los que murieron en la horca* quotes extracts from the trial transcript. However, this presents a problem in methodology: not having access to the original document, I am unable to establish with certainty that those quotations are faithful to the transcript. In addition, as I pointed out earlier, this book exhibits several important inaccuracies regarding the life of Luisa Nevárez, a fact that certainly weakens the credibility of his claims to have accurately quoted the original transcript. Even so, I will use some of the testimony cited by this author, but more in the sense of a text that is true to the spirit of that testimony than as an exact reproduction of the witnesses' declarations.

22. "Juicios por jurados en la Corte de Distrito," *La Democracia*, 7 Feb. 1905, p. 1.

too much; that she fed her poorly, and only if she happened to find something to give her; that she barely nursed her; that she would leave the child down on the floor, dirty.²³

Despite all the terrible recriminations made against Luisa, her grandmother tried to ameliorate the situation to some degree. When asked whether Luisa loved her daughter, she answered, "How would she not love her? She was her daughter!" However, she added,

she used to give her a spanking from time to time; she had her every which way, ignorant girl that she is; she used to say that she was going to go all around the island with the little one; but not that she was a burden to her; that she would take her with her because her daughter was her daughter . . . that she fed the little one with what the witness and her uncle provided to her, but that she didn't breastfeed her because her milk had dried up.²⁴

The scant attention that this mother paid to her daughter, joined to her desire to leave the family home and to the abuse that she supposedly committed against the child by not keeping her clean, by hitting her, and by barely feeding her, converted Luisa into the archetype of the anti-mother. The dryness of her breasts seemed to be proof of her withdrawal from the maternal realm. As a result, there were those who questioned her right to call herself a mother.²⁵

As if all this were not enough, her relatives also accused her of having tried to kill her daughter the day before she left the family home to go to Manatí. According to the prosecutor, "Apparently the little girl interfered with her diversions. Or perhaps with her daily tasks. She deprived her of food. On the eve of the crime, she tried to drown the child of her own body in a pond; but there was still a trace of . . . motherhood left in her, and she did not carry out her nefarious deed, when she saw those little eyes go blank. She desisted, for the moment."²⁶ This accusation stems from the testimony of an aunt of Luisa's, who alleged that Luisa had arrived one day with the little girl soaking wet, and that she had told her that when she went to bathe with her child, the little girl had

23. "Un caso de parricidio," *La Correspondencia*, 8 Feb. 1905, n.p.

24. Ibid.

25. The prosecutor in the case opened his arguments by averring: "The accused, gentlemen of the jury, is a mother—if the defendant . . . can even be called by that name—a mother who did her daughter horribly to death." Ibid.

26. Ibid.

fallen into the pond, “and when her eyes went blank, she felt sorry for her and pulled her out.”²⁷ The aunt’s story came at a point in her declaration when the prosecutor was forcing her to establish a contrast between herself as a selfless mother and Luisa as the incarnation of the opposite:

“Did she take care of her little girl?”

“I don’t know about that.”

“Are you a mother?”

“Yes, I’m a mother and I take care of my children.”

“Did she take care of her daughter the way you take care of your children?”

“It seems to me that she didn’t take care of her.”

“Why do you think that?”

“That’s the way I saw it. She didn’t take care of her, but I don’t know why not, whether it was because she didn’t have the means to do it or because she was too much of a burden to her.”²⁸

It was immediately after this exchange that the aunt went on to tell about the supposed attempt on the child’s life. Luisa’s incompetence as a mother made her a vile person, and from there it is but a short step to murder.

It was precisely the affinity among these elements that was emphasized by the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico when it denied the appeal presented on Luisa’s behalf. The defending attorney argued that the circumstantial evidence did not constitute sufficient proof to conclude that Luisa was the murderer. The Supreme Court’s response is as follows:

In truth, there is not a single witness who claims to have seen Luisa Nevárez take the weapon in her hand and drive it into her daughter’s tiny body, resulting in her death. But there is circumstantial evidence which, when considered as a whole, can be sufficient foundation for a guilty verdict. Witnesses testified under oath regarding the relationship between the accused and her daughter, [and] regarding statements made by the accused to the effect that her daughter would not reach Manatí. Witnesses also declared, *and this fact was confirmed, in a way, by the accused herself*, that she, on the day prior to that on which the crime was committed, had gone with her daughter to visit her godmother, accompanied in addition by a

27. Ibid.

28. Córdova Chirino, *Los que murieron en la horca*, 18.

son of Eduardo Ortiz; on the way home . . . she sent his son by another route and was left alone with her little girl; in fact, she returned to Eduardo's house with her daughter, whose clothes were soaking wet, and Luisa explained what had happened, stating that she had made a little bed for her to sleep on by the creek; that the child had rolled into the water, and that when she saw her little eyes go blank, she felt sorry for her and pulled her out.²⁹

Both Luisa's relatives and the judge who ruled on the appeal interpreted the account that she allegedly gave of the incident at the pond as an admission of malicious intent. Even Córdova Chirino, when discussing the case years later, takes this same position, although the extract that he quotes of Luisa's testimony does not support the interpretation that she had admitted her guilt. According to the portion that he quotes, when the prosecutor asked if she had previously tried to drown her daughter, she responded, "That's not true. She fell into the creek and I pulled her out."³⁰ He immediately rebuked her, asking her harshly whether she had waited until her eyes had gone blank before pulling her out. Luisa responded, "No, sir. I told it to Uncle Eduardo and he told me that what happened was over now, and that I should leave her with him, that he would take care of her for me, and that's what I did."³¹ As Luisa related the story, it was an accident of no great importance. This incident, however, along with the descriptions her relatives gave of her relationship with her daughter, was transformed into direct evidence of her crime, as can be seen in the opinion emitted by the Supreme Court: "The disappearance and death of the child, the previous actions of the accused in regard to the child that tend to demonstrate that her daughter had become a burden to her, were not completely the object of circumstantial evidence. These facts were proved by eyewitnesses."³² The alleged abuse that she inflicted on her daughter was transformed into direct evidence that she was a murderer.

With the passage of time, Luisa's maternal incompetence continued to be abased until at last it fell into an abyss where even the animals do not go. In the words of Córdova Chirino,

Wild beasts in their caves lovingly care for their young; birds crisscross the sky in search of food, and to protect their young they hunt and they

29. "Pueblo v. Nevárez," *Decisiones de Puerto Rico* 10 (1906): 97. Emphasis added.

30. Córdova Chirino, *Los que murieron en la horca*, 21.

31. *Ibid.*

32. "Pueblo v. Nevárez," 105.

fight, and if they are weak enough to lose the struggle, they are loving enough to sacrifice themselves, even to be torn to pieces. Every animal, whether timid or bold, weak or strong, meek or ferocious, tenderly loves its offspring, depriving itself of sustenance to sustain its young, letting itself be killed for their sake.³³

Not even the animal kingdom provides an example that would allow us to understand Luisa's actions. In this sense, she is neither human nor animal; she is filth, dwelling within the social space, and filth must be expelled. This is the reason for the insistence on giving her an exemplary punishment.³⁴ This is no little thing at stake; it is the stability of the category of mother and the credibility of the social order.

Can the Object Speak?

In view of the quite unflattering characterizations made of this woman, one might legitimately wonder whether she saw herself as the monster that others alleged her to be. Could it be that history as a discipline, with all its theoretical, methodological, and technical apparatus, can provide the tools we need to approach the subjectivity of Luisa and be able to understand her actions on their own terms? Unfortunately, the answer is no. I should add that this is not due merely to the problem of insufficient sources—a problem that does, indeed, exist—but rather to a much more complicated issue, a question of meaning. To suppose that Luisa, as a person, would be able to articulate a logical explanation for her alleged actions would be to place her outside of her symbolic world. If, as I have been arguing, her case is difficult to manage due to a lack of adequate language to explain it, it would be foolish to suppose that Luisa could actually possess the tools that her contemporaries lacked for developing coherent explanations. Nevertheless, it is difficult to resist the temptation to try to produce a different reading of the available sources, to take an alternative look at this story. Even so, it must be pointed out that this look will be a reflection more of my values and of my world than of hers. My view has less to do with Luisa and her situation than with my own desire to understand the fissures and contradictions in the social order and in the dominant discourses.

33. Córdova Chirino, "María Luisa Ortiz, la única mujer condenada a la horca en Puerto Rico," 10 June 1944, pp. 20–21.

34. The newspaper *La Correspondencia* affirmed in November 1904 that if what was being said about Luisa and the murder of her daughter was true, "she deserves an exemplary punishment." "Crimen cometido en Vega Alta," *La Correspondencia*, 5 Nov. 1904, n.p.

Although the press estimated Luisa's age as between 20 and 24, her prison file indicates that she was 18 years old when she entered the Presidio de Puerto Rico in 1905. The file also says that she had a long face, that her color was mulatta, and that she had tightly curled hair, black eyebrows, grayish-brown eyes, a straight nose, and a small mouth. It sets forth that she had no education and that her occupation was that of a servant. In addition, she had tattoos on her right arm of the initials A.N.L.A.M. and another figure that meant nothing.³⁵

I find it fascinating that a woman who could not read or write would choose to have letters tattooed onto her body. It is as if she were struggling to leave the fringe area where she lived and cross the threshold into the world of meaning, of subjectivity. Although it is certainly true that the skin does not speak transparently about the person who lives within it, inscribing initials or other signs on feminine skin suggests a certain degree of subversive subjectivity. Since the late eighteenth century, when Captain James Cook reintroduced tattoos to the Western world, tattooing has been an activity carried out by men upon other men—one of a number of rituals designed to establish masculine bonds and exclude women. The heroic and daring connotations of tattoos on masculine bodies evaporate, however, on feminine skin. Whatever the meaning of the inscription on the body may be for the woman who exhibits it, she will have to confront the interpretations that others will make. In the context of a culture based on women's silence and on the representation of the female body as a sign of nature, using the body as a medium of cultural expression becomes a potentially subversive act.³⁶

Luisa's nonconformity to the dominant cultural norms is reflected in her resistance to following the script that her society had imposed upon a woman in her situation. According to that script, her life should have been one of obedience to her family and of work. Her options were to do domestic chores in the family home and help with the meager crops that they were able to raise, or to move into town and hire herself out as a domestic worker. Evidently, Luisa did not like living in the country and decided to move to Manatí, where her father lived apart from his family. In Manatí the only employment opportunity for a woman like her was to work as a servant. That is, in fact, the occupation listed for her on her prison records. However, that designation was something else that she resisted accepting, as can be seen in the testimony that she gave at her trial:

35. AGPR, Nevárez.

36. Christine Braunberger, "Revolted Bodies: The Monster Beauty of Tattooed Women," *NWSA Journal* 12, no. 2 (2000): 1–23.

"Before you came to live in your grandparents' house in the country, where were you and what did you do?"

"I was in Manatí doing housework."

"Did you have a job?"

"No. My father supported me."

"Why did you go to Manatí?"

"I went to get [financial] support."

"You weren't going to hire yourself out?"

"No. In Manatí they pay six *reales* and I don't work for anybody for that."³⁷

Although she fit the typical profile of a servant of that time—female, young, poor, and mulatta—she refused to work for a salary that she considered unjust.

While residing in Manatí she met a man and went to live with him, and from this union the child was born. Apparently, when the relationship ended, she was obliged to return to the country, where her dealings with her maternal relatives were filled with tension. The day before Luisa left for Manatí she had quarreled with her Uncle Eduardo over some land that she owned, which her uncle probably insisted on controlling.³⁸ Likewise, she admits in her testimony that there had been friction with other members of her family:

"Have you quarreled with your grandmother or your mother, or your aunt?"

"Yes, we have had quarrels. But, since we're a family . . ."

"When did you quarrel?"

"On Saturday. The day before I left for Manatí."

"No one bore a grudge?"

"I don't know whether they did."

"That little girl . . . are you married?"

"No. I was living with a man."

"Did you continue to live with that man?"

"Yes."

"Where did you have the baby?"

"In a chamber that he had for me."

37. Córdova Chirino, *Los que murieron en la borca*, 21.

38. "Juicios por jurado en las cortes de distrito," *La Democracia*, 7 Feb. 1905, p. 1.

"Why were you going to Manatí to your father's house and not to the man's house, the father of your child?"

"I had left him by then."

"What happened that you left him?"

"His friendship wasn't right for me and I left him."

"Have you heard that your daughter is dead?"

"I've heard that, but I don't know anything about it. It wasn't me."

"Don't you feel anything?"

"Of course I feel it. She's the child of my heart."³⁹

Luisa answered the questions clearly and directly. At no time did she play the role of the victim; on the contrary, her testimony points up a desire to make her own decisions. Her conduct and answers showed a certain capacity for independent action that the society of that time did not acknowledge in women. It was precisely her unrepentant attitude that brought her down and caused the jury to declare her guilty of murder in the first degree, after deliberating for little more than an hour. Although this verdict carried the death sentence, the jury of 12 men made an appeal for clemency.⁴⁰ How can we explain the jury's asking for clemency, or the commutation of the death penalty that came later, for a person who, as we have seen, broke fundamental social rules and gave no indication of shame or repentance?

The Criminal Subject, the Death Penalty, and the Descent into the Nowhere of Meaninglessness

The guilty verdict was a milestone in the history of the degradation of the figure of Luisa Nevárez Ortiz. At the beginning of the trial, the press represented her as a young woman, a rather attractive mulatta: "The defendant, a native of the town of Vega Alta, is a mulatta of some twenty-two years, good-looking and well formed. Her testimony is given with resolution, and she answers with confidence and composure. During the trial she showed no signs of fear, despite the troubles that she was going through."⁴¹ In this text, the reference to her race, in conjunction with "well formed," seems to evoke the eroticism and the sexual licentiousness suggested by the bodies of mulattas. There is, after all, a subplot

39. Córdova Chirino, *Los que murieron en la horca*, 22.

40. "Juicios por jurado en las cortes de distrito," *La Democracia*, 7 Feb. 1905, p. 1.

41. Ibid.

of illicit sex and sexual lewdness to this history that emerges quite tenuously from the texts of the period.

Although in the beginning there was a tendency to emphasize the defendant's positive qualities, a degree of mistrust could also be seen, particularly regarding traces of her character: "She, who is a light-colored Negress of some twenty years, not ill favored, animated, listened calmly to everything that was said against her. We believe either that she is innocent or that she does not truly understand the gravity of the crime of which she is accused."⁴² This mistrust deepened when Luisa gave her testimony: "The defendant reveals much malice in her answers. A degree of cleverness can be seen in her answers, which she gives incredibly rapidly."⁴³

The tone of the comments about her persona changed radically once she was convicted. No longer the attractive woman described at the outset, she now presented a rather unpleasant appearance: "Luisa is young, mulatta, about 24 years old, with bright, somewhat lascivious eyes. . . . Her appearance is not repulsive and only a sidelong gaze, enabling one to see the whites of her eyes, makes her unappealing at first sight."⁴⁴ The insinuation about lustful eyes and a perverse gaze evoked covert evil. This physical metamorphosis was accompanied by a change in her conduct: "When she notices that she is being watched, she ducks her head, folds her hands, and entwines her feet."⁴⁵ Once characterized as animated and resolute, she was now presented as shy and aloof. When the judge pronounced her death sentence and described the manner in which it was to be carried out—"said Luisa Nevárez to be hanged by the neck until dead and may God take her soul"—Luisa "remained standing, immobile, her gaze lost and unseeing; her hands trembled and a light shudder ran through her body. She did not cry."⁴⁶ It is as if the judge's pronouncement had annihilated whatever remained of the attractive and decisive young woman who had entered the courtroom a few days earlier.

The sentence that Luisa received launched her abruptly into the criminal world.⁴⁷ The subject of criminality was becoming a popular one in Puerto Rico,

42. "Un caso de parricidio," *La Correspondencia*, 8 Feb. 1905, n.p.

43. *Ibid.*

44. "Los grandes crímenes, Luisa Nevárez Ortiz," *La Democracia*, 9 Feb. 1905, p. 2.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. The literature on the construction of criminality in Latin America has grown considerably in recent years. For a sampling of the theoretical and methodological diversity of that literature, see, among others, Carlos A. Aguirre and Robert Buffington, eds., *Reconstructing Criminality in Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources,

particularly after 1898, when the new U.S. regime extended a number of rights to the working classes.⁴⁸ It was at that very juncture, with the increase in political participation from those groups, that the “problem” of crime emerged in public opinion:

The increase in crime in this country recognizes no other cause than the mad, overwhelming passion that is being encouraged in the hearts of ignorant and fanatical mobs. We have seen these, in periods of political agitation, hurl themselves into a mad race to carry out the most outrageous deeds, unchecked for any reason or consideration whatsoever. There was no timely retribution for these acts; rather, encouraged by their impunity, their authors were propelled even more powerfully in their fatal tasks. From this impunity, from this encouraging concealment of the earliest offenses are derived the horrendous crimes that have been perpetrated in this country during the last five or six years, and the birth of the criminal who knows no fear of punishment for his crime.⁴⁹

In other words, the criminal subject was gestating in the context of a greater political participation from groups that traditionally had been excluded from the political orbit. Luisa is hurled into the world of criminality precisely at that juncture.

In conjunction with the discussions of criminality at that time, there were also frequent debates on the death penalty, since several convicts found guilty of first-degree murder were condemned to death in the early years of the twentieth century.⁵⁰ Such sentences inspired petitions of clemency for the accused from diverse sectors of the civil society and called attention to the question of

2000); Ricardo D. Salvatore, Carlos A. Aguirre, and Gilbert M. Joseph, eds., *Crime and Punishment in Latin America* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2001); Lila M. Caimari, *Apenas un delincuente: Crimen, castigo y cultura en la Argentina, 1880–1955* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2004); Jorge A. Trujillo and Juan Quintar, eds., *Pobres, marginados y peligrosos* (Mexico City: Univ. de Guadalajara, 2003); Pablo Piccato, *City of Suspects: Crime in Mexico City, 1900–1931* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2001); and Joel Horowitz, “Corruption, Crime, and Punishment: Recent Scholarship on Latin America,” *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 1 (2005): 268–77.

48. For an analysis of the relationship between criminology and the definitions of citizenship, see Robert M. Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen in Modern Mexico* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2000).

49. “Pena de muerte,” *La Democracia*, 26 Apr. 1905, p. 2.

50. Ibid.

the effectiveness, or lack thereof, of the death penalty in general, and hanging in particular. Although hanging had existed in Puerto Rico under Spanish rule, that was changed to death by garrote (mechanical strangulation) in 1812, by order of King Ferdinand VII.⁵¹ When the United States took over, hanging was reinstated in Puerto Rico. Many considered it to be more barbarous than other forms of execution such as, for example, the garrote.⁵²

Those who supported the death penalty did so because they wanted anyone who killed “because of the very perversity of his instincts” to disappear from the face of the earth.⁵³ Those who opposed it questioned its effectiveness to curb that negligible element that in no way affected “the moral values of the great Puerto Rican family.” However, the frequency and speed with which this penalty was being dispensed was having a damaging effect and preventing Puerto Rico from taking its rightful place in the coalition of civilized peoples.⁵⁴ Executing convicts made the country appear “before the world as a monstrous breeding ground of savages and criminals, the consequence of which is mistrust and moral discredit, with a very unfortunate effect on the intellectual and political achievement to which it has a right and preventing it from occupying its proper position among the most advanced [peoples].”⁵⁵ The reference to savages and criminals is clear evidence that the ideas of Cesare Lombroso, father of Italy’s school of criminal anthropology, were not unknown among the Puerto Rican elite.⁵⁶ In fact, newspapers such as *La Democracia* and *La Correspondencia*

51. “Existió en Puerto Rico en una época la pena de horca,” *La Correspondencia*, 22 Feb. 1906, n.p.

52. “Horrores de la pena de muerte,” *La Correspondencia*, 22 Feb. 1906, n.p.

53. “Pena de muerte,” *La Democracia*, 26 Apr. 1905, p. 2.

54. The connection between debates on the death penalty and the constitutional processes of republican and democratic regimes is analyzed, in the case of Argentina, by Ricardo D. Salvatore, and in that of Venezuela, by Arlene J. Díaz. See Ricardo D. Salvatore, “Death and Liberalism: Capital Punishment after the Fall of Rosas,” in Salvatore, Aguirre, and Joseph, *Crime and Punishment in Latin America*; Arlene J. Díaz, “Vicenta Ochoa, Dead Many Times: Gender, Politics, and a Death Sentence in Early Republican Caracas, Venezuela,” in *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence*, ed. William E. French and Katherine Elaine Bliss (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

55. “La pena de muerte: Mases de Ponce piden anulaci3n de esa pena,” *La Correspondencia*, 16 Jan. 1906, n.p.

56. For a discussion of the influence of Lombrosian ideas in other Latin American contexts, see Alejandra Bronfman, “‘En Plena Libertad y Democracia’: Negros Brujos and the Social Question, 1904–1919,” *HAHR* 82, no. 3 (2002): 549–87; and Kristin Ruggiero, *Modernity in the Flesh: Medicine, Law, and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2004).

published writings by Lombroso.⁵⁷ However, while Lombroso postulated the criminal as a degenerate, primitive, and morally unsound creature, crime was associated locally with the field of politics and with transgressions committed in the public sphere.⁵⁸ This meant that the nascent Puerto Rican delinquent was acknowledged as possessing a certain amount of intellectual capacity and the initiative for social action. This position is reflected in the words of a group of Masons from Ponce who opposed the death penalty:

Whereas the imperfection of a man is not the consequence of his bodily structure, given that sentiments take on no material form, and those sentiments are made manifest only by actions derived from an intellectual Being, it is not admissible to impose a punishment that is more barbarous than the offense committed. . . . The law of equity, which is the law of logic, asks that the true delinquent be the one to suffer the crime that was committed. How can the body be deprived of life, if the conscious will that prevails within it is inaccessible, if it cannot be reached by any human power?⁵⁹

In this analysis, the “true delinquent” resides in the intellect of the transgressor; his criminal quality resides in his perverse will.

A few months prior to the date set for Luisa’s execution, a new gallows had been erected in the penitentiary in San Juan. The local press compared it to the one built in Chicago in 1887 for the execution of the Haymarket Four, the anarchists convicted for their role in the deaths resulting from the Haymarket Riot.⁶⁰ This comparison reinforces the association between criminality and the capacity for social action established by other texts of the time. We should not, then, be surprised by the reaction of a number of laborers in San Juan who were appalled at the possibility that Luisa might be the first to be hanged on San Juan’s new gallows:

The labor society of San Juan notes with horror that a victim is awaited, and is terrified at the thought that it might be a woman who is the first

57. Cesare Lombroso, “Una exposición sobre antropología criminal,” *La Democracia*, 24 July 1906, p. 1. Although this newspaper alleged that the piece was theirs exclusively, the same article was published in *La Correspondencia* on the same day.

58. Elio D. Monachesi, “Trends in Criminological Research in Italy,” *American Sociological Review* 1, no. 2 (1936): 396–406.

59. “La pena de muerte: Masones de Ponce piden anulación de esa pena,” *La Correspondencia*, 16 Jan. 1906, n.p.

60. “Horrores de la pena de muerte,” *La Correspondencia*, 22 Feb. 1906, n.p.

to set foot on the boards of the gallows erected in the galleries of the penitentiary in San Juan. . . . [I]f indeed it is true that gallows have been erected for men, the same has not been the case with women, and much less for someone who has to have lost her mental faculties before perpetrating her crime.⁶¹

Luisa inspires horror for more than one reason. Woman, gallows, mother, hanging, autonomy, criminal—these were not significations that could be reconciled by the society of that period.⁶² To accept that her action involved her will and conscience—that is, to conceptualize her as a criminal—was equivalent to confronting the collapse of meaning. “Woman” and “mother” were notions that, in that period, were not associated with reason or the intellect, far less with the initiative to act autonomously. The nascent criminal identity was attributed to masculine subjects whose antisocial actions represented a threat to the social order and the general welfare. Luisa—female, young, mulatta, and poor—did not fit this profile, so her action was incomprehensible.

Because our mind cannot accept the idea of the perpetration of a crime of the nature of the one committed by the prisoner unless she has lost her reason, because we would then have to accept that a human being can descend to a level even lower than that of a wild animal in the jungle, because that wild beast risks its life in defense of its cubs, and the beast has no conscience but rather instinct, . . . Luisa Nevárez Ortiz . . . is insane!!⁶³

Senseless killing, murder without employing the ability to reason, removes us from both the human and the animal realms; it consigns us to the “unliv-

61. “Piden clemencia para Luisa Nevárez, varios obreros,” *La Correspondencia*, 23 Feb. 1906, p. 1.

62. The works of Salvatore and Díaz, mentioned above, document how the death sentences of Clorinda Sarracán in Argentina and Vicenta Ochoa in Venezuela sparked considerable social commotion because their contemporaries found it so outlandish to imagine the state punishing women, that being considered the prerogative of the male head of the family. In Argentina, Sarracán’s sentencing set off a flood of discussions, culminating in the elimination of the death penalty in that country. Salvatore, “Death and Liberalism,” and Díaz, “Vicenta Ochoa.” For discussion of a death penalty case involving the conviction of a man, see Pablo Piccato, “‘El Chalequero’ or the Mexican Jack the Ripper: The Meanings of Sexual Violence in Turn-of-the-Century Mexico City,” *HAHR* 81, nos. 3–4 (2001): 623–51.

63. “Piden clemencia para Luisa Nevárez, varios obreros,” *La Correspondencia*, 23 Feb. 1906, p. 1.

able” zones of abjection, where meaning and reason collapse. In the midst of the resulting shock and horror, there is a struggle to make the incomprehensible fit within the confines of intelligibility. Insanity provides the necessary parameter. The workers called for clemency for Luisa in order to prevent “the horrendous spectacle of this city overcome with shock over the execution of a madwoman, whose lack of education and the environment she inhabited caused her to commit a horrible crime, but without true awareness of what she was doing.”⁶⁴ While it was unthinkable to them that a woman would willfully and consciously kill, they found it perfectly understandable that she would do it unconsciously, insanely. Thus, the text is able to meld discursively the categories of mother, madwoman, unconscious, and woman with no great difficulty, and to highlight the condition of alterity of the feminine in the eyes of the society at that time.

The public campaign to determine whether Luisa was “criminal or crazy” was launched by the newspaper *La Correspondencia* even before the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico confirmed her death sentence in February 1906.⁶⁵ Months earlier, this newspaper was discussing the matter from every angle, fruitlessly seeking a rational explanation for Luisa’s conduct:

The situation could arise of a hard-hearted woman who wants to conceal her shame and, obsessed with the idea of escaping its consequences, attempts to rid herself of the evidence of her indiscretion. But a woman who has already given birth to another child—a woman, moreover, of Luisa’s class, who does not possess a clear concept of honor—cannot be explained without recourse to fits of confusion and bewilderment, with symptoms of hysteria, impelling her to commit such a horrendous crime.⁶⁶

From this perspective, Luisa still does not fit the classic profile of the period for an infanticide.

Kristin Ruggiero, writing on the phenomenon of infanticide in Buenos Aires during the late nineteenth century, argues that a common extenuating circumstance for this crime in that context was to prove that the woman had acted to protect her honor and that of her family. Likewise, a show of shame for

64. Ibid.

65. “Una mujer sobre la que pesa la terrible pena capital,” *La Correspondencia*, 9 Nov. 1905, p. 1.

66. Ibid. The reference to Luisa having had a previous child appears only in this source; it is not mentioned at any other time. Perhaps the intended meaning is that everyone already knew that she was a mother, and there was therefore nothing for her to hide.

being an unwed mother was considered an appropriate feminine sentiment.⁶⁷ As indicated in the article in *La Correspondencia*, however, questions of honor played no role in this case, because women such as Luisa had no honor to defend. Therefore, there were no reasons that could explain her crime. Only hysteria or idiocy could justify her strange behavior. The article discusses the subject at length and relates that “not long ago a woman who had been accused of a similar crime was absolved, and she was actually an idiot who gave birth in a toilet on Calle de la Cruz.” An idiot certainly could not be “strangled like a murderer.” Luisa was sick, and the society had “a duty to heal her.”⁶⁸

In February 1906, when the Supreme Court confirmed the sentence of capital punishment in Luisa’s case, *La Correspondencia* intensified its campaign. The newspaper cautioned that it was fundamental to determine “whether she killed consciously; whether she killed under the impulse of the born criminal; whether she killed in a state of vertigo due to hysterical or puerperal insanity; or whether she killed under the irresistible urge of moral insanity.” They insisted on the need to know the “intellectual state of the prisoner.” Was she a criminal? Was she insane? They exhorted their readers to analyze all the elements before formulating “the conviction of criminality.” They appeared to be searching through the catalog of theories in criminal psychiatry to find something that would help them understand what could have motivated Luisa to put an end to her daughter’s life.⁶⁹

Although they debated over the type of mental disturbance that Luisa suffered, it is clear that the press did not consider her a criminal. Her actions were too aberrant to admit such a possibility. “Does not the monstrousness of Luisa Nevárez’s crime speak to the observer’s judgment? The failure to take precautions in the manner in which the offense was committed, does not that say anything either? Are not Luisa’s cruelty and cold-bloodedness extraordinary indications? Does not the indifference of this mother, living without remembrance of her daughter, declare the presence of moral insanity?”⁷⁰ In

67. Kristin Ruggiero, “Honor, Maternity, and the Disciplining of Women: Infanticide in Late Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires,” *HAHR* 72, no. 2 (1992): 353–73. See also Kristin Ruggiero, “Not Guilty: Abortion and Infanticide in Nineteenth-Century Argentina,” in Aguirre and Buffington, *Reconstructing Criminality*.

68. “Una mujer sobre la cual pesa la terrible pena criminal,” *La Correspondencia*, 23 Feb. 1906, p. 1.

69. “Luisa Nevárez, ¿es una loca, o una criminal?” *La Correspondencia*, 25 Feb. 1906, n.p.

70. Ibid. The concept of moral insanity was coined in 1835 by the English physician James Prichard. This makes explicit the ideas that were implicit in the work of Esquirol. See Andrew Roberts, “The National Lunacy Inquiry and Its Circumstances,” an online

this context, they brought to the table the “irresistible impulse” theory of nineteenth-century French psychiatrist Jean-Étienne Esquirol, who postulated a condition in which the intellect remained intact and the affections unaltered; only the will was affected and was irremediably drawn toward the commission of a criminal act. This theory, however, was swiftly rejected. “Does this mean that Luisa Nevárez was able to maintain the intelligence of her affection but allow her will to escape under the irresistible impulse of the crime? Is this possible in a mother? Is this possible in a Puerto Rican campesina whom no one is tormenting or torturing because of the child in her lap?”⁷¹ For mothers in general and Luisa in particular, intelligence resided in the natural affection toward their children, and this could not be divorced from the will. This relation was ruled by nature, and no other, stronger impulse existed that was able to confront it. Interestingly enough, in this context the intellect is one facet that is not taken into account.

Thus, in this discourse, the figure of Luisa oscillates between insanity and monstrosity. Indeed, another article published in *La Correspondencia* compares her case with that of the notorious French murderer Papavoine.⁷² This man, who had never shown any sign of problems, entered a park one afternoon and, before the astonished eyes of their mother, murdered two children, strangers to him, who were peacefully playing there. According to Michel Foucault, Papavoine was one of the “three great founding monsters of criminal psychiatry.” His crime, along with those of the woman from Sélastat and Henriette Cornier, provide “the ground on which criminal psychiatry is able to constitute itself as such.”⁷³ These three figures “provoke scandal and embarrassment.” In cases like these, while the “judicial mechanism” tries “to mask somehow the absence of a motive for the crime and to discover or assert the criminal’s motive and rational state,” it is precisely this absence of motive (*crime sans raison*) that

resource provided by Middlesex University, http://www.mdx.ac.uk/www/study/4_05.htm; and Cristina Rivera Garza, “‘She neither Respected nor Obeyed Anyone’: Inmates and Psychiatrists Debate Gender and Class at the General Insane Asylum La Castañeda, Mexico, 1910–1930,” *HAHR* 81, nos. 3–4 (2001): 653–88.

71. “Luisa Nevárez, ¿es una loca, o una criminal?” *La Correspondencia*, 25 Feb. 1906.

72. “La Correspondencia pregunta una vez más, es una loca o una delincuente,” *La Correspondencia*, 23 Feb. 1906, p. 1.

73. Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1974–1975*, ed. Valerio Marchetti and Antonella Salomoni, trans. Graham Burchell (London: Verso, 2003), 109–13. [The direct quotations are from pp. 109 and 113, respectively. —Trans.] The woman from Sélastat dismembered her own daughter, boiled her thigh with cabbage, and ate it. Henriette Cornier inexplicably slit the throat of her neighbor’s daughter.

“function[s] as the cornerstone for psychiatric intervention.”⁷⁴ Out of this tangle of motives and explanations the discipline of criminal psychiatry was created.

According to Foucault, the “human monster” is one who violates the laws of both society and nature. The monster is “both an extreme and an extremely rare phenomenon” and “combines the impossible and the forbidden.” Foucault continues, “The monster is the limit . . . the point at which law is overturned.” The monster, together with the incorrigible individual and the onanist, forms the genealogy of the abnormal—that great, vague, ambiguous family that obsessed scholars of social degeneration in the late nineteenth century and about which was woven a web of institutions of control and vigilance. According to Foucault, the monster is the “principle of intelligibility” of the cumulation of anomalies that frequently occur in society. Scholars of these phenomena tried to discover “the core of monstrosity hidden behind little abnormalities, deviances, and regularities.” However, the intelligibility that the monster brings to the abnormal is “strictly tautological, since the characteristic feature of the monster is to express itself as, precisely, monstrous, to be the explanation of every little deviation that may derive from it, but to be unintelligible itself.”⁷⁵ Thus we find, in the depths of the analyses of anomalies, only a void.

From this point of her monstrous nature, Luisa plunges into the void of unintelligibility. She dwells in the inhospitable zones of abjection; her persona cannot be recovered, either by history or by her contemporaries. She can be reinscribed in the social script only by being inscribed in the register of insanity.⁷⁶ But that inscription is unstable and difficult to maintain because, as the texts under analysis demonstrate, her monstrous nature emerges sporadically and disturbs the certainties that had been constructed regarding her persona.

One thing, at least, is clear, and that is Luisa’s position of exteriority with respect to the criminal subject. Her condition as a woman, mother, and mulatta and her ignorance, on the one hand, and her attitude and performance in the courtroom, where she neither admitted her crime nor showed sadness or remorse, on the other, deprive her of any possibility of entering the space of criminal subjectivity. And yet, as Butler indicates, it is an internal exteriority.

74. Ibid, 113.

75. Ibid, 55–56, 57.

76. This maneuver is also seen in the case of Papavoine, and for that reason it was useful to Luisa’s contemporaries as a point of comparison that sheds light on the incomprehensibility of her acts. Papavoine declared that he believed the two children that he murdered to be members of the royal family. According to Foucault, his case could then be “immediately handed over and inscribed on the register of delirium, illusion, false belief, and therefore madness.” Ibid, 112.

The specter of Luisa, in the form of a monster or of a principle of intelligibility, haunts the criminal subject in the Puerto Rico of the early twentieth century.

Degeneration and Expiation of the Criminal Woman

The reinscription that Córdova Chirino makes of the figure of Luisa in *Los que murieron en la horca* merits a much broader discussion than can be developed in an article. His examination of Luisa's trial records presents important internal contradictions.⁷⁷ In addition, his text offers details that would have been impossible to obtain, such as the detailed narration of the moment of the murder. As mentioned previously, Luisa never admitted committing the crime, and she is the only one who could have provided these details, since no one witnessed the event. However, this is not the focus of the analysis that I wish to develop in this section. My interest centers on the analysis of the manner in which this author represents Luisa, particularly after her death sentence was commuted and she was condemned to live out her years behind bars.

In Córdova Chirino's narrative, the figure of Luisa turns harder, blacker, and uglier. She is described as "black, thin, with very black eyes and thin lips, gaunt, with sticks for legs and a grim expression."⁷⁸ She is characterized as a woman without emotions, with an ebony face that reflected "a heart hardened by crime."⁷⁹ It is interesting that, in the mid-twentieth century, we find in her the embodiment of the archetypical criminal woman.

Theories of criminology in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth construct crime as a fundamentally masculine activity.⁸⁰ One of the few works published during this period on the female delinquent is the book by Cesare Lombroso and his son-in-law Guglielmo Ferrero entitled *La donna delinquente, la prostituta e la donna normale* (*Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*), published in 1893 and partially translated into English in

77. One example of this is his treatment of the incident when Felícita, Luisa's daughter, falls into the creek. On page 13, Córdova Chirino puts words into Luisa's mouth in the form of a direct quotation, in which she admits to guilt regarding this incident; on page 21, however, he reproduces part of Luisa's testimony in court in which she categorically denies that she had tried to drown her daughter. This portion has previously been cited in this work.

78. Córdova Chirino, *Los que murieron en la horca*, 10.

79. Ibid, 28.

80. Carol Smart, *Women, Crime and Criminology: A Feminist Critique* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1976).

1895.⁸¹ In this work, Lombroso, who from very early in his career firmly established his belief in female inferiority, confronts the challenge of explaining the lower incidence of crime among women. Lombroso viewed criminality as the product of degenerate beings, examples of a reverse evolution toward a more primitive stage. The fact that women were less involved in criminal activities would seem to indicate a lesser presence of atavism among them, a situation that was difficult for Lombroso to reconcile with his position on the inferiority of the feminine condition. The result, according to his translators, was an obstinate effort to combine his science with his beliefs.⁸²

Lombroso and Ferrero attribute the lesser incidence of crime among women to the fact that women are closer than men to a primitive nature. However, since they are passive, weak, and childish, their biological inferiority does not necessarily culminate in a greater proclivity toward crime. Proceeding from these premises, the criminal woman was seen as a biologically abnormal person with atavistic and masculine characteristics, such as a stronger sexual urge than that of “normal” women. To these authors, the classic example of the criminal woman was the prostitute. Additionally, associating such characteristics as irrationality, violence, and sexuality with the savage leads them to the conclusion that black women and those from southern Italy displayed more atavistic features than white women. The criminal woman is thus configured based on particular racial, sexual, and gender characteristics.

The biological determinism of Lombrosian theories was harshly criticized by those who suggested that environmental and social elements were also important factors in explaining the phenomenon of criminality. This criticism, however, was less resounding in the particular case of the criminal woman. Lombroso’s explanations with respect to the female delinquent meshed, with no major problems, with the dominant cultural understanding regarding the feminine, a condition which was seen as intimately related to the sphere of the natural. Thus, the few theories dealing with the case of the criminal woman continued to base their explanations predominately on biology until nearly the end of the twentieth century.⁸³

81. Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*, trans. and with a new introduction by Nicole Hahn Rafter and Mary Gibson (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2004), 4. Original title: *Donna delinquente, la prostituta e la donna normale*.

82. Nicole Hahn Rafter and Mary Gibson, “Editors’ Introduction,” in Lombroso and Ferrero, *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*, 3–33.

83. Ibid.

In the particular case of Puerto Rico, very few “scientific” works in the first half of the twentieth century deal with the phenomenon of female delinquency.⁸⁴ Outstanding among these is the one by Dr. Francisco del Valle Atilés in 1919 on the “problem of the flesh trade” on the island.⁸⁵ Valle Atilés, under the influence of the eugenic theories of the period, gave considerable weight to biological dimensions. Nevertheless, he does not entirely ignore the social and economic factors. Valle Atilés views prostitution as the product of personal (biological) factors and certain social conditions. He points, on the one hand, to the economic necessity that impels women to take up prostitution, and on the other, to physical and psychic degeneration that is inherited or caused by illnesses and by noxious lifestyles. To Valle Atilés, intervention by means of social remedies such as education was important as a means of reining in the “latent dispositions” that individuals had inherited.⁸⁶ Within his scheme, most prostitutes were black, poor, uneducated, of limited intelligence, promiscuous, from degenerate families, and given to a certain “sexual psychopathology.” This characterization initiated the creation of a profile of the delinquent woman that would continue to grow and solidify as the twentieth century progressed. In view of the paucity of academic works analyzing the phenomenon of feminine criminality in Puerto Rico of the first half of the century, Córdova Chirino’s writings about the first women condemned to the gallows undoubtedly contributed to the consolidation of this new subjectivity.

In Córdova Chirino’s characterization of Luisa as a criminal, her family background provides a useful explanation for her character traits: “An extraordinary family . . . three generations of impassive, reserved, sullen women.” In his judgment, this was a totally disturbed family. Thus he indicates: “Students of psychological problems missed a formidable opportunity to make a serious study of this Nevárez Ortiz family. There was abundant material.” So Luisa’s “unsociable” and “intractable” personality and her “supreme indifference to matters of the heart” were things that she came by naturally; at least in part, they were inherited traits.⁸⁷

84. For a discussion of the emergence of the female delinquent in other Latin American contexts, see Kristin Ruggiero, “The Devil and Modernity in Late Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires,” *The Americas* 59, no. 2 (2002): 221–33; and Alejandra Bronfman, “Mismeasured Women: Gender and Social Science on the Eve of Female Suffrage in Cuba,” in French and Bliss, *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence*.

85. Francisco del Valle Atilés, *Un estudio de 168 casos de prostitución: Contribución al examen del problema del comercio carnal en Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Tipografía “El Compás,” 1919).

86. *Ibid.*, 19.

87. Córdova Chirino, *Los que murieron en la horca*, 16, 18, 32.

Another trait used to point up Luisa's criminal nature was her morbidity—her perverse tendency toward unhealthy attractions. “Luisa Nevárez, an unattractive stick-figure of a woman, a woman who never displayed the charm of a spontaneous smile, was a morbid and passionate woman. In her expressionless eyes, on her stony face, that gaunt face with cheekbones like two mounds, the emotion of her morbidity would at times be boiling [beneath the surface].”⁸⁸ To Córdova, Luisa's morbid nature is revealed above all in unbridled sexuality. As I mentioned earlier, this story contains a sexual subplot that is all but imperceptible in texts written at the time of the crime. In Córdova Chirino's narrative, however, this subplot explodes and takes center stage. As he tells it, the murder of the little girl is a secondary issue, serving only as a collateral confirmation of the perverse nature of the criminal woman.

Córdova Chirino relates that while the issue of her appeal was being resolved, Luisa was sent to prison. She was not only the first woman condemned to the gallows but also the first woman to be confined in the presidio, which (of course) had no cell, much less a wing, set apart for women.⁸⁹ As a result, she had to be confined in the infirmary. Four days after her arrival she had already seduced a prisoner who was serving a 20-year sentence for involuntary manslaughter. The enigma of how a woman who was so ugly, so utterly lacking in feminine charm, could have attracted a man does not escape Córdova Chirino's notice; he admits that he cannot “understand how a man could romantically approach Luisa.” However, he attributes it to her being the only woman in the prison; perhaps 15 years of forced abstinence had pushed him “into her arms, stretched out like cables, and her crime-hardened heart.” In the wake of the ensuing scandal, the prison boss petitioned his superior for Luisa's removal from the prison, because he considered her presence there immoral. She was transferred to the San Juan jail, where she “got up to her old tricks,” feigning pain so that nurses would go to her at night to treat her complaints.

88. Ibid, 27.

89. Córdova Chirino claims in his book, “Our curiosity piqued, we sought to discover whether any other woman had received the death penalty. We found no other cases, although it is very possible that one may have escaped our diligent search. Thus, we believe, Luisa Nevárez Ortiz becomes the only woman who has been sentenced to die.” Ibid, 10. Despite Córdova Chirino's claims, Luisa was not the only woman to receive the death penalty in Puerto Rico. *Puerto Rico Ilustrado* (23 Apr. 1911) reports the death sentence given to María del Carmen Meléndez. She and her lover, Juan Flores Casiano, poisoned her husband. Both were tried and sentenced to be hanged. However, María del Carmen's sentence was never carried out because she died in jail before the date scheduled for her execution. I thank Johama Padilla for calling my attention to this case.

She had a favorite among the nurses, which caused disputes and even “serious squabbles among the prisoners.” Immediately after this, Córdova writes: “That woman, that black toothpick, with no glow in her eyes, no curves on her body, no smile on her lips, no music in her voice, no affection in her heart, was a morbid woman.”⁹⁰ Ugliness, blackness, morbidity, and unbridled sexuality appear to define the criminal woman. She is pure moral and physical degradation. Her criminal acts are derived from her corrupt nature. In view of all this, expiation is her only possible fate.

According to Córdova Chirino, Luisa was a changed woman by 1915; she had confessed to her crime and expressed repentance; she had learned to read, and she prayed daily. At her parole hearing, the attorney general indicated that her repentance and good conduct were insufficient reasons for granting her freedom. Luisa had to pay for her offenses; she had to die in jail. Years went by, and she became a trusty and model prisoner. She ended her days in the Puerta de Tierra jail, and when she died, no one came to claim her body. She died as she lived, in degradation.

In this story of iniquity, victory belongs to morality, good sense, the strength of the institutions that protect the public—in short, to the social system. Even though Luisa was an inferior and incorrigible human being, the law succeeds in subjecting her and bringing her into the fold. But that is not enough. Only a lifetime spent in expiation can guarantee her purification. Luisa must atone, she must pay, and she does so with her life; at least in this narrative she does.

According to Julia Kristeva, the flip side of abjection is religion, morality, ideological codes. There are many means of purifying the abject, of eliminating the vile so that the pure, good, and incorruptible may emerge.⁹¹ That is why Córdova Chirino’s narrative could not have had any other ending. Luisa had to die in expiation of her crimes in order for morality and the social order to be sustained and fortified. She had to be expelled, literally, from the tale. But that which is repressed, the abject, will sooner or later erupt and threaten to shake the foundations of that which was fortified by its expulsion.

To begin with, Luisa’s penal records do not bear out Córdova Chirino’s version of her life in prison. After having been found guilty and sentenced, Luisa was sent on February 9, 1905, from the courtroom to the Presidio de Puerto Rico.⁹² However, contrary to Córdova’s assertion, she did not spend even

90. Córdova Chirino, *Los que murieron en la borca*, 27, 28, 29.

91. Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, 17, 209.

92. All of the information discussed in this section with respect to Luisa’s life in prison is taken from the file of her penal history, AGPR, Nevárez.

one night there. She was transferred that same day to the San Juan jail, where there was a section set aside for women. Thus the penal records do not support the story that Luisa seduced the convict working as a nurse in the Presidio de Puerto Rico and that she was transferred to the San Juan jail for that reason.

In March 1906, the governor of Puerto Rico commuted her sentence from the death penalty to life imprisonment. A few months later, on June 30, 1906, Luisa was sent back to the Presidio de Puerto Rico to serve out her life sentence. According to Córdova Chirino, she remained in the San Juan jail until the day of her death. Even more interesting than this minor point, however, is that during her stay in the presidio, her penal file shows only two incidents of misconduct. Both notes are from 1908. The first, on June 19, indicates that the prisoner had been stripped of her corporal's stripes as punishment for her misconduct. In addition, she was to receive no visitors for two months. The second note is from August 6, and lists a punishment of one month without visitors and one week on bread and water, "on alternate days," for serious offenses committed in the galleys. Although the file does not state the nature of Luisa's offenses, her conduct during her first few years of confinement was evidently good enough for her to attain the rank of corporal.

The next note to appear is dated November 29, 1912, and indicates that the previous note was nullified because of the prisoner's subsequent good behavior and because the type of offense committed had not been specified. Approximately one year later, on October 25, 1913, Interim Governor Drew Carrell pardoned Luisa, restoring all of her civil rights. She was released from prison that same day.

Luisa not only was pardoned but was married a few days later to Domingo Valentín, a former prisoner who was free on parole. Their wedding, which was reported in *Puerto Rico Ilustrado*, was celebrated in style, as can be seen in the photograph included in the news story. Notable among the guests who attended was a representative of the governor.⁹³

How can we explain two such dissimilar endings? On one account, Luisa died in jail, forgotten by everyone, even her own family; on the other, her classic happy ending was crowned with a church wedding. It is clear that the protagonist of Córdova Chirino's narrative is not really Luisa, but rather "the criminal woman." Chosen for her degraded condition, Luisa is merely the excuse for imparting an educational message, one that constructs the criminal as a person with an inferior, degenerate nature. At the same time, his message is cautionary, warning us of the infamous fate awaiting those who give free rein to such a

93. "Boda de dos presos indultados," *Puerto Rico Ilustrado*, 1 Nov. 1913, n.p.

nature; it is a downhill path from which there is no return. Thus it is impossible to include events from Luisa's life such as her pardon and resulting freedom, or her wedding, since that would have the effect of depriving this discourse of its authority. It was vital to suppress these details in order to clearly delimit the subjectivity of the criminal woman. Likewise, it matters little whether the plotline involving Luisa's sexuality was actually true. Within this discourse, the criminal woman possesses a pathological sexuality. If it was not displayed in the case of Luisa, it must have been due to lack of opportunity. Thus, once again, Luisa is eradicated from the text in order to maintain the cohesion and effectiveness of the discourse.

Did Luisa have a happy ending? The question is valid; the answer is impossible to ascertain. She was around 26 years old when she left prison—still a relatively young woman. What we may, indeed, affirm is that her pardon and her wedding symbolize her acceptance of social law and mark her entrance into the sphere of the normative. It may be that Córdova Chirino was right, after all. Luisa probably continued to expiate her guilt; she just did so in another prison, behind the bars of social norms.

Conclusion

The history of Luisa Nevárez Ortiz is one that confronts us with the boundaries of meaning and of representation. The particular attributes of her case not only defied the limits of intelligibility in her own time but also continue, even today, to challenge the representative faculties of the historical narrative. In this sense, Luisa dwells outside of history and can enter only in the form of a madwoman, a criminal, or a sexual predator.

To her contemporaries, both the act of murdering her child and her behavior during the trial were equally incomprehensible. How, within the framework of then-current meanings, can one comprehend a mother who takes her daughter's life and shows no repentance or remorse? It is that very impenitence that, in the judgment of her accusers, showed her to be deserving of death on the gallows. However, Luisa does not make an easy transition into the sphere of the criminal. The nascent identity that was being forged in the Puerto Rico of the early twentieth century configured the delinquent as a masculine subject who was acknowledged as possessing intellectual malice and the capacity for social action. This process, while establishing the parameters of criminal subjectivity, excludes Luisa and confines her in the nowhere of meaninglessness. Her condition as a woman, mother, and mulatta; her ignorance; and other factors deprive her of any possibility of entering the space of the criminal sub-

ject. The figure of Luisa oscillates between monster and madwoman in the discourses of the time. Nevertheless, the specter of Luisa inhabits the criminal subject in early twentieth-century Puerto Rico, as a founding repudiation—the abject—that is, that which must be expelled or rejected in order to establish the parameters of this new subjectivity.

In contrast, around the mid-twentieth century we find her embodying the prototype of the criminal woman. This new identity merged physical and moral degeneration with the black race and with unrestrained sexuality. All of these elements are combined in the figure of Luisa in order to present her as the model par excellence of the criminal woman: degenerate, ugly, black, and sexually insatiable. In Córdova Chirino's text, the murder of the little girl takes second place to the sexual plotline at the center of the narrative. The act of infanticide serves to confirm the perverse nature of the criminal woman, which is expressed primarily in her depraved sexuality. It is evident that in this narrative, the protagonist is not Luisa but rather the criminal woman. Luisa, in her abject condition, is just an excuse for constructing the criminal woman as a degenerate subject, with no possibility of redemption. Thus, in this history, there is no space for including important events in Luisa's life, such as her unconditional release or her subsequent marriage to a former prisoner. To acknowledge these events would weaken Córdova Chirino's didactic discourse and blur the definitive limits that he was trying to establish with respect to the newly created subjectivity of the criminal woman.

The abject condition of Luisa Nevárez Ortiz makes her a figure that destabilizes or threatens whatever discourse anyone may weave about her persona. In this way, Luisa indwells any attempted representations of herself, as a specter that must be cast out lest it threaten the coherence of the narrative. That is why it is so difficult to reconcile the different traces of her that have come down to us in the present. Curiously, it is the discipline of history, with its obvious weaknesses and its reluctance to venture into the "uninhabitable" zones of social life, which provides us with elements to make a more complex analysis. Unquestionably, the world of abjection reconfigures the borders not only of identities and the social order but also of the disciplines that attempt to characterize it.

Book Reviews

General and Sources

Cave, City, and Eagle's Nest: An Interpretive Journey through the Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No. 2. Edited by DAVID CARRASCO and SCOTT SESSIONS. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. xxi, 479 pp. Cloth, \$65.00.

Shortly after the Spanish conquest of central Mexico, indigenous artists from the town of Cuauhtinchan (near modern Puebla) created a large painting (109 x 204 cm) on bark paper that tells a complex story of migration, ritual, history, identity, and much more. In *Cave, City, and Eagle's Nest: An Interpretive Journey through the Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No. 2*, editors David Carrasco and Scott Sessions bring together international scholars from several disciplines to read and interpret the symbols and images depicted in the *Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No. 2* (MC2). The MC2 is one of several cartographic histories and illustrated manuscripts painted in early colonial Cuauhtinchan. Previous studies of the Cuauhtinchan manuscripts, together with research on a large corpus of pictorial manuscripts produced in the Puebla region, provide comparative data that are used to place events and practices depicted in MC2 into a larger context.

The volume's title refers to three locations that visually dominate the painting. In the upper left-hand corner is Chicomoztoc, "Place of the Seven Caves," sacred place of origin for the Chichimec ancestors of the sixteenth-century residents of Cuauhtinchan (and other Nahuatl peoples of central Mexico). In the middle of the painting is Cholula, an important Mesoamerican pilgrimage and market center and a source of ritual and political authority. In the center-right is the *altepetl* (territory/polity) of Cuauhtinchan, "Place of the Eagle." These elements portray Cuauhtinchan's origins (Chicomoztoc), migration to and legitimization at Cholula, and the foundation of Cuauhtinchan.

Carrasco and Sessions achieve their goal of producing an interdisciplinary volume where contributors engage in extended dialogue with each other. During three years of preparation, authors discussed their developing perspectives through participation in two conferences. Whereas authors clearly articulate their own perspectives, this interaction contributed to a well-integrated and extensively cross-referenced set of essays, all of which were clearly improved by the cross-fertilization of ideas.

The volume is organized into three sections. First, a collection of essays presents mythical, historical, and spatial orientations to the map. Essays by Elizabeth Hill Boone, Ann Clair Seiferle-Valencia, Ethelia Ruiz Medrana, and Florine G. L. Asselbergs provide

rich temporal and spatial contexts for the *MP2*. Marina Straulino describes and illustrates her digital reconstruction of the damaged *Mapa* using chemical and photographic analyses. Straulino's work revealed previously invisible images and identified features of the production and deterioration processes, all of which provide technological and social contexts for the painting and use of the *Mapa*. Anthony F. Aveni focuses specifically on dates depicted on the *Mapa* and explores how they link mythical and historical events.

The second section brings together essays that explore events taking place along the roads depicted on the *Mapa*. Essays by Keiko Yoneda (who has previously carried out extensive research on the *Mapa*), Eleanor Wake, Robert A. Bye and Edelmira Linares, and Guilhem Olivier examine the deeper meanings of specific elements and activities, including images of particular places, individuals, and dates (Yoneda); underlying messages about ethnic relations (Wake); the flora associated with different portions of the *Mapa* (Bye and Linares); and what certain symbols reveal about power relations (Olivier).

The third section casts a wider net to link activities portrayed in the *Mapa* to situations found elsewhere (Vincent James Stanzione, Jace Weaver and Laura Adams Weaver, and Osvaldo García-Goyco) and to consider the implications of the physical arrangement of signs and symbols (Dana Liebsohn). The final essay by Carrasco and Sessions focuses on the prominence of Cholula on the *Mapa*. Cholula not only occupies the central position spatially, but it is also the key or "Middle Place" where people with Chichimec origins (nonagricultural, nonurban) are transformed into the agricultural and urban people who founded Cuauhtinchan.

In addition to the thematic organization of the volume, six issues are addressed throughout. Authors are concerned with accurately identifying images and symbols, exploring spatial divisions and assessing depictions of "myth" (left side of the map) and "history" (right side of the map), identifying the painter(s) and purpose(s) of the *MC2*, understanding interethnic relations (Nahua and Pinome/Mixteca-Popolloca factions lived in Cuauhtinchan), identifying how symbols and images reflect political/ethnic struggles and how they relate to an ancient worldview versus a changing colonial worldview, and understanding how symbols and spatial organization were used to achieve the painters' goals.

Cave, City, and Eagle's Nest makes an important contribution to a body of research that explores how pre-Columbian and colonial Mexican pictorial manuscripts can provide insights into a wide range of issues: power and governance, myth and ritual, ethnic relations, acculturation, and native resistance. Its lavish illustrations allow readers to not only appreciate the beauty of the *MC2* but also make their own interpretations. This beautiful and comprehensive volume will be a particularly welcome addition to the libraries of anyone interested in pre-Hispanic and colonial Mesoamerica and in historical manuscript painting.

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El criollo como voluntad y representación. By SALVADOR BERNABÉU ALBERT. Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE / Aranjuez: Ediciones Doce Calles, 2006. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. 175 pp. Cloth.

Scholars of late colonial Mexico have been familiar with the *Representación del Cabildo de México de 1771* for quite a long time. The pamphlet was considered by David Brading in his *Origins of Mexican Nationalism* (1973) to be one of the foundational texts of Mexican national consciousness, and it is certainly one of the most significant political texts of Bourbon Mexico. However, we are still far from knowing everything about the context in which it was written, its author, or its ideological implications. This neatly printed facsimile edition prepared and prefaced by Salvador Bernabéu Albert has two merits. First, it compares the Mexican (CONDUMEX, Mexico City) and Spanish (Biblioteca del Palacio Real and Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) manuscripts. Second, it comes with an introductory study focusing on the relationship between power and discourse in the late colonial period after a careful analysis of the career of the author: the Mexican *oidor* Antonio Joaquín de Rivadeneira.

The main question raised by Bernabéu Albert in the introduction is the meaning of the text for late colonial New Spain. The editor distances himself from past scholars who considered the *Representación* to be either the foundational document of the Mexican independent movement or just one that builds on the rivalry between Spaniards and Creoles in the context of the Bourbon reforms. He contends that the *Representación* did ultimately lead to emancipation debates because of its later appropriation by independence ideologues. But in its own time, it was not an independence manifesto at all, since it was not conceived as a theoretical break with Spain. The *Representación* is basically a response to the Bourbon reforms seeking to restrict the presence of Creoles in an increasingly state-controlled Mexican church. Rivadeneira's text was the last reformist claim of the Mexican intellectual elite before the 1808 debates.

The editor is also right when he states that the document draws on topics already present in seventeenth-century debates on political and economic rights of the Spanish American subjects: Creoles entitled to public office, Indians deserving better treatment, and the constant complaint about the appointment of Spaniards as colonial officials. The belief that Creoles were better administrators than *peninsulares*, because as locals they knew their land better, was based on the assumption that as *vecinos* they had jurisdictional preference over newcomers for holding office. Since the *Representación* elaborates on this premise, the text is part of a long tradition which goes back to the early seventeenth century and, as Bernabéu Albert states, had better examples in Peruvian reformism of the period: the works of the *oidor* Juan Ortiz de Cervantes, the canons Luis de Betancurt y Figueroa and Vasco de Contreras y Valverde (not Velasco Contreras Velarde), the bishop Gaspar de Villaroel, and others who built the theory of Creole citizenship and political rights. Other than proposing the appointment of Indian priests for Indian parishes, the rest of the theoretical elaboration of Rivadeneira's text was already present in the work of the authors mentioned above. The way in which this tradition became known in Mexico

certainly remains a very interesting topic. Another interesting avenue is the comparison between the *Representación* and similar texts in South America.

The main contribution of this new edition is the information it offers on the author. If Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora represented the dramatic career of a colonial scholar freeing himself from church influence, Rivadeneira—almost a century later—embodies a successful legal career related to the colonial state. Member of an old, albeit poor, lineage, the magistrate pursued his career in every possible colonial venue: the viceregal palace, the Inquisition, the Audiencia, and the religious corporations. He married the daughter of an oidor of Guatemala and consolidated his membership in a professional milieu very close to the upper level of decision making and power in the region. The work of the “oracle of the *Real Hacienda*,” as he was known by his contemporaries, in state building in eighteenth-century Mexico shows that his class was certainly empowered, yet had also reached a level of confidence and knowledge of colonial affairs that made the Bourbon administration in Madrid uncomfortable. The Fourth Mexican Council, promoted by the *visitador* José de Gálvez in 1771, and its creation of a more state-controlled church triggered Rivadeneira’s protest. In the middle of the council, as an already frail oidor facing animosity from the bishop of Mexico and other colonial officials, he wrote the *Representación* asking the Council of the Indies for a re-launch of the colonial system in which Mexican Creoles would be well represented. In the tradition of negotiating with the crown, Rivadeneira hoped to be heard. His most Catholic Majesty had different plans.

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Fernández de Oviedo’s Chronicle of America: A New History for a New World.

By KATHLEEN ANN MYERS. Translations by NINA M. SCOTT. Austin:

University of Texas Press, 2007. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendixes. Notes.

Bibliography. Index. xvii, 324 pp. Cloth, \$50.00.

This book contains three separate but related parts: a 126-page interpretation of selections from Oviedo’s *General and Natural History* by Kathleen Ann Myers, 34 pages of translations by Nina M. Scott of the relevant chapters, and 81 pages of image reproductions. The translations and images provide the primary source material upon which Myers builds each of her five analytic chapters, thus allowing readers to follow her arguments more closely and to consider the evidence for themselves.

Myers sheds important new light upon Oviedo’s place in early sixteenth-century Spanish literature. His prolific writing career spanned several decades and included books on military history, heraldry, a three-volume genealogy of the Castilian monarchy, and several other works of both fiction and nonfiction. But he devoted the greatest time and effort to his 2,000-page *Natural History*, which underwent continual revision over at least 20 years. Oviedo’s final version remains difficult to read since it veers between the

legalistic *relación* and the confessional *vida*. However, Myers clearly establishes the merits of wading through the prolix, complex document. She paints a new picture of Oviedo, showing how he repudiated many of his earlier perspectives on the Spanish conquest the longer he remained in the New World. Oviedo's first and most widely read account, *Summary History*, lays out a triumphalist, providentialist narrative of the conquest. But that perspective gradually dissolved, first into a more neutral account, and finally into one openly critical of the conquest. Toward the end of his career, Oviedo was advocating powerful criticisms of the Spanish conquest, rendered all the more effective for the substantial historical detail he provided.

In particular, Myers corrects the narrowly negative reading of Oviedo's attitudes toward Native Americans, which are based solely upon a reading of the early *Summary*. This shortest version of what would become the *Natural History* portrays indigenous people in a harshly negative light. But buried in the longer and more difficult *Natural History* there are more nuanced portraits of indigenous people, extensive and comparatively neutral details of indigenous life and manners, and even laudatory portraits of individual native leaders. Toward the end of his life, Oviedo became highly critical of Spanish brutalities. Myers notes that despite the well-known early hostility between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Oviedo, the latter's critique of Pedrarias "echoes Las Casas' . . . rhetoric of the destruction of the Indies" (p. 56). In a staged but revealing dialogue with a Spaniard named Juan Cano, Oviedo exposes Cortés's massacre at Cholula, implicates him indirectly in the assassination of Moctezuma, and exposes his unjustified torture of Cuauhtémoc following his surrender.

Given the extraordinary length of the final version of the *Natural History*, any analysis necessarily must choose from among an extraordinary number of subjects and materials. Myers's five selected topics (and related translated primary source material) include Oviedo's introductory chapter, an account of Pedrarias the Terrible's arrival in Castilla del Oro, the natives of Castilla del Oro, the Amazons, a lengthy description of the pineapple and other flora and fauna, and Juan Cano's scathing attack on Cortés's atrocities (including the infamous burning of Cuauhtémoc's feet).

Oviedo's work has also become widely known for the first drawings of American flora and fauna. Myers presents all of these images in their original contexts, encircled by the printed or handwritten page on which they appeared. The surrounding text emerges legibly on nearly all the image-containing pages, with the exception of those from the Real Academia de Historia. Among the flora depicted appear mamey, *guanábana*, nopales, and coconuts; as well as balsam, plantain, yucca, and cacao leaves; and the maguey, nopal, and morning glory plants. A better botanical than faunal illustrator, Oviedo's anteater and iguana are the best, but the possum and sloth are virtually unrecognizable, and the armadillo possesses disproportionately long legs and wildly inaccurate paws. In addition, he depicted various native houses, weapons, headdresses, and a hammock.

In making available in translation these largely inaccessible passages from the lengthy manuscript along with her own interesting insights, Myers has made a significant contribution to the scholarship of the early colonial period by providing additional pri-

mary materials and introducing another important critical Iberian voice to the debates over the conquest.

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Treatise on Slavery: Selections from "De instauranda Aethiopum salute."

By ALONSO DE SANDOVAL, S.J. Edited, translated, and with an introduction

by NICOLE VON GERMETEN. Indianapolis: Hackett, 2008. Map. Notes. Glossary.

Bibliography. Index. xxxii, 206 pp. Paper.

For scholars who wish to understand the African-European encounter in the early modern Atlantic world, Alonso de Sandoval's 1627 treatise on Jesuit ministries among African slaves in the New World is a must-read. Described by literary scholar Margaret Olsen as a "historical and geographic compendium of Africa, apology for Jesuit action in the New World, and practical missionary manual," the multifaceted work continues to interest scholars from a number of academic disciplines. With Nicole von Germeten's new abridged translation, the first ever in English, this rich document is now available and intellectually more accessible to a wider Anglophone readership.

By the early seventeenth century, slave ships (*negreros*) delivered some 3,000 to 4,000 Africans each year to the Caribbean port of Cartagena (in modern Colombia), where some were sold in public auction to local or regional buyers, while others were transported on to distant regions of Spain's New World empire. By the time the Jesuits established a permanent presence in Cartagena, the city's political and economic life revolved around the buying and selling of slaves. Yet despite high-minded rhetoric that justified the slave trade by promising eternal salvation to otherwise non-Christian Africans, very little attention was given to the physical, moral, or spiritual condition of slaves. When young Alonso de Sandoval arrived at the new Jesuit college in 1605, he began to address this neglect, devoting himself to a lifetime of pastoral labors among the city's slave population, as well as to the advocacy of these ministries through constant letter writing. But it is *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* for which he is remembered today; we would know very little about Sandoval, and less than we now do about the seventeenth-century Atlantic slave trade or Jesuit evangelization of black slaves, were it not for this important work.

Just as in Sandoval's time, *De instauranda* offers a little of something for everyone. Indeed, scholars from such diverse disciplines as epidemiology, literary criticism, and the history of Jesuit spirituality have fruitfully explored the text. There can be little doubt, however, that the work is of particular value to those who study the transatlantic slave trade, New World slavery, and the ethnic origins of those slaves; one need only consider the titles chosen for all three modern editions (1956, 1987, 2008). While this tendency toward presentist readings has drawn criticism from Colombian historian Eduardo Restrepo, it reflects the reality of today's readership and book markets. But

even Sandoval himself faced this reality; although he referred to the treatise elsewhere as *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (*On restoring salvation to the Ethiopians*), and although he viewed its emphasis on Jesuit pastoral ministries as “the fundamental goal and purpose of the work” (p. 99), he nevertheless published it under the title *Naturaleza, policia sagrada i profana, costumbres i ritos, disciplina i catecismo evangélico de todos etiopes*, a concession no doubt to the book market.

Be that as it may, Nicole von Germeten’s previous scholarship on the social history of colonial-era free blacks and slaves in the circum-Caribbean qualifies her very well to edit an edition that emphasizes the slave trade, slavery, and the African-European encounter. In a brief introduction, she provides a general context for understanding the work. Here she explores the Jesuit intellectual tradition, particularly as it relates to ideas about slavery and race, and begins to place Alonso de Sandoval into the wider history of racial and racist ideology. What follows is an abridged translation that, while slightly biased (in terms of relative length) toward books 1 and 3, reflects her emphasis on Africans as subjects, as well as on Sandoval as storyteller. The translation itself, though containing minor flaws (e.g., *rudo* as “rude”), is highly readable, free from the labored feel of translations marred by hyperliteralism. In helpful introductions to each book and chapter, as well as in periodic footnotes, von Germeten provides context and definitions essential to the general reader (for example, see explanation of “sacraments,” p. 71). In these introductions, she also poses questions to guide the reader. The benefit of such questions, of course, is in helping the reader focus on a few particular concepts; however, the inclusion of leading questions may limit the reader’s ability to make independent judgments or see other things in the text.

At the close of his discussion of the horrors of the Middle Passage, Sandoval expresses his hopes for his “humble book”: “I pray to God, full of good intentions and a desire to do well, that my words will interest readers, inspiring and motivating them to help these people. . . . When I am no longer able to work for their salvation, this book will live on” (p. 59). Thanks to the work of von Germeten, Sandoval’s book does live on for a new generation of readers. For academics and students who wish to understand the social experience of Jesuits and black slaves in the Spanish colonial world, as well as for those who will find its primary value in how it speaks to contemporary pastoral concerns within the Latin American church, this new translation of *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* will prove a rich resource.

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Colonial Period

The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies.

By NICOLÁS WEY GÓMEZ. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxiv, 592 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

Columbus's famed voyages are so over-researched that it is easy to assume that nothing new could ever be said about them. And yet Nicolás Wey Gómez has managed the seemingly impossible task of not just adding a few new details but indeed opening vast new vistas on this subject. He accomplishes this feat not by unearthing previously unknown letters or a long-lost manuscript but by offering us a new lens through which to contemplate the Columbian project. As the subtitle indicates, Wey Gómez makes the case that as much as Columbus intended to travel west to reach the East it was also part of his plan to sail south. And he contends that this overlooked aspect of Columbus's enterprise, far from constituting a minor variation on the standard narrative, in fact shows the Columbian enterprise in a wholly new light.

At 592 pages this is a jungle of a book with exuberant sections, lengthy excursions, some redundancy, and a breathtaking scope. But regardless of the difficulty of the terrain, Wey Gómez always finds a way to pursue his argument in ancient, medieval, or early modern texts and around the globe. If nothing else, *The Tropics of Empire* is inspiring for the sheer simplicity of its central idea but boundless ambition with which it is carried out.

Does it succeed in recasting the Columbian narrative? In the eyes of this reviewer the answer is resoundingly yes. *The Tropics of Empire* opens exciting avenues of understanding and research in at least three broad areas. First, by emphasizing Columbus's decision to go south, we better appreciate the monumental shift in geographic thinking implied in Columbus's conceptions. Since antiquity, Western thinkers like Parmenides, Virgil, Pliny, and many other authorities had imagined the earth as a series of climate belts, with Mediterranean Europeans inhabiting a temperate region, followed by a warmer band to the south called the "torrid zone," widely depicted as barren and uninhabited. Columbus's decision to sail there reveals the dawn of a completely new geographic understanding that turned venerable notions of the past on their head by casting the south as *especially* lush, rich, and well populated. As is well known, Columbus defied conventional wisdom by sailing west to reach the East. But his bet was double or nothing as he also took exception to a multiseular geographic tradition regarding latitude.

Second, *The Tropics of Empire* is immensely valuable for highlighting the close links between the Portuguese explorations and the Columbian project. The Portuguese were the first Europeans who dared to venture into the torrid zone as they explored the west coast of Africa south of Cape Bojador. Columbus, a proficient mariner and mapmaker, not only kept abreast of these discoveries but in fact took part in them by visiting the fortress of São Jorge da Mina in the equatorial coast of Guinea and by spending years in Portugal in the late 1470s and early 1480s. While the standard historical literature treats

Spain and Portugal as two separate imperial systems, in fact multiple contacts were the norm, particularly within the notoriously cosmopolitan and fluid world of cartographers and pilots. The lesson of Portuguese precedents needs to be extended to other aspects of Spain's activities in the Americas.

A third crucial contribution of *The Tropics of Empire* is to flesh out Columbus's colonial project especially with regard to the peoples that he found in the Americas. Columbus, like other Europeans of his time, was heir to an enduring nexus of ideas linking particular locales in the world with the physical and mental characteristics of their inhabitants. But it is only by considering his deliberate drift southward that we begin to understand just why the great discoverer was an early and persistent proponent of the enslavement of Indians, as he expected to find in those tropical latitudes "child-like" or "monstrous men" well suited for such purposes.

These areas hardly encompass the range of subjects treated in this book. But after reading this book one cannot escape the conclusion that there is much to be gained by considering the Columbian enterprise not only along an East-West axis but also along a North-South one. MIT Press is to be commended for a splendid production with high-quality paper, elegant chapter breaks, essential maps, and, that rarest of commodities in history books, color illustrations. All told, this is an exceptional book.

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Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century. By ALEJANDRO DE LA FUENTE. With the collaboration of CÉSAR GARCÍA DEL PINO and BERNARDO IGLESIAS DELGADO. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 288 pp. Cloth, \$80.00.

Alejandro de la Fuente's new book explores a critical but neglected milieu in the formation of the early Atlantic world: sixteenth-century Havana. For too long, scholars have reduced the Caribbean's Atlantic significance to its plantation spaces and phases. De la Fuente's wonderfully researched and vividly documented social historical account of early Havana provides an important antidote to this imbalanced perspective. Weaving together notarial, parish, and local government records, de la Fuente offers a textured portrait of daily life, commerce, and society in this port city amid the economic developments and social transformation of the 1550–1620 period, 150 years before the colony's great sugar expansion.

The book charts Havana's rise from a tiny coastal town with only a few hundred residents in 1550 to one of the more important population centers within Spanish America with a population of nearly ten thousand by the early 1600s. De la Fuente controverts the view that Cuba in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was little more than a garrison colony, "an imperial military outpost . . . whose only function was to protect the fleets" established in the mid-sixteenth century to transport precious metals and trade

between Spain and Spanish America via Cuba. The book details instead the expansive trade networks passing through Havana in this period, stressing commerce between not only Spain and Cuba but also Cuba and other Spanish colonies, as well as Havana and the Cuban "interior."

De la Fuente shows how the fleet system underwrote social and economic transformation within Cuba. Havana's new role as the gathering point for Spain's merchant fleets and military convoys arriving in and departing from Spanish America brought dozens of vessels and a transient population of some seven thousand, overwhelming a resident population then only in the hundreds. This work focuses on local responses to the economic opportunities presented by these thousands of transients seeking food, lodging, entertainment, and medical treatment, in addition to repairs and a heavily fortified port for their ships. The rapid development of the city and growth of its population, together with the entrepreneurial initiative of merchants, ranchers, planters, and workers both enslaved and free, spurred not only a vibrant local service economy in Havana but also growth in surrounding areas. In contrast to other coastal towns and port cities along the privileged path of the fleets, which developed (or failed to develop) in response to lucrative mining and agriculture, Havana's expanding economy preceded and fueled the development of its hinterland.

The rural economy stimulated by new urban capital and markets was heterogeneous, including cattle ranches and banana and cassava farms worked by European laborers, Indians, free people of African descent, and slaves. Sugar production also grew significantly in the last decades of the 1500s, underwritten by the profits of urban merchants, yet it remained limited in scope. Cuba's modest sugar expansion appears correlated with the limited support the Spanish crown offered the industry through loans and reductions in trade duties. De la Fuente cites capital shortage and a relatively limited supply of slaves under Spain's *asiento* system as reasons for the stalled growth of the sugar industry in Cuba.

De la Fuente also depicts demographic shifts in Havana in this period, including the changing regional and national origins of its European and African populations. By the early 1600s, roughly half of its some eight thousand residents were enslaved, and a significant portion of the free population was of African descent (thus making Havana already a highly Afro-Caribbean space). De la Fuente highlights other evolving elements of the population as well, including a Portuguese colony, a resettlement town of Indians, and a small but significant slave population not of sub-Saharan African descent. (In 1596, for instance, of 104 slaves working on military construction, 45 were "Moors" and "Turks.")

Despite the continued presence of a small number of "white" slaves, in this period slavery became almost entirely conflated with African descent in Cuba. This racialization of slavery, de la Fuente argues, was "an [Iberian] Atlantic innovation" and a fundamental way that sixteenth-century Spanish Caribbean transformations would echo across the Americas and Western Europe. De la Fuente shows how, in this early period in Cuba,

and still earlier in Spanish Santo Domingo, many modern forms of antiblack racism were consolidated. He focuses on the law, arguing that race gained “primacy over freedom as a marker of status” through new regulations and punishments that discriminated against both slaves and free persons of (full or partial) African descent. Like whites, free men (and occasionally women) of color could be *vecinos*, in the early colonial sense of free residents and heads of household with certain privileges and obligations, including participation in local elections. But in other ways, those of African descent were subject by law to systematic subordination: harsher punishments for the same crimes, sumptuary prohibitions, restrictions on permissible jobs and commerce, and legal efforts at residential segregation. Although many of these ordinances were not or could not be enforced, they nonetheless fostered “the image that blackness was . . . inherently dishonorable.”

De la Fuente’s work here implicitly speaks to the old Frank Tannenbaum thesis (1946). Tannenbaum posited a lesser degree of slave brutality and racism in Latin America versus Anglophone America, which quickly generated the critique that his conclusions emanated from a focus on law and ideology rather than practice. Among de la Fuente’s important contributions is his implicit upending of the Tannenbaum controversy by suggesting how, in fact, colonial laws continued to inscribe racial hierarchy while in practice it was resisted. Furthermore, while he documents the “relative ease” of slave manumission in early Havana—an important element of the Tannenbaum thesis—he also shows how slaves had to purchase their freedom at prices that overall were substantially above the market rate. This suggests the relative possibilities inhering in certain slaves’ jobs and their income-generating capacity rather than any putative liberal spirit of law and society. (Instead of working for their owners, many urban slaves were compelled to pay their owners a set rent while keeping any earnings beyond that for their own needs.) Although spaces of relative autonomy, mobility, or integration emerged for some of African descent, de la Fuente’s exploration of sixteenth-century Havana provocatively suggests ways they did so in spite of rather than because of colonial law and ideology.

RICHARD LEE TURITS, University of Michigan

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Another Face of Empire: Bartolomé de Las Casas, Indigenous Rights, and Ecclesiastical Imperialism. By DANIEL CASTRO. Latin America Otherwise. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 233 pp. Cloth, \$74.95. Paper, \$21.95.

"We must see [Las Casas] as the incarnation of a more benevolent, paternalistic form of ecclesiastical, political, cultural, and economic imperialism rather than as a unique paradigmatic figure," writes Daniel Castro in his forceful revisionist work on the life and career of the Dominican priest Bartolomé de Las Casas (p. 8). A recurrent subject of scholarly controversy and discord on both sides of the Atlantic, Las Casas has been described as a compassionate advocate for human rights and even hailed as a precursor of liberation theology, or derided as the paranoid progenitor of the Black Legend. In Castro's book, however, the famous friar emerges as a perhaps well-intentioned but ultimately naive, myopic, and self-serving manipulator whose political actions were both limited and spurred by his inflexible paternalistic worldview and unwarranted faith in Spanish legalism. Beyond scholarly concerns, Castro's monograph aspires to become an urgent call to overcome what he calls a *lascasian* style in contemporary social activism, which the author characterizes as suffused with paternalistic pity toward the oppressed.

Following Alain Milhou, Castro attributes the roots and limitations of Las Casas's anticolonialism to his fixation on the destruction of the Indies by his compatriots, which Las Casas compared to the devastation of Spain by Moorish occupation. Propelled by a desire to "restore" the Indies, Las Casas spent the final 52 years of his life (from 1514 to 1566) concocting all sorts of plans that petitioned the crown to "restore" the continent through appropriate legislation. He took good care of emphasizing in his works the profitability for the crown of preserving the Indians from the colonizers' predatory practices. Thus, according to Castro, Las Casas's early writings, from his *Memorial de Remedios* of 1516 to his *Brevísima Relación* of 1542, were essentially "capitalist primers" for the rational exploitation of the New World. Understandably, Las Casas's anticolonialist treatises became an invaluable source of information to a king interested in keeping the ambitions of the conquistadors in check.

By informing the king about the colonizers' actions and prompting him to issue laws against them, asserts Castro, Las Casas became a "battering ram" of the Spanish Crown and an instrument of its centralist ambitions. More often than not, however, his efforts to implement the laws created disarray and resistance rather than subservience among the Spaniards. Castro depicts Las Casas as a shrewd pragmatist in court but a terrible negotiator on the other side of the Atlantic. It is in American lands that his sharp gaze becomes myopic, his advocacy efforts futile and antagonizing, and his famed pragmatism severely obtuse. Given the fact that most such laws were not enforced, one would be inclined to see Las Casas as a poor contributor to Spanish imperial hegemony in the Americas. The crown's failure to implement its decrees aside, Castro claims that the Dominican's anticolonialism never translated into an anti-imperialist stance. As the author himself admits, Las Casas began to question the king's rights over the American

lands upon his return from the Indies, a criticism he maintained until his death and refined in late works such as *De regia potestate*. Unfortunately, this important period of 19 years receives only perfunctory treatment in Castro's book.

In a crucial passage of his monograph, the author stresses the importance of recognizing Las Casas's limitations in the context of his era. He rightly chides modern intellectuals for their tendency to mythologize Las Casas by divorcing him from his historical milieu. Regrettably, the author does not always follow his own advice. By characterizing Las Casas as an "activist" and "organizer" and his advocacy actions in the Spanish court as "lobbying," the author suggests unwarranted historical continuities between the Dominican's goals and strategies and those pursued and employed by contemporary militants in Latin America. In his urgency to criticize the uncritical acceptance and promotion of Las Casas as a symbol of nonviolent reform by liberation theologians and intellectuals, Castro goes as far as to characterize the paternalistic Dominican as a forerunner of the modern dependency school. He also claims that Las Casas's posthumous fame is predicated upon the "need" in Latin America to find a heroic redeemer in the absence of autochthonous heroes, to "save" indigenous peoples from the shame of defeat, and to "assuage . . . our own feelings of inadequacy" or apathy about transforming reality. The posthumous career of Las Casas's work and legacy certainly demands a book in itself, but this reviewer is not yet ready to add one more item to the already heavy load of "colonial legacies" that Latin American people allegedly endure and carry with them.

JAVIER VILLA-FLORES, University of Illinois at Chicago

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All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World.

By STUART B. SCHWARTZ. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 336 pp. Cloth, \$50.00.

Stuart Schwartz, one of the preeminent historians of the colonial Iberian world, analyzes a persistent "subterranean" stream of religious tolerance, relativism, skepticism, dissidence, criticism, and indifference. Inquisitions notwithstanding, a remarkable array of individuals expressed distrust of ideologies proffered by ruling elites, their institutions and practices, such as religious exclusivism or coercion, the political creation and maintenance of stark class hierarchies, and the modern *Gesamtkunstwerk*, racism. People dared to dispute many of the Catholic Church's claims to holiness, perfection, and control; some even contested the church itself. One of the motifs woven throughout the book is the heretical yet evidently not uncommon idea that even non-Christians who live well in their own religion are loved by God and might achieve salvation.

Schwartz announces at the outset the ways in which his study differs from its predecessors. He explores tolerance in the Iberian world, certainly a counterintuitive locale, even while it was under the sway of the Counter-Reformation. He focuses on popular attitudes rather than high-culture texts from scholars and public figures, using the

records of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions to access the beliefs of "ordinary" individuals, which supposedly would be impossible from the more controlled productions of literary texts and cannot be done in other countries lacking similar institutions of surveillance.

The narrative unfolds more or less chronologically. Schwartz begins in the Iberian Peninsula with matters mostly Jewish and Moorish; he then discusses Christian renegades and others who had had contact with Islam abroad. Next he moves to the colonies and their novel demographic and conceptual miscegenation, where Native Americans and Africans began figuring in the scheme of things. (Particularly fascinating is Schwartz's reading of the seeming willingness of Portuguese settlers in Brazil to collaborate and even intermarry with the heretical Calvinist Dutch when the latter occupied parts of the colony.) He then takes in the increasingly global eighteenth century, the growing predominance of rationalism and reasons of state, and the transformation of heterodoxies into reformist programs. Finally, Schwartz compares Hispanic critical heterodoxies with those of the rest of Europe.

It is impossible to detect a single origin for the heterodox ideas Schwartz describes. Some have ancient pedigrees; others came from books, the wrong kind of books or the right kind read wrongly. While many notions circulated orally, others were strengthened by travel abroad or contact with other kinds of people. Schwartz reads expressions of tolerance for "other religions" as a countertendency to the Reconquista and later Catholic imperialism. Universalism also resulted from recurrent daily contact with other peoples, which "created a common ground of understanding and acceptance" (p. 53). Schwartz shows that religious tolerance, indifference, or doubts were hardly the monopoly of individuals from dominated groups. Indeed, some Portuguese Old Christians seem to have gone so far as to warn New Christians about inquisitorial activity and hide them, even smuggle them out of the country. Intriguingly, men comprised the overwhelming majority of those accused of dissidence, though Schwartz believes this reflects inquisitorial foci rather than a real-world gender differential. Hispanic tolerance, according to Schwartz, did not stem from expediency or self-interest, as it often did elsewhere in Europe, but from "genuine conviction and sense of justice" (p. 250). Nonetheless, Hispanic tolerance remained a decidedly minority affair and ultimately failed, in contrast to its continental parallels, which blossomed into official toleration and Enlightenment statecraft. Attitudinal change arrived in the Hispanic world due to commercial desires, political pragmatism, and the military intrusion of external forces.

Schwartz argues, along with much recent scholarship, against the separability of high and low or elite and folk cultures. Do these many and varied dissidents or doubters relate to one another? Schwartz thinks "they perhaps represented a subculture" of sorts (p. 173), yet he wisely refrains from constructing a tendentious history. Elsewhere he wants to distinguish between "defensive strategies" of dominated ethnic groups in defending their own putatively superseded religions, and "statements of tolerance or relativism" (p. 175). Yet throughout, statements by converso or Morisco are treated as the latter, not the former. Other questions remain. Are religious toleration, indiffer-

ence, and confusion linked, psychologically or culturally? While one gets the sense that Schwartz sees heterodoxy as somehow progressive, many of the given examples of culturally syncretistic magic appear problematic even if polyglot, alternative but hardly inevitably progressive. Another question regards modalities of consciousness. It is not clear whether the kinds of statements Schwartz excavates and collects reflect "belief," a term seen increasingly by scholars as rather slippery, or are merely situational utterances. Are all unorthodox statements expressions of "resistance" to forms of authority, or are some merely rationalizations, jokes, boasts, angry outbursts, or sincere cases of ignorance? Are "beliefs" actions or states of mind? The difference between these modalities made an analytical difference to the inquisitors but does not seem to matter in this text.

Nonetheless, this well-written survey makes an important addition to the study of the intertwined history of religion, politics, and popular culture in Europe and its overseas colonies that Alfred Crosby called Neo-Europe.

JONATHAN SCHORSCH, Columbia University

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Misiones en Chile austral: Los Jesuitas en Chiloé, 1608–1768.

By RODRIGO MORENO JERIA. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas / Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, Diputación de Sevilla, 2007.

Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 450 pp. Paper.

Misiones en Chile austral: Los Jesuitas en Chiloé, 1608–1768 is a detailed account of the missionary work performed by the Jesuits in the Chilean archipelago of Chiloé. According to Rodrigo Moreno Jeria, from the early seventeenth century until the expulsion of the Jesuits, the mission of Chiloé was a success that merits greater attention than it has hitherto received. Fathers acted here with a great deal of pragmatism and did not attempt to organize the Indians into the traditional *reducciones*. Instead, the Jesuits respected the fact that settlements were scattered in the main island and in the other smaller islands around it, and evangelization was performed by going from one native settlement to the next, according to a strict liturgical calendar. (Environmental factors and the availability of food, mainly seafood, determined the pattern of settlement.) Notwithstanding that rotation was the key to success, many pages of the book are devoted to describing this same rotation as a source of problems. To start with, rotation involved extended periods of absence from a native community and, until a priest could return to it, a converted Indian was in charge of watching over the neophytes for the observance of basic Christian behaviors.

Based on secondary and primary sources (the *Cartas Annuas* in particular), the author offers a narrative that starts with a brief description of the origins of the Society of Jesuits and its first steps in the Americas. In 1608 the mission of Chiloé was founded to both convert the Huilliches and the Chonos and to spiritually assist those Spaniards settled in the main island, most of them living in the colony of Castro. Difficulties

started out from dealing with the Spaniards as much as from finding enough human and material resources to fulfill the needs of the Colegio de Castro, but these problems did not deter the priests from attempting to expand farther eastward. They indeed crossed the Andes and established another mission in the Nahuel-Huapi region in present-day Argentina. Besides the zeal to harvest souls, the push into new lands across the Andes was fueled by the legend of the City of the Caesars; a rich reign governed by white men and supposedly located someplace around the Strait of Magellan. Overall, the Jesuits had an uneven success with the evangelization of the Puelches and the Poyas of the Nahuel-Huapi area. When Father Nicolás Mascardi was killed in 1673, the mission was abandoned and future attempts at establishing a permanent Jesuit presence on the eastern slope of the Andes ended in failure. The effort lasted until 1717, when the murder of Father Francisco Elguea made the Society withdraw from the Nahuel-Huapi region.

Misiones en Chile austral contains useful historical data ranging from the financial situation of the Jesuit haciendas to personal information about the priests. The author has surveyed many sources in some German archives that shed light on the origins of the Jesuits sent to Chiloé and on the Christian traditions and devotions pertaining to that part of Europe, which the priests introduced to southern Chile. The book also has interesting descriptions on how changes in the administration of both the church in general and the Jesuits in particular interfered with the goals of the priests in Chiloé.

It is clearly a book for a specialist, who will profit from the abundance of facts by placing this case study into the broader historiographical framework of the colonial borderlands. Regrettably, the book fails to provide us with such a needed framework. Above all, the bibliography concentrates on very well-known Chilean historians and some of their works, although without mentioning their current debates. Moreover, many pieces of research written either in English or in Spanish about the Jesuits, the missions, and the frontiers are vastly ignored; and this is true even in the case of titles referring to colonial Chile and the Araucanía. Nonetheless, the relevance of the book lies in the fact that it has skillfully reconstructed the entire life of a Jesuit mission located at the southern end of the Americas.

MARGARITA GASCÓN, CONICET, Argentina

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Una caída anunciada: El obispo Torre y los jesuitas del Río de la Plata (1757–1773).

By FERNANDO AGUERRE CORE. Montevideo: Librería Linardi y Risso, 2007.

Illustrations. Map. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Indexes. 397 pp. Paper.

This book contributes to the history of the church in South America by addressing Bishop Manuel Antonio de la Torre's action in the Río de la Plata area. The author, according to a preface by Pedro Borges Morán, takes part in a recent historiographical current that sets out "to focus history from the sociological point of view without forgetting the remaining aspects" of the historical reality, and claims to pay due attention to facts that anticipate an event (p. 7). Against the background of the Compañía de Jesús missionary action and its later suppression in Spanish dominions, Fernando Aguerre Core offers some new elements to the study of a subject that "seemed exhausted already" (p. 8).

Mainly basing his work on documentation from the Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Aguerre Core focuses on the reforms and conflicts that involved Bishop Manuel Antonio de la Torre during the last 20 years of his life. Aguerre Core first studies the circumstances of de la Torre's appointment at the episcopal seat of Paraguay and the *visita general* to his diocese, the result of which is published in an appendix. Later, the author discusses the bishop's arrival to Buenos Aires and the new *visita* that he made after his appointment as bishop there. In addition, Aguerre Core approaches the confrontation that the bishop and a group of Spanish soldiers had with General Pedro de Cevallos and the later conflict between de la Torre and the *cabildo* of the city, followed by Cevallos's action to precipitate the bishop's fall. In that frame, the author pays special attention to the bishop's defense reportedly written by his vicar and secretary, the *presbítero* Juan Balthasar Maciel. Finally, the author examines the *visita* that de la Torre made to Montevideo's jurisdiction, his participation in the II Concilio Platense, and his death in 1776 in the city of La Plata.

An appendix includes the "Razón que de su visita general da el Dr. Manuel Antonio de la Torre. Obispo de el Paraguay al Real y Supremo Concejo de Indias. Año de 1761," dated in Asunción of Paraguay on September 28, 1761, a copy of which is conserved in the Seville archive. The relation of this document to the main text is not satisfactory. Since it is difficult for the reader to find quotations in the plain text, perhaps it would have been more helpful to add within the chapter dedicated to the study of this document the numeration in paragraphs that the author includes in the appendix, together with the original pages of the manuscript. The lack of an index of names is a surprising omission, and this requires the reader to look through the text in search of a particular reference.

Despite its bibliographical lacunae, Fernando Aguerre Core's work might be interesting for those devoted to history of law and canon law, church history, and the history of ideas. Furthermore, the book might also please members of the public interested in the history of Río de la Plata.

SANDRA L. DÍAZ DE ZAPPÍA, Instituto de Investigaciones de Historia del Derecho, Buenos Aires

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Ciudad y poder: La construcción material y simbólica del Montevideo colonial (1723–1810).
 By EMILIO JOSÉ LUQUE AZCONA. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones
 Científicas / Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, Diputación de Sevilla, 2007. Photographs.
 Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 356 pp. Paper.

When Portuguese raiders founded Colonia do Sacramento on the eastern shore of the Río de la Plata estuary in 1680, the colonial authorities in Spain were justifiably alarmed. Their possessions in the New World were not only threatened by European adversaries, but now the Portuguese in Brazil had established a bridgehead in the Río de la Plata that allowed them to make inroads into the vast lowlands of this river system and, from there, to ultimately threaten Alto Peru, the silver source of the Spanish crown in South America.

After an initial success in dislodging the intruders, the colonial authorities in Madrid decided to build a stronghold on the eastern shore of the Río de la Plata (Banda Oriental) to ascertain their presence in these remote territories and deter future thrusts from rival nations. With this strategy in mind, the garrison-settlement of San Felipe de Montevideo was founded in 1723. But unlike its counterparts in the Spanish Caribbean, Montevideo never attained an image, intended to discourage further incursions, as a *plaza fuerte*, due to a chronic lack of funds, official indolence, and appalling administrative incompetence.

Documenting the painstaking growth of the settlement and elaborating on the strategic considerations of its foundation are the main purposes of Emilio J. Luque Azcona's monograph, based on a dissertation completed in 2004 at the Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville. The thematic structuring, the organization of the bibliographic sources, and the placement of the illustrations and tables at the end of the volume and not within the text, reflect its origin in a doctoral thesis.

Notwithstanding these structural limitations, Luque Azcona's book has the merit of presenting the case of Montevideo as an exposé of the failed governing policies that plagued the Spanish colonial system at the end of the Habsburg rule, and revealing the efforts made by its Bourbon successors to correct them. In a systematic and evocative manner, the author delineates the conception of Montevideo as a bulwark planned in the Spanish metropolis with scarce knowledge of the specific terrain conditions, little consideration for local defense details, and misunderstanding of the strategic regional purposes of the stronghold. Using pertinent archival documents and travelers' accounts, Luque Azcona outlines the dismal conditions prevailing in the languishing settlement, which, in addition to suffering from endless bickering among conceited administrators, was also constantly harassed by roaming Indians and threatened by pirate attacks. No more helpful were the available human resources, consisting of a few settler families from the Canary Islands, rogue soldiers, brawling seamen, militia deserters, mixed breeds, and Spanish bureaucrats wishing to leave the place as soon as their commissions were completed.

The combination of corrupt functionaries or incompetent colonial administrators and an unreliable labor force was detrimental to the construction of fortifications and the development of the settlement: ramparts crumbled due to faulty materials, city walls were pierced by vagrants and itinerant Indians, the streets were commonly impassable. Repeatedly, visitors from Spain warned that the place would not resist a military attack. This is precisely what happened in 1807, when British General Whitelock seized the garrison settlement without encountering major armed opposition.

The failure of the colonial authorities to establish an imposing fortress in Montevideo capable of halting foreign assaults in this unattended part of South America underlines the vulnerability of the Spanish dominion in the Río de la Plata region at the end of colonial rule. The feeble constructions that had been finished before the Uruguayans gained independence from Spain in 1814 were promptly demolished, and with them went all concrete reminders of the Spanish presence. In a rather plaintive tone, the Spanish scholar laments the loss of historical memory that is evident in the contemporary city of Montevideo: "From the viewpoint of the material patrimony, the transformations undergone by the urban landscape and the architectonic design of the central zone of Montevideo have brought about the irreparable loss of valuable historical and artistic patrimonies, among which are, precisely, the fortifications that now have practically disappeared" (p. 21). Paradoxically, remains of the old town and some historical monuments dating back to the period of Portuguese occupancy in Colonia do Sacramento (today Uruguay's Colonia) were declared by UNESCO as the "Patrimony of Humanity" in 1995, a designation that recognizes the Portuguese heritage and has converted the former enclave into a thriving tourist attraction for Brazilians, Argentines, and Uruguayans, thus making Colonia the only place that merits historical mention in the whole country.

CÉSAR N. CAVIEDES, University of Florida

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Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico. By BRIAN P. OWENSBY.

Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008. Illustrations. Maps. Notes.

Bibliography. Index. x, 379 pp. Cloth, \$65.00.

Historians have long grappled with how to interpret *derecho indiano*, the laws and legal commentary that helped define and shape Spain's colonial enterprise in the Americas. Early debates questioned whether to privilege its guiding spirit of protecting the crown's indigenous vassals from abuse, or to recognize that the law arrived in the New World a dead letter given the realities of an imperial project predicated on racial hierarchies and exploitation. More recent scholarship acknowledges that the legal system was sufficiently responsive to prompt indigenous groups to adopt litigation as a means of protecting and furthering their interests, but argues that this engagement ultimately reinforced the state's hegemony. Brian Owensby proposes that our understanding of colonial law has

been obscured by a failure to recognize the incommensurability of the modern-day ideal of an impartial and rational "rule of law," and the open-ended, pragmatic, and mediated process of the Spanish system. Law would be better conceptualized as a field of contestation intimately connected to power and politics.

Owensby explores this idea by revisiting New Spain's colonial Indian Court (the subject of Woodrow Borah's acclaimed set of essays published in 1983) and indigenous engagement with the institution from its inception in 1590 to the transition to Bourbon rule in 1700. Indians, he shows, learned to appeal for royal protection (*amparo*) by presenting themselves as loyal vassals and *miserables* in keeping with an Iberian tradition dating back to the Siete Partidas. This strategy hardly resolved the inherent contradiction driving royal policy in the Indies—that the commonweal depended on compulsory labor and tribute from the very population seeking shelter—but it did allow Indians to use the law to carve out a space within colonial society, an opportunity that they seized with abandon.

The heart of the book comprises six thematically organized chapters, each of which highlights a sphere of interest (such as land, labor, and municipal governance) that indigenous clients and their legal advisors pursued in court during this formative era. Overall, the chapters exhibit a fairly consistent structure. Drawing from existing scholarship, Owensby details how crown policy (*congregación, composición de tierras, repartimiento*, etc.) and secular trends (such as demographic collapse and recovery) spurred indigenous plaintiffs to seek redress. More compelling is the author's wide-ranging discussion of the legal discourse framing these judicial contests and the relationships forged between Indians and court officials. Owensby faces several imposing methodological challenges, not least of which is the absence of summaries by judges detailing how they reached their decisions. The most significant, however, concerns how to extract Indian voices from petitions carefully crafted and massaged by non-Indian counselors. On the one hand, Owensby makes ingenious use of native-language sources, such as bilingual dictionaries and *The Metaphors* of Andrés Olmos, to suggest how Spanish legal discourse may have been understood and assimilated by indigenous litigants. More fundamentally, Owensby privileges the judicial process itself, which drew Indians into the courts and produced over time a collective repertoire of knowledge of legal precedent, argument, and rhetoric.

The book's principal strength rests on Owensby's skillful reconstruction of representative case studies meant to illustrate how the courts served as a site of contestation for Indians and non-Indians alike. Rather than the means for seeking binding resolution to intractable legal squabbles, the law offered a venue for the aggrieved to air their complaints, to seek recourse (however temporary), and perhaps to reach some semblance of a mutually agreeable resolution with opposing parties. Significantly, the politics of law affected the judges as much as it did the litigants. The book is peppered with examples of magistrates struggling to make sense of competing truths (the account of one official's vain efforts to determine the existence of a hill central to the resolution of a land dispute is especially evocative), or attempting to finesse the enforcement of a distant court's deci-

sions to safeguard public tranquility in a society fractured by multiple racial, ethnic, and class divisions. Likewise, a chapter on the 1660 Tehuantepec rebellion reveals a carefully orchestrated dance between the Audiencia judge appointed to mete out justice and various Indian governors and communities, who employed arguments and tactics drawn from a complex and evolving legal culture to exculpate themselves with differing degrees of success.

In sum, Brian Owensby has provided a superlative study of indigenous people's engagement with the law in seventeenth-century New Spain. Backed by an impressive body of research, the book strikes a pleasing balance between a bird's-eye view of the philosophical underpinnings of the colonial legal system and a series of expertly rendered case studies that demonstrate the degree to which Indians sought out a distant sovereign's attention in the hopes of attaining justice. Some readers may take issue with particular points of interpretation; to this reviewer's eye, the sixteenth century comes off as almost too chaotic and turbulent in contrast to the more orderly story of the unfolding of the seventeenth-century legal process. Such criticisms aside, colonialists and legal scholars alike will find much to recommend in this important work.

ANDREW B. FISHER, Carleton College

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Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico.

By MARÍA ELENA MARTÍNEZ. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Illustrations. Maps. Appendix. Glossary. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 407 pp. Cloth.

María Elena Martínez's *Genealogical Fictions* deserves a place among the best of the recent literature that has been produced on race, caste, social hierarchy, and religion in colonial Latin America. The book is a significant work of archival research, historical synthesis, and interpretation, yielding one of the most comprehensive understandings to date on the wide-ranging significance of *limpieza de sangre*. In fact, while Martínez covers some well-known topics, she marshals her evidence in innovative ways that help bring into view a refreshingly new perspective on Latin America's past.

One of the book's main tasks is to correlate *limpieza de sangre* (which had strong religious connotations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) with the evolution of more modern ideas surrounding caste and race. This is a contentious point for those who have viewed *limpieza de sangre* as primarily an Iberian phenomenon and for those who have argued for isolating it from conceptions of race, lest we erroneously fall into the trap of "characterizing all premodern societies . . . as racially structured" (p. 11). As Martínez's argument unfolds, she traces how the very idiom of blood lineage experienced significant transformation over time, producing reciprocal shocks on the production of colonial racial discourse. She reveals a certain congruency between colonial racism and anti-Semitism. Additionally, she shows how gender and sexuality were integral to both the conceptualization of *limpieza de sangre* and caste, since ideas of masculinity and female sexuality served as discursive sites that managed blood purity and caste proliferation.

A true work of Atlantic history, *Genealogical Fictions* moves seamlessly from Spain to Mexico and back again. Divided into three parts (with three chapters apiece), the book starts by evaluating the genesis of *limpieza de sangre* in Spain, uncovering the fragility of the system. Proving purity of blood and sustaining those claims too often fell to the whims of rumor or the wiles of officials who could be easily bribed. Nonetheless, *limpieza* certificates were vigorously pursued. In transitioning her analysis to New Spain (the crux of the book's second section), Martínez explores the differences encountered in the New World environment. She proposes that the division of society into two "republics" (one for Spaniards and the other for *indios*) is basic to an understanding of how Spaniards and natives utilized and invoked blood purity claims to legitimate their heritages, bestow honor, and promote social advancement. Natives, being privileged to live under the rubric of a "republic" (even if loosely configured within the colonial legal and social mind-set), could partake of and create parallel discourses of *limpieza de sangre* that emphasized links to respected pre-Hispanic dynasties but that slightly sidestepped *limpieza de sangre*'s original intent. Indeed, as the concept of *limpieza de sangre* worked its way sinuously through the totality of the colonial world, its original form and purposes continually metamorphosed.

Although primarily anchored in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *Genealogical Fictions* has much to say about the eighteenth century, much of it in the concluding three chapters. For instance, Martínez compels us to rethink processes of creolization and the development of creole identity, especially on the eve of the nineteenth century. She invites us to ponder the significance of the *casta* paintings (eighteenth-century artistic renditions of colonial racial mixture) in light of new arguments and evidence. Furthermore, she entices us to fathom what the legacy of tracing one's "lineage" actually meant as it was enacted and routinized in the everyday lives of colonists. Obviously, the deep structures of social memory, social organization, and hierarchy in the New World must have been affected.

Scholars may find particularly innovative Martínez's use of *probanza* records (certificates of lineage and blood purity) as the main methodological tool to trace the history of *limpieza de sangre*. These documents prove to be remarkably useful, especially in understanding elite maneuverings. Into the eighteenth century, their tenor changed as *probanza* cases became far less concerned with establishing and ascertaining one's unblemished, Christian origins. Much of this shift corresponded with a general move away from religious concerns toward secular ones. New debates produced by the Age of Reason, particularly regarding nature and its classification and evolution, were equally influential. With these changes, the complicated genealogical formulas and logic that had prevailed in *probanza* cases gave way to an emergent phenotypic knowledge that helped establish the "proofs" and "evidence" of one's social station. In other words, the greater secularization of society emboldened the development of phenotypic logic as a rational means of "knowing," despite the fact that in some instances (especially in native communities) the value of genealogically derived knowledge continued to enjoy primacy. Alas, for many in the eighteenth century, purity of blood became purity of phenotype.

This is a book packed with insights. Page after page, Martínez displays an astute command of the literature on colonial Mexico, and she does not shy from using her evidence to rewrite portions of the master narrative of Mexican history. With a book of such scope, however, there are inevitably points that one would have liked to see addressed. For instance, Martínez covers only lightly the topic of *gente de razón*, which may have had more bearing on understanding *limpieza de sangre* and caste than she insinuates. Given the broadness of her topic, the theme of gender also periodically gets lost as she works through the details of other matters. Additionally, one wonders how *limpieza de sangre* fits (and complicates) the narrative of “honor-virtue” and “honor-status” that has been inherited from a previous generation of scholars. Finally, there is a distinct class bias in this study that leans toward the upper social strata (in part an inevitable consequence of her documents and evidence). Regardless of these small points, what readers will find here is a sage and learned discussion of the rise of *limpieza de sangre* and its transfer to the New World. This is an important book that will help steer future studies. Any scholar working in the field of colonial Latin American social history must certainly consult *Genealogical Fictions*. Undoubtedly, it will be widely read in graduate seminars.

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La música y el Atlántico: Relaciones musicales entre España y Latinoamérica.

Edited by MARÍA GEMBERO USTÁRROZ and EMILIO ROS-FÁBREGAS. Granada:

Universidad de Granada, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Appendixes.

Notes. Bibliography. Indexes. 605 pp. Paper.

In a demonstration of what Hispanic studies can contribute to the enrichment of musicology, María Gembero Ustárróz and Emilio Ros-Fábregas have compiled a collection of essays that challenge notions of center-periphery and Europe as the sole source of influence in Western musical discourse. This collection explores the ways in which European thinking was actually molded, renewed, and transformed, thus creating and localizing new hegemonies that, while influenced by colonial ideology, provide new modalities to question the construction of hegemony and its “others.”

This collection focuses overwhelmingly on the colonial period, and the information in some of these essays shows that, in many respects, colonial America remains a terra incognita. María Gembero Ustárróz, Lucía Gómez Fernández, and Marcelino Díez Martínez shed new light on the dynamics of traffic between Spain and America, emphasizing the importance of Cádiz as the ultimate point of contact with the New World. Gembero Ustárróz explores the migration of musicians from Spain to America, bringing new and important information about the origins, migration requirements, and accompanying entourage of some of the most important music figures in colonial America. In a most important contribution to the otherwise unexplored topic of lay musical sponsorship outside of ecclesiastical centers, Lucía Gómez Fernández talks about the

musical patronage of the Medina Sidonia family in Cádiz. Gómez Fernández touches upon the issue of religious sensibility permeating musical patronage in terms of function, and the exchanges of musicians between the family's court and the cathedral of Seville. In this regard, there is some resonance with the narrative presented by Mercedes Castillo Ferreira, whose study of music at the Abadía of the Vaca de Castro family alludes to the conservative orthodoxy of Habsburg confessionality influencing musical practices during the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

As a main theme in these four essays, the importance of Cádiz in the cultural exchange between Spain and the New World comes forth: it was the main port of departure and arrival to and from America, and the main center where the arrival of American news, tendencies, and products was first established. In this light, Marcelino Díez Martínez explores the musical connections between Cádiz and America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, showing the work of mutual influences in terms of musicians from the cathedral of Cádiz who either migrated or sent their works to America (e.g., Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Francisco Delgado), and in terms of American religious rituals that, once in Spain, were widely cultivated.

On a different note, essays by Miguel Molina Martínez, Aurelio Tello, and Juan Pablo Fernández-Cortés touch upon issues of cultural syncretism. Molina Martínez considers how the building of the colonial city related to the reproduction of a cultural matrix by re-creating a social hierarchy of power that recognized the centrality of the crown. He shows how religious festivities, in their relationship with an urban framework, acted as a symbolic arena to stage the power relations among groups who negotiated their position in the colonial social hierarchy. Aurelio Tello's study of Portuguese composer Gaspar Fernandes's *cancionero* (roughly translated as songbook) considers this musical corpus as a testimony of musical life in New Spain during the seventeenth century. The contents of Fernandes's *cancionero* attest to the virtual identity between the crown and the church. According to Tello, the *cancionero*'s sacred repertory—featuring Latin, Africanized Spanish, and Nahuatl texts used for important occasions, such as the welcome of a new viceroy—ultimately opens new inquiries about ethnic identity, social legitimacy, and religious performance by the different social groups composing colonial society. Juan Pablo Fernández-Cortés explores how cultural encounters across the Atlantic shaped musical practices according to specific sociocultural realities, thus challenging the assumed center-periphery narrative of Western music in the Americas. In this respect, he argues that it is not possible to regard the *tonadilla escénica* as an exclusive Spanish form due to processes of syncretism found in American tonadillas, as illustrated by the *sonsonetes* and *cumbés* that were incorporated in the tonadilla repertoire.

All in all, the book represents a breath of fresh air to Hispanic studies. And although in this collection we still find descriptions that do not contribute anything new to the field (e.g., narratives of colonial religious music according to well-known secondary sources; issues of Italianization that do not problematize aesthetics and cultural ideology in light of the Bourbon reforms), the essays bring new insights and information that make the collection an important research tool. For example, Javier Marín López

provides a thorough index of a recently recovered collection of *villancicos* and motets from the cathedral of Mexico under the name of *Fondo Estrada*, a collection well known to Mexican colonialists. Craig Russell and Ricardo Miranda explore the cultural importance of the matins service for the Virgen de Guadalupe in eighteenth-century Mexico in terms of its structural dimensions and its relevance to issues of cultural identity. Belén Vargas Liñán provides a fascinating problematization of salon music in Mexico during the nineteenth century in terms of its relevance to gender studies, while David Coifman brings to light the music of Jose Antonio Caro de Boesi (1758–1814?) as the oldest attributable musical corpus in Venezuela.

The book closes with a section of more modern inquiries by María del Coral Morales Villar, Victoria Eli Rodríguez, and Gérard Borrás. In keeping with the book's theme, Morales Villar addresses the connections between Spain and Argentina in terms of the dissemination of singing techniques from the method *El arte de desarrollar la voz y sus timbres* (1915) by Catalanian singer Ramón Guitart-Besangèe. Eli Rodríguez explores the year 1959 as a liminal historical point of musical transformation in relation to the political changes that occurred after the victory of the Cuban Revolution. Gérard Borrás offers a historical analysis of indigenous musical practices and organology in the Bolivian Altiplano and their change due to cultural and social transformations that occurred throughout the second half of the twentieth century.

As the contents of the book suggest, there is still much to be considered in regard to the historical impact that the encounter between Europe and America had in Western musical practices. Not least is the realization that there is still a wealth of information waiting to be uncovered.

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Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521–1821.

By KELLY DONAHUE-WALLACE. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008. Photographs. Plates. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xxvii, 276 pp. Paper, \$29.95.

Colonial art in Latin America has not traditionally generated the same intense interest that has been lavished on the pre-Columbian and contemporary art of Latin America, at least in the Anglophone literature and academy. Thankfully, this appears to be changing. The past decade has witnessed a surge of spectacular exhibitions in the United States on colonial Latin American art: *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830* (2004); *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821* (2004); *Inventing Race: Casta Painting and Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (2004); *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820* (2006); and *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600–1825 from the Thoma Collection* (2006). All have produced sleek exhibition catalogues with essays by scholars from both Latin America and the United States on artistic production and its

techniques, purposes, responses, and contexts. Consequently, it is becoming increasingly easier to introduce students (especially undergraduates who may not read Spanish and Portuguese) to sophisticated analyses of the visual and material culture of colonial Latin America. The fact that two new surveys dedicated to the colonial period have appeared within the last three years surely indicates not only the need to take stock of the cumulative significance of recent scholarship on colonial art but also the growth in university curricula of specialized courses in the art and visual culture of the colonial period. The work under review originated from the author's frustration with the lack of adequate texts for courses on colonial Latin American art.

Despite the title of the work, Kelly Donahue-Wallace focuses on the art and architecture of Spanish America, excluding Portugal and Brazil. She emphasizes the colonial capitals of Mexico City and Lima but gives considerable attention to different geographical regions. Her analysis ranges from the colonial capitals to Cuzco, Potosí, Santiago de Chile, Paraguay, Puebla, Tlaxcala, the mining communities of Zacatecas and Taxco, and frontier areas such as New Mexico. As an art historian, she is mindful of questions of style but questions how valuable it is to apply labels such as "Baroque" and "neoclassic," echoing what Elizabeth Wilder Weisman described as the "chronological anarchy" of colonial Latin American art. However, her concerns extend well beyond confining contemplations on style labels. In eight chapters the author examines painting (religious themes and secular genres such as the *casta* paintings and *monjas coronadas*), sculpture, religious and civic architecture (altar screens, cathedrals, churches, miraculous cult images and their shrines), and urban planning, and their development over 300 years. The final chapter analyzes the foundation of the Royal Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City and the spread of the neoclassical style in South America in the late eighteenth century. The result is a deft exploration of the diversity of artistic production both within and between the viceroyalties, and its formal and iconographic variations.

The chronological framework of this study enables the author to trace the differences in the various media between the early and late colonial periods, their changing cultural and aesthetic fortunes, and their broader political, social, and economic contexts. The main argument which threads its way throughout the book is that art and architecture played a significant role in the formation of Spanish American colonial societies and "participated in a constant and diverse cultural negotiation" (p. xxiii). While this argument is not exactly new, her careful attention to both the art and architecture and the people and policies that produced them demonstrates how those processes unfolded. Donahue-Wallace is particularly sensitive to teasing out the social interactions and exchanges embodied in artistic production, and she captures the energy of sheer inventiveness. Processes of acculturation, inculturation, and transculturation are illustrated in vivid ways, as are ruptures and repressions. Her discussions of the architecture of evangelization, mural paintings, and monastic decorative programs show the intellectual and artistic cooperation and negotiations of friars and native artists "even when the forms and iconography appear overwhelmingly European" (pp. 38–39). She

analyzes the differing fortunes of several pre-Columbian media in postconquest society, such as Mesoamerican feather mosaics and Andean *queros* (ornamented cups); missionaries appropriated the former for use by the church but rejected the latter. The overall impression is of a cultural *entente cordiale* as much as it is of a “war of images.”

This study is accessible to scholars, students (both undergraduates and graduates), and the general reader. It includes useful primary-source extracts and abundant illustrations. By way of comment more than criticism, the author could have profitably included a conclusion to reflect more generally on what she sees as the most important research directions for the future. And, one minor clarification is necessary. In the excerpt she chose of the painters’ guild ordinances of 1686, she includes the article that prohibited any master painter from accepting apprentices who were not Spanish (p. 139). The painters did indeed include this article in their revised ordinances. The viceroy, however, rejected it, along with one other ordinance, so it was not included in the final version of the ordinances that went into effect in 1686. Finally, as mentioned above, the author excludes Brazil and only makes brief reference to Spain’s Asian possessions. We are fortunate in this regard to have Gauvin Alexander Bailey’s *Art of Colonial Latin America* (London, 2005), which pays attention to Asian and African influences on colonial Latin American art. He also reflects on the enduring influence of colonial art on contemporary Latin American art. Both of these valuable studies should be read by anyone interested in the development of colonial Latin American art and of colonial cultures and societies.

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Black Townsmen: Urban Slavery and Freedom in the Eighteenth-Century Americas.

By MARIANA L. R. DANTAS. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 280 pp. Cloth.

Mariana Dantas’s *Black Townsmen* offers a meticulous comparative history of the rise of communities of enslaved and free people of African descent in Baltimore and Sabará. It argues that while the precise patterns of economic and social life differed in the two towns, slaves and free people of African descent shaped the urban milieu in both places through their labor. If many enslaved people used their leverage as urban workers to find pathways to emancipation, their newfound freedom remained constrained by economic and racist pressures. The monograph rests on solid empirical footing but occasionally bogs down in a quagmire of similarities and differences.

Baltimore and Sabará are unlikely but intriguing choices for comparison. A port town on the Atlantic seaboard of British North America, Baltimore was first established by the Maryland Assembly in 1729, then slowly peopled over subsequent decades. The rise of the grain trade spurred Baltimore’s growth after 1750, and while Baltimore’s hinterlands did not hunger for slave labor as did the colony’s tobacco-growing region, urban slave owners put their human property to work in a wide range of activities ranging from

domestic labor to shipbuilding. By 1810, roughly 10 percent of Baltimore's 46,000 people were enslaved.

Several thousand miles away in the Brazilian interior, Sabará emerged from Minas Gerais's eighteenth-century gold rush to become a major city, larger than any North American city before 1800. While few Africans arrived in Baltimore, thousands came through Sabará on their way to misery and death in the gold mines. More slaves (roughly 20,000) lived in Sabará than Baltimore in 1810, and they made up a larger proportion of the city's population (roughly one-third of the inhabitants.) Hence slaves in Sabará also did more of the work; as in Baltimore, they served as "jacks of all trades," performing a diverse array of jobs (p. 73).

Taking issue with Richard Wade's hoary thesis that slavery was incompatible with urban life (a thesis based on the decline of slavery in cities and towns in the U.S. South in the nineteenth century), Dantas argues that the histories of Baltimore and Sabará show instead that slavery could be essential to urban development, even as urban conditions molded slavery in distinctive ways, including encouraging masters to hire out their slaves for wages or to manumit them. In keeping with much recent historiography on slavery, Dantas views slave hiring and manumission as the result of a process of bargaining between masters and slaves. Rather than a "breach" in the slave system, these practices were integral to its smooth functioning in cities and towns across much of the Americas.

Manumission, of course, gave rise to free people of African descent. By 1810, they comprised more than 12 percent of the population of Baltimore and more than half of the population in Sabará—unusually high numbers for towns in North America and Brazil. In a useful contribution to the historiography of manumission, Dantas analyzes the different kinds of manumissions and carefully traces the patterns of manumission in both towns with respect to age, gender, and ethnicity as the sources allow. Of particular significance is the distinction between *pretos* (Africans and people of African descent) and *pardos* (people of mixed European and African ancestry) in Sabará. "By the turn of the nineteenth century," Dantas finds, "the vast majority of pardos in Sabará were free persons, while the vast majority of pretos were slaves" (p. 134).

As with slaves, Dantas explores the economic conditions of life for free people of African descent—their work, property ownership, and inheritance strategies. Sabará's free people of color were wealthier than Baltimore's. A telltale sign of the difference between Sabará and Baltimore is that many free people of color in Sabará owned slaves, while few in Baltimore did. Yet even in Sabará, free people of color were generally less wealthy than free white people. The freeborn tended to be wealthier than freed people (*forros*), and pardos tended to be wealthier than pretos, all of which reveals the continuing influence of slavery on people who were no longer slaves.

This tightly focused monograph will appeal mostly to specialists in urban history and comparative slavery. The two case studies are deeply researched, the U.S. and Brazilian historiographies are admirably integrated, and Dantas's emphasis on labor makes good sense as an analytical anchor. So is it unfair to want more? Perhaps, but Dantas's

use of baptismal records in Baltimore and Sabará hints at a missed opportunity to compare the Afro-Catholic experience in the two places. Black townsmen did not live by bread alone.

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National Period

La fiesta de la independencia en Costa Rica, 1821–1921. By DAVID DÍAZ ARIAS. San José: Editorial Universidad de Costa Rica, 2007. Illustrations. Bibliography. xxxviii, 328 pp. Paper.

Once upon a time Costa Rican historiography was infamous for its (self-)congratulatory tone. The country's position at the colonial periphery, so the classical argument went, had bestowed it with an egalitarian and homogeneous society of farmers, who built a liberal-democratic polity capable of avoiding the bloodshed and authoritarianism of its less fortunate neighbors to the north. As David Díaz Arias's book shows, the days of this straightforward interpretation are long gone by. His examination of the celebration of Independence Day in the century following 1821 is a valuable addition to a still expanding strand of scholarship, which, stimulated by Hobsbawm and Ranger's buzzword of the "invention of tradition," is more interested in the discursive construction of Costa Rican exceptionalism than in the question of whether it was justified or not.

Based on government documents from the national archive and newspaper reports, the author outlines in seven chronological chapters how the modernizing state used the celebration of September 15 to legitimize itself by inculcating a sense of patriotic duty in the citizenry. Paradoxically, on that date Costa Ricans do not celebrate "their" independence, but that of the Federal Republic of Central America (dissolved in 1838), first proclaimed in Guatemala. As the author observes, from the late nineteenth century Independence Day has thus been coupled with the commemoration of the more particularly Costa Rican "National Campaign" of 1856, in which a force led by Juan Santamaría, the country's foremost national hero, had expelled a filibuster incursion from the north. The book, however, gains its coherence from focusing on September 15. Its major strength lies in the detailed analysis of the ceremonial minutiae, stipulated in numerous laws, with which the state exploited the infrastructure and the rituals of the Catholic Church for its own purposes, before secularizing the celebration more fully under the aegis of liberalism from the 1870s. Díaz Arias also shows convincingly how the festivities spread from the elite to the artisans of San José and from the Central Valley to the more remote regions of the country, in a process that was completed only in 1920.

Since this is a study of a festivity fostered by the political elite, it comes as no surprise that Díaz Arias's interpretation is at times skewed toward a top-down approach. No one can seriously deny the pivotal role of the state in Latin America in constructing national identities. But until the last chapter, the reader gets little sense of how the

participants felt about Costa Rican identity. The popular sectors that eventually seem to have partaken in the festivities are mostly portrayed as passive recipients of a ritual contrived in the corridors of power. In contrast to the author's argument that the glorification of the National Campaign was merely an extension of the commemoration of Independence Day invented by the elite, the sources cited suggest that Santamaría and his war were a rather more popular affair, which the state might have incorporated into its ceremonial calendar due to pressure from below. Throughout much of the book, ethnicity and class remain abstract categories, rendering anemic the description of the celebration, which sometimes appears as a historical actor in its own right. Incidentally, this lack of contextualization has another detrimental effect: since so little is said about the broader social and cultural history of nineteenth-century Costa Rica and its political protagonists, the book's readership will most likely be restricted to specialists.

The eighth chapter provides partial redemption. Here the author analyzes how the press dealt with the contrasting, yet in other contexts complementary, relationship between Costa Rica and the rest of Central America. On the one hand, Costa Ricans were cast as white, prosperous, peace-loving, studious, and industrious, thus superior to their allegedly hot-tempered indigenous-cum-African neighbors with their penchant for violence. On the other hand, after World War I, September 15 could be evoked to foster a sense of Central American unity in the face of North American imperialism and even to refer to the community of language, culture, and religion with Spain, again in contradistinction to the United States. The reader is thus finally rewarded with getting a sense of the thicker sociocultural flesh grafted onto the institutional skeleton provided by the state's festive calendar. Had Díaz Arias provided more analysis in this vein, he might have further complicated the traditional interpretation of a largely unchallenged Costa Rican state that, without any problems, imposed its view of a harmonious and homogeneous nation from above. Still, his study is a coherent and for the most part persuasive addition to our understanding of how political elites draw on national symbols to legitimize their power.

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Cayeyanos: Familias y solidaridades en la historia de Cayey. By FERNANDO PICÓ. San Juan: Ediciones Huracán, 2007. Photographs. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. 183 pp. Paper.

In the preface to his book on the people of Cayey, Fernando Picó quickly traces the economic changes that have shaped the town since its founding in the late eighteenth century. Cayey was a center of coffee production and cattle ranching under Spanish rule. The U.S. invasion and the 1899 Hurricane San Ciriaco wiped out the coffee crop, but local planters rebounded by converting to tobacco and sugar. The wars fought by the United States also shaped the local economy, as an army base was located nearby

from World War I until the end of the Korean War. Finally, Cayey became a bedroom community for coastal cities and converted to a service economy after the opening of a university campus. What interests Picó is not these broad economic contours but “the human element, cultural creativity, the social solidarities and fissures” over the centuries (p. 10). The author addresses a range of subjects as he explores the human element, including the dynamics of slavery and freedom, relations between creoles and immigrants, and local responses to imperial politics and the transition to U.S. domination.

Most of the early settlers of Cayey were creole families from Coamo and Guayama, but Cayey was strikingly cosmopolitan like many colonial Caribbean settings. Among the first two generations of Cayeyanos were immigrants from the Canary Islands, France, and even Sweden. Settlers came from other points of the Caribbean, including St. Domingue and Caracas; enslaved men and women from St. Eustatius and Guinea came with the free, slaveholding planters and ranchers. In the early decades, the number of slaves in Cayey rose significantly, from 92 in 1780 to 465 in 1807, accounting for 15 to 20 percent of the total population in those years (p. 22).

Picó's extensive research into ecclesiastical and administrative records sheds considerable light on aspects of slave life in Cayey. His findings resonate with those of historians such as María Elena Díaz in her study of El Cobre in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cuba. The author shows that slave mortality rates were considerably higher than those of the free population. He also finds that marriage rates were quite high. In 1817, fully two-thirds of the enslaved children baptized in Cayey were born of parents married in the Church. Baptism and god-parentage linked free and enslaved Cayeyanos over the decades. Enslaved people appear in local records as owners of property and as lenders to free people. Manumission and self-purchase were common. Picó concludes that these data demonstrate that “the enslaved man or woman was not isolated when confronting the slave system; they had networks of family relations, godparentage, and solidarity that allowed them to overcome the daily challenges of their condition” (p. 27).

The Spanish American revolutions were felt in Cayey in a variety of ways. One was through increased immigration from Spain and the colonies in revolt. The *peninsulares* were largely Catalans, part of a flow of immigrants to both Puerto Rico and Cuba well documented by several historians. Fleeing from the turmoil of revolution in South America, immigrants especially from Venezuela and Nueva Granada made their way to Cayey. So did French planters, encouraged by the 1815 Cédula de Gracias that facilitated the entrance of Catholic investors from outside Spain. Relations were often tense between creoles and immigrants in the nineteenth-century Antilles. In Cayey, this division would shape local politics, particularly in the last third of the century, when the rivalry heated up between Autonomistas, the dominant creole political affiliation, and Incondicionales, pro-Spanish conservatives.

The U.S. invasion in the summer of 1898 and the devastating Hurricane San Ciriaco in 1899 radically changed the political and economic landscape in Cayey. The hurricane destroyed the coffee economy and forced a transition to tobacco and sugar. The U.S. presence changed political alignments. Conflicts between pro-statehood Republi-

cans and advocates of autonomy became violent in the first years of the occupation. By 1906, however, the pro-autonomy/independence Unión Puertorriqueña had gained the upper hand in Cayey, as elsewhere in Puerto Rico (though the pro-statehood party did well in the 1904 local elections).

The remainder of Picó's study is less trenchant than the chapters that encompass Cayey's founding to the first decade of the U.S. occupation. Nonetheless, the author provides us with suggestive insights into the social history of Cayey, especially in chapter 8, where he contrasts the formal history narrated in newspapers with the hidden history reported in police records in the 1920s and 1930s. This chapter indicates the richness of local archives in Puerto Rico, explored with verve not only by Picó but also by many Puerto Rican scholars. Picó argues that the stories that he retrieves are urgent "so that the margins do not remain invisible, the perpetual temptation of all civic history. That which remains hidden loses explanatory power and the resulting history becomes thin and hollow" (p. 129).

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Proletários de casaca: Trabalhadores do comércio carioca (1850–1911).

By FABIANE POPINIGIS. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 2007. Tables. Notes.

Bibliography. 263 pp. Paper.

In Brazil's late Empire and early First Republic, Rio de Janeiro was a city of merchants: thousands of small business owners and their employees who proffered goods and services to the capital city's swelling population. This aspect of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Rio captivated a generation of contemporaneous commentators but curiously has failed to translate into a present-day field of scholarly inquiry. The archival record brims with fascinating, yet largely untapped, information about the almost exclusively male shop employees—"empregados" and "caixeiros"—who occupied the space between feudal servitude and the nascent service sector and urban working class. Historian Fabiane Popinigis has authored a monograph that begins to fill this gap.

Popinigis frames the story of the lives and struggles of Rio's shop workers as labor history, an analytical strategy that constitutes this book's greatest historiographic contribution. Through the mid-nineteenth century, shop workers had been beneficiaries of a quid pro quo with shop owners that offered them paternalistic protection and the hope of social ascent. By the century's end, most caixeiros could no longer realistically aspire to attain the position of their bosses. Shop workers nonetheless still had to live with their bosses, or in the store where they worked, and labor for extraordinarily long hours. Tracing the fitful transition from patrimonialism to modern employer-employee relations, Popinigis shows how caixeiros became a proletariat housed within the walls of the petite bourgeoisie. The book's title, "Proletarians in Suits," alludes to their complex identities and divided loyalties; their distinctive work attire "became an important

metaphor” for the “ideological distinction” between “worker [*operário*]” and “employee [*empregado*]” (p. 47).

The author goads us past persistent stereotypes of the *empregado no comércio*, a figure mocked for over a century by the media and in literary works that portray him as a mediocre citizen incongruously clothed in finery and deride him for his presumed false consciousness. Rather than the politically “reactionary” lackeys of the petite bourgeoisie, Popinigis shows that one may usefully see workers in petty commerce as the advance guard of modern labor relations (p. 24). Caixeiros reacted to their proletarianization with their own version of labor militancy. As their chances of social mobility waned, shop workers did not hesitate to demand from the state the fair protection that their bosses could no longer be counted on to provide. Caixeiros did not join the workers’ movement but rather took part in a vigorous legalist, reformist struggle for rights “restricted to their profession” (p. 56). Their campaign to regulate working hours and force shop owners to close on Sundays came to a head in the 1910s. Ultimately, the state’s failed policies forced caixeiros back to the mercy of their bosses. Yet Popinigis convincingly argues that the Brazilian government’s early attempts to regulate urban petty commerce attests to the existence of “channels of communication” between the state and the plebian classes, whose aspirations of social mobility and justice are conventionally understood to have been definitively betrayed by the new Republican leadership (p. 25).

A similar process of proletarianization of shop workers simultaneously occurred in France’s cities, which Popinigis uses as a “comparative reference” for her study of the Brazilian capital (p. 30). Boycotts, political campaigns and, from 1890 on, increasingly violent protests in French cities promoted the cause of shop workers in their attempts to reduce hours. While evocative, Rio’s shop worker–activists’ perennial references to their French counterparts do not justify this extended attempt at comparative analysis, which would have required a more fully developed analysis of French consumer protest, retail commerce, and urban labor history than the author offers. As the author herself points out, Francophilia shaded nearly all corners of carioca life. Rather than dwelling on the correspondence between Rio and Paris, already well-trod territory for historians of the Latin American urban belle époque, the author might have surveyed the simultaneity of similar popular movements in many cities in the transatlantic world. Such a broad, transnational vantage might have helped Popinigis uncover both the universality of the Brazilian case and its particularities, such as the impact of slavery and abolition on the social relations in petty commerce, a subject that she raises but leaves largely unexplored.

Another dimension of urban petty commerce suggested but not sufficiently analyzed in this book is the fact that caixeiros’ struggles concerned consumption as well as work. Resistance against the movement to close businesses on Sundays came from the charge that consumers demanded a seven-day shopping week. The patronage relationship between boss and worker was problematic exactly because in-kind benefits no longer would suffice in a modernizing, urban society where cash, not loyalty and favors, sustained life. What role did the advent of a nascent consumer culture play in the historical process that the author analyzes? Had she attempted to answer this question, Pop-

inigis's study would have provided a rare opportunity to analyze work and consumption together, something almost completely missing from both labor history and consumer culture studies.

Although at times encumbered by lengthy expositions of the existing scholarship, Popinigis's richly detailed narrative integrates petty commerce into Rio's labor history and points the way toward better incorporating labor history into other crucial subfields of urban social and cultural history. Popinigis has provided future historians with a vivid reconstruction of the daily life and social dynamics of work in petty commerce. She has forced us not only to rethink the stereotyped profile of Rio's thousands of sales clerks, cashiers, custodians, and other employees but also to consider the crucial methodological question of how to study those who have been repeatedly besmirched in the records that we use to reconstruct their lives—and how to use those very stereotypes to think usefully about the labor politics of historical memory. Popinigis has produced a work of great interest to urban and labor historians of Brazil, the rest of Latin America, and beyond.

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Dar a luz en Chile, siglo XIX: De la "ciencia de hembra" a la ciencia obstétrica.

By MARÍA SOLEDAD ZÁRATE C. Colección Sociedad y Cultura. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Alberto Hurtado / Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2007. Photographs. Illustrations. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. 519 pp. Paper.

This five-hundred-page book provides a comprehensive, well-researched, and definitive medical history of childbirth in nineteenth-century Chile. Zárate examines physicians' increasing interest in the female body and childbirth and their increasing, if always limited, control over labor and delivery. In the early republican era, where Zárate's story begins in earnest, medicine itself was not a well-regulated or well-defined profession. But in 1834 physicians codified procedures for their own training and licensing and began to insist that only they attend to difficult births and to assert control over the schooling of midwives. They set up a first school for midwives in 1834, and the *protomedicato* (medical college) subsequently examined and licensed midwives. With the passage of an 1866 law requiring midwives to obtain licenses, physicians and their "obstetrical science" further encroached on midwives' "*ciencia de hembra*."

As Zárate points out, the process whereby physicians asserted control over childbirth was part of a broader trend in which scientific medicine encroached on popular medicine. In examining this shift, the author attends to how gender shaped medical authority. The gendered nature of medicine (an almost exclusively male profession) and midwifery (all female) allows Zárate to clearly delineate how the advance of scientific medical knowledge drew on, and reaffirmed, masculine prerogatives. Physicians would

carry out surgical interventions, while midwives were relegated to assisting only unproblematic and “natural” childbirths.

While attentive to gender, Zárate does not portray midwives as victims. In Valparaíso, she tells us, a group of trained midwives asked the protomedicato in 1870–72 to deny licenses to their lay competitors. Nor were relations between doctors and midwives always antagonistic. When women or babies died in childbirth, doctors inevitably blamed midwives, whom the doctors viewed as ignorant. But Zárate looks behind sources that focus on midwife births that went wrong: newspaper stories, medical case reports, and files of the protomedicato. Outside of major cities, Zárate shows, doctors were often unavailable, and midwives’ authority remained intact. Zárate also finds evidence that lay and trained midwives called in doctors for difficult deliveries. In cities, doctors often recommended midwives to their patients. In fact, many midwives were trained by local doctors to deliver babies, and the protomedicato gave many lay midwives license to practice while they prepared to take the protomedicato’s licensing examination. But despite the lax enforcement of licensing measures and the evidence of collaboration between doctors and midwives, Zárate is careful to point out that doctors insisted on determining who could or could not attend births.

Zárate’s documentary base does not allow her much access to the experiences of the women who gave birth. But they are implicitly and sometimes explicitly part of her account. Medical doctors’ control over childbirth depended on the support of women and their families, who could choose whether or not to let doctors into birthing chambers. The limitations of obstetric science often led women to avoid physicians, Zárate explains. And midwives apparently found ready clients for the wide range of gynecological services they provided.

Zárate analyzes how doctors’ authority and the limits on that authority were linked to the growth of hospitals as institutions. No women’s hospital existed in Santiago until the second half of the nineteenth century, a sign of medical science’s lack of interest in the female body. But once the formal training of doctors and midwives began, hospital-based birthing clinics became a necessary part of their education. A strength of Zárate’s account is that she pays close attention to how social class influenced women’s differential access to medical care. Poor women, unable to afford medical attention at home, were frequently forced to go to the Casa de Maternidad if they had difficult pregnancies. There, they came under the medical gaze and risked contracting puerperal fever. Medical personnel fully understood and practiced antisepsis only in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Only then did the benefits of giving birth in the hospital outweigh the risks. Henceforth, physicians would be able to use hospital care to secure their medical authority. However, Zárate’s story ends at a moment when obstetricians’ limited power to avert death still curtailed their authority and influence.

Overall, Zárate gives us a nuanced history of childbirth. Drawing on the historiography on childbirth in the United States, Latin America, and Europe, she is able to show how changes in Chile were related to changes in other locales, but she does not portray the Chilean case as derivative. Especially when she puts us in the birthing room, her

narrative can be dramatic and engaging. More aggressive editing would have allowed those episodes to shine more brightly. Moreover, some readers will wish the author had drawn out the implications of the history she uncovers for understanding state power and its relation to the growth of the professions, topics that have been central to the history of medicine in Chile and Latin America. Still, readers of this book will find a detailed, useful narrative of the uneven process whereby a masculine medical science extended its reach.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-2009-068

Intersecting Tango: Cultural Geographies of Buenos Aires, 1900–1930.

By ADRIANA BERGERO. Translated by RICHARD YOUNG. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008. Photographs. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 476 pp. Cloth, \$60.00. Paper, \$27.95.

Literary critic Adriana Bergero has set herself an extremely ambitious goal in the book *Intersecting Tango*: to reveal the overlapping “maps” of modernity that defined the culture of early twentieth-century Buenos Aires. Her approach recalls David William Foster’s study of a more contemporary period of *porteño* culture in *Buenos Aires: Perspectives on the City and Cultural Production*. Like Foster, Bergero is interested in the city not just as a location or backdrop but as a space that constitutes subjectivities. She proposes to explore this rapidly changing city through its “imaginaries, through the theoretical convergence of urban geography, sensorial geography, cultural studies, gender studies, and social history” (p. 6). The result is a wide-ranging and somewhat unwieldy work that nonetheless reveals to the reader a fascinating variety of social texts.

Intersecting Tango contains 20 chapters divided into three parts: Urban Ceremonies and Social Distances, *Muñecas Bravas* of Buenos Aires, and Gender and Politics. The logic of the overall structure is not entirely clear, in particular the distinction between the second and third sections. Indeed, since gender analysis is central to most of the book one might have expected it to be highlighted in the title and more fully substantiated in the introduction. There is a certain lack of signposting throughout the text, leaving the reader with a somewhat impressionistic picture of Bergero’s overall argument.

Still, there is a wealth of rich material here. Individual chapters treat such important cultural themes as the class exclusions built into elite housing design, the gendered messages presented in school textbooks, and fears about failed masculinity as expressed in tango lyrics. Bergero displays an encyclopedic knowledge of the period’s cultural sources: novels, plays, architecture, tango lyrics, newspaper columns, advertisements, private letters, popular magazines, fashion styles, and so on. Her command of “low” cultural genres such as tango and *sainete* (theatrical farce) is particularly impressive, and her lengthy quotations will introduce readers to little-known sources from the period.

Bergero is at her best when presenting and interpreting these texts. Individual chap-

ters juxtapose different kinds of sources, connecting discourses in advertising or public health to themes played out in popular music and theater. Bergero's literary and popular sources shed light on changing labor relations, housing struggles, sexual politics, and patterns of consumption. For example, the middle chapters of the book explore social and sexual anxieties provoked by women's increased mobility and autonomy in the big city. Chapter 11 contains rich material about men's fears surrounding women's new roles in the workplace. In chapter 12, Bergero reads classified ads for domestic servants for a glimpse of the "enormous number of illegitimate and orphaned children excluded from the metaphor of the nation's well-formed family" (p. 211).

Overall, this is a book written for scholars and specialists. References to historical events and characters are quite abrupt and would likely confuse a reader not already well versed in Argentine history. The prose is often dense and jargon-laden, as in the following interpretation of a text by physician and writer Eduardo Wilde. According to Bergero, Wilde expressed "the semiotics of a claustrophiliac aesthetics, underlying a utopia based on isolation and exclusion" (p. 32). Some awkwardness may stem from problems of translation, as in the assertion that French cuisine was "like a hand in a glove, reinforcing gastronomically the power of the elite's ranching economy and its vast estates" (p. 21).

This book would have limited usefulness in an undergraduate classroom, but it could certainly be used in graduate courses in cultural studies, gender studies, or literary criticism. It will also find a place on the shelves of scholars specializing in Argentine history and culture, who will likely be inspired into new fields of inquiry by its rich source material and suggestive cultural insights.

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Sounds of the Modern Nation: Music, Culture and Ideas in Post-Revolutionary Mexico.

By ALEJANDRO L. MADRID. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008. Musical Scores. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 210 pp. Cloth, \$54.50.

In this compact and insightful book, Alejandro Madrid examines an elite group of early twentieth-century Mexican composers at a critical time in the nation's cultural history, the 1920s. Focused principally on Manuel M. Ponce, Julián Carrillo, and Carlos Chávez, Madrid considers how these artists took part in a musical and intellectual dialogue aimed at determining what exactly nationalism and "modernity" meant musically after the revolution. For the author, these concerns became closely connected "as part of complex processes of power negotiation" (p. 3).

Given the cataclysm of civil war and its aftermath, Madrid argues that the 1920s musical scene supported a complex, "multi-ideological" set of perspectives espoused by a number of individuals. In contrast to what ensuing canonical interpretations would attest, avant-garde composition and performance at this time was not necessarily or

immediately realized in programmatic lockstep with the emerging revolutionary state. Instead, the author shows how composers “repositioned themselves within a changing society that contested pre-revolutionary ideology and social order and produced new institutions of power and codes for social interaction” (p. 4).

Take the example of Julián Carrillo. Born in 1875, Carrillo was slightly older than either Ponce (1882–1948) or Chávez (1899–1978). Trained in European and particularly German music, Carrillo was a contemporary of Arnold Schoenberg and Heinrich Schenker. Working with concepts borrowed from his European contemporaries, Carrillo infused them with his own ideas in seeking to create something new. Carrillo did not shy away from acknowledging his admiration for German music, and this did not ingratiate him with those who, in the growing nationalist fervor of the mid-1920s, increasingly criticized him. In fact, it was Carlos Chávez who turned out to be one of Carrillo’s most virulent antagonists as the two faced off in an exchange that took place in the pages of *El Universal* and *La Antorcha* in 1924, and later at the pivotal 1926 First National Congress of Music in Mexico City. Needless to say, Carrillo lost out to the younger composer’s more ideologically “correct” anti-European discourse, despite the fact that, as Madrid describes, Carrillo was in the midst of developing an exquisitely modernist, microtonal system (“Sonido 13”), which quite possibly could have (and probably should have) gained him recognition not as a presumed “imitator” of European music but rather as an innovator in realizing a truly original, personal style.

Ponce, as Madrid reminds us, has most often been incorporated into the official postrevolutionary nationalist discourse as an early promoter of Mexican folklore. Here, Madrid goes against previous considerations of the composer’s career to argue that modernist and nationalist aesthetics did not flourish at different “stages” of his professional life, in seeming contradiction, but rather were “continuously intertwined in his music, synthesizing in a style that combined traditional rhetorical elements often disregarded by Modernist composers with some of their preferred grammatical elements” (p. 84).

Well known as an influential player in helping to crystallize what would later be identified as the official discourse about Mexican identity and culture after the revolution, Chávez was, in Madrid’s assessment, an important composer at “the intersection of tradition and modernity at a critical moment in Mexican history” (p. 125). Yet, in contrast to Carrillo and Ponce, it is Chávez who would prove most savvy in relation to the emerging postrevolutionary culture as he worked to position himself as a more authentic exponent of a new musical nationalism and as part of what the author terms a “hegemonic pact” eventually consolidated in the 1930s. Toward this end, Madrid’s fascinating chapter on the 1926 First National Congress of Music in Mexico City tells of “intense ideological exchange” representative of the larger “cultural and social crisis” occurring at the time (p. 112). Further, the author details the changing reception of Ricardo Castro’s 1900 opera *Atzimba*, a work based on a legendary tale of a Tarascan princess who falls in love with a Spanish captain. Here, Madrid tells how prerevolutionary ideas regarding Mexico’s native past could be, and sometimes were, “re-symbolized” to fit the new nationalist discourse. In the end, the author relates how *Atzimba* “could not transit that

path [because] Castro's opera was too heavy to sort through [that] kind of symbolic transition" (p. 153). Indeed, the making of this artistic history was not so much about revealing a "true" or "correct" interpretation of Mexican culture but rather exploring how the negotiation (even struggle, at times) between people espousing diverse ideological strains came to determine how and by whom the nationalist canon would be constructed. In the end, *Sounds of the Modern Nation* reveals much not only about the politics of culture but also about the often contentious process of writing national history.

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Una vida agónica: Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre: Testimonio de parte.

By EUGENIO CHANG-RODRÍGUEZ. Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2007. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. xxviii, 378 pp. Paper.

This study of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre places the life and ideas of the founder of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) in the context of the numerous individuals, intellectual movements, organizations, and events that contributed to the development of one of Peru's and Latin America's most important political figures. The author argues for the continued relevance of Haya de la Torre's ideas today, in particular the idea of continental unity, which he links to various efforts to create common markets in Latin America. The book's openly laudatory tone derives from the fact that the author participated in APRA and was a friend of Haya de la Torre's for over 30 years. Yet Chang-Rodríguez also strives to balance his scholarly inclinations and his political sympathies. For example, he acknowledges that the student ceremony in Mexico in 1924 considered by *apristas* as the movement's foundational moment was merely an event involving Haya de la Torre and the Mexican Student Federation, but simultaneously defends the right of *apristas* to choose their own foundational mythology.

The book is divided into five parts. Part 1 summarizes Peruvian history from the time of the Spanish conquest to the present. The title of this section, "La revolución inconclusa," reinforces the relevance of Haya de la Torre's ideas on the need to transform Peruvian society. Part 2 presents a biographical sketch of Haya de la Torre's life. Part 3 explores the influence of a number of intellectual groups in Peru and thinkers on the development of APRA. Part 4 focuses on the transformation of APRA from a continent-wide movement to a political party in Peru. Part 5 focuses on some of the key *aprista* ideas and their contemporary significance.

The strongest parts of the book are those that build a genealogy of *aprista* ideas drawing on Haya de la Torre's Peruvian and international influences. Some of the earliest influences on Haya de la Torre and other intellectuals in the northern Peruvian city of Trujillo came from liberal-minded French Lazarist priests at the Colegio de San Carlos y San Marcelo. The young boys educated by these priests went on to found literary groups such as Grupo Norte, which began to reach out to the working classes. Haya de

la Torre's intellectual development continued in Lima, where he studied at San Marcos University and became involved in similar outreach efforts to workers that led to the founding of popular universities. Other sections of the book connect the development of Haya de la Torre's ideas to world events that influenced him, such as the Mexican and Russian revolutions. The final section of the book explains some of the main tenets of Haya de la Torre's thought, such as the notion of continental unity, and also his theories of "historical time-space," which apply notions of relativity in science to the study of history to highlight the fact that Latin America has taken and should continue to take a different historical path from that of Europe. This edition, published by the Peruvian Congress, is printed on glossy paper that proves ideal for displaying a remarkable collection of photographs covering every period of Haya de la Torre's life, from his childhood to his years of exile in Europe, his travels in Peru, and his last years as president of the Constituent Assembly.

Any book on Haya de la Torre faces the difficult task of establishing a clear narrative distinction between a biography of Haya de la Torre and a history of APRA, since the two are so closely intertwined. Chang-Rodríguez resolves this problem by focusing primarily on Haya de la Torre and writing separate sections on events and personalities relevant to understanding the party's history. This approach gives a rich picture of the historical context but leads to some organizational shortcomings. For example, while the author deserves credit for emphasizing the importance of apristas other than Haya de la Torre (Luis Alberto Sánchez, Macedonio de la Torre, Antenor Orrego), the sections on these figures seem to stand on their own and could have been better integrated into the book's main narrative thread. Sometimes the author makes chronological leaps that do not seem fully justified: the section on the community of aprista exiles in Chile during the 1930s and '40s is immediately followed by the section on Haya de la Torre as president of the Constituent Assembly that wrote the 1979 Constitution. This reviewer would have liked more information or personal anecdotes on the intervening years based on the many conversations that the author had with Haya de la Torre during those decades.

Despite the limitations posed by the author's partisan involvement with the subject and the aprista movement, the book clearly affirms the importance of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre as one of Latin America's most important political figures and brings together many pieces of the puzzle of this remarkable life.

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Bolivia: Revolution and the Power of History in the Present: Essays. By JAMES DUNKERLEY. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2007. Photographs. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. xv, 311 pp. Cloth, \$60.00. Paper, \$30.00.

This bound collection by James Dunkerley is a mixed bag (written or delivered over a period of 30 years) of biographical delights and personal vignettes woven together by the scholarly conventions of Latin Americanist political history as it is practiced in Britain. The volume is published by what used to be the Institute for Latin American Studies (ILAS), now the Institute for the Study of the Americas (ISA); Dunkerley is the former director of both. Most of the chapters were previously published by the institute as working papers or delivered at the institute as lectures.

Dunkerley's witty and erudite reflections stroll "in receding chronological order" (p. xi) across the whole historical plane of the modern Bolivian political imagination, from Evo Morales and "the third Bolivian revolution" to Frank Burdett O'Connor and the first revolution that invented Bolivia. The opening two chapters on the revolutionary regime and election of 1997 are followed by an analysis of the 1980s "political transition and economic stabilisation." Chapter 4 presents, in spite of its own modest objections to Plutarch's obsession, playful biographical sketches of the conservative general Rene Barrientos and the radical intellectual Régis Debray. Chapter 5 reflects on "the origins of the Bolivian Revolution of 1952," while chapter 6 reassesses the phenomenon of *caudillismo* in nineteenth-century Bolivia. The book closes with the author's address or lecture at ISA, the main subject of which is the strange and revolutionary Irishman "Francisco Burdett O'Conner" who served as Sucre's right-hand man.

In general the pieces in this collection are written with style and grace and will appeal to the generally educated public interested in Bolivia and its long history of modern revolutions.

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Rethinking Venezuelan Politics: Class, Conflict, and the Chávez Phenomenon.

By STEVE ELLNER. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2008. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 257. Cloth, \$55.00.

The current administration of Venezuelan president Hugo Rafael Chávez Frias is exceedingly difficult to analyze because of a lack of transparency and frequent changes in the policies he is pursuing. A further major obstacle in understanding *chavismo* is to distinguish between the hyperbole of the government and the socioeconomic reality. Coupled with a dearth of reliable socioeconomic indicators and public accounts of major institutions, this makes it almost impossible to reach some semblance of reality. Ellner's latest book tries bravely to tackle this fast-moving and at times contradictory social experiment. The result is an unsatisfactory *mélange* of interesting snippets that are not fully developed.

The first part of the book is a potted history of Venezuela's political development since independence to the arrival of Chávez in power in 1999. This sets the background for the Chávez administration, which Ellner argues is the result of the socioeconomic and political tensions already present in the country. The Chávez presidency, then, is not a radical break from the previous political system, as many have argued, but a continuation of the same historical process that started after the fall of the Marcos Pérez Jiménez dictatorship in 1958 and the beginning of democracy in the country. The second part of the book is a discussion of the Chávez administration, with the primary aim of dispelling some of the misconceptions that currently bedevil the analysis of the period. The author argues that the mainstream interpretation of Venezuelan political development is influenced by the exceptionalism thesis, which analyzes the Chávez presidency from a personalist point of view and sees the country as exempt from the internecine struggles, acute class conflicts, and racial animosities that characterize other Latin American countries. Ellner opposes the established view that class mobility in Venezuela has minimized political claims, resulting in low levels of class-based politics with power concentrated in the presidency. But scant proof is given of the involvement in politics of such institutions as the country's trade unions. The proportional representation system of voting in Venezuela is biased toward the presidency, because votes are cast not for individual candidates but for party slates, which are then awarded a share of seats in congress based on the percentage of votes received. This is a strong incentive for people to get their names on the winning slate. The work of Brian Crisp and others demonstrates that political institutions remained static in the 1980s because they were created in the 1960s to achieve a consensus in order to consolidate democracy, and hence were very centralized and inflexible. Consequently, the country's evolving social and economic reality was not reflected in institutional change, with the result that presidential legitimacy declined. According to Ellner, institutionalist political scientists do not look at socioeconomic transformations. By minimizing the differences between Acción Democrática (AD) and Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente (COPEI) they tend to ignore important areas of conflict and struggle during the entire post-1958 period. The political reforms of the 1980s and 1990s set the stage for the changes promoted by Chávez. The author argues that the 1998 elections expressed a rejection of neoliberal policies first pursued by Carlos Andrés Pérez in his second presidency, rather than antiparty sentiment.

The book is peppered with a number of acute observations and interpretations of the current Venezuelan political scene, which are all too brief and not fully developed. The author argues correctly that many analysts focus on Chávez's personality and style, while ignoring issues of substance and the long-term implications of the changes instituted. The current ineffective opposition is explained by a lack of serious debate on the main issues affecting the country. The opposition's shortcomings were clearly shown during the 2002–3 general strike in the strategy of getting rid of Chávez rather than focusing on socioeconomic issues. This allowed Chávez to consolidate power by increasing his hold over the armed forces and *Petróleos de Venezuela S. A. (PDVSA)*. Moreover,

Chávez's policies and legislation show a certain consistency that is part of a steady radicalization process.

One of the underlying themes of the book is that scholarly research on most of the country's history is woefully inadequate. The author falls into the same trap by making a number of incorrect observations that detract from the overall argument. For instance, Ellner states that former president José Antonio Páez died one of the richest men in the country in 1873, but in fact he was almost a pauper, selling insurance in New York, when he died. The United States was not remotely involved in placing General Juan Vicente Gómez in power in 1908. The October 1945 military coup against Isaías Medina Angarita was not spearheaded by AD leaders; the military conspirators brought them in at the last minute as a counterbalance to the communists, who were seen as a rising force. A discussion of the role played by Cuba in the internal affairs of the country, which over the years has gained in importance, is a major omission. Although the author states that the book is based on economic issues, there is little evidence of this. While this book is an adequate introduction to what is happening in the country at the moment, a closer analysis of the achievements and contradictions of the Chávez administration would have been more useful than looking at the general history of the country.

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The Posthumous Career of Emiliano Zapata: Myth, Memory, and Mexico's Twentieth Century. By SAMUEL BRUNK. Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 353 pp. Cloth, \$45.00.

Thirteen years after writing a major biography on Emiliano Zapata, Samuel Brunk has produced a thoughtful sequel that weaves the struggle over Zapata's legacy into the course of modern Mexican history. Brunk documents how the Mexican Revolution's most ideologically consistent protagonist in life became its most malleable and manipulated symbol in death. Although some of the material in this book will be familiar to scholars who have followed Brunk's output closely, this clearly written, provocative study should find its way onto many graduate and scholarly reading lists just in time for the centenary commemorations of the revolution.

The dispute over Zapata's legacy began in 1911, in the opening months of the Mexican Revolution. A hero to most campesinos in Morelos, Zapata received rough treatment at the hands of Mexico City's dailies, which quickly labeled him "the Attila of the South." The myth making shifted into high gear eight years later, when Zapata was gunned down. Like two other legendary Latin American heroes, Augusto Sandino and Che Guevara, Zapata was betrayed, ambushed, and died at the hands of his enemies. Or did he? A few Zapata loyalists insisted that their *jefe* had been warned of the ambush and sent a double to Chinameca. A constitutionalist counternarrative tried to turn the

tables and deny Zapata his martyrdom, claiming Zapata had sprung a trap on *them* and that they had returned fire in self-defense. Zapata's legacy was very much in dispute in 1920, when the victorious Sonorans began the arduous task of forging a new Mexican state and nation.

In the early 1920s, President Álvaro Obregón's strategic alliance with former Zapatistas had the effect of elevating the status of the "martyr of Chinameca." The architects of Zapata's assassination, Jesús Guajardo and Pablo González, were killed and exiled, respectively. The Mexico City press slowly came around, and by 1924 politicians began making pilgrimages to Morelos every April to commemorate Zapata's death.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Brunk notes, national agendas molded the Zapata myth. The result was often ironic. In the hands of muralist Diego Rivera, the regional caudillo became a national hero. Marxists (like Rivera) embraced the peasant leader, temporarily setting aside their faith in the revolutionary potential of the urban proletariat. Another irony: by the 1930s, Mexico's "revolutionary" regime had largely tamed Zapata. In school textbooks, the former rebel became a symbol of order, a peaceful peasant who waited patiently for the government to satisfy his need for land.

Brunk portrays a powerful Mexican state in this book, but one that ultimately could not control the myth that it had done so much to promote. Zapata functioned "as a bridge between Mexico City and Morelos, politician and peasant, precisely because the politicians could not impose their vision on him" (p. 87). At first blush, this might seem like a sign of weakness. Arguably, however, the drawn-out tussle over Zapata's legacy is precisely what made him such a key figure in the creation of a hegemonic postrevolutionary state and nation.

The trouble for Mexico's one-party state began in 1968, when students that summer appropriated the more rebellious Zapata in their marches and demonstrations. In April 1969, 50 years since Zapata's assassination but only months removed from the Tlatelolco massacre, the regime attempted to reclaim Zapata's legacy by sowing dozens of statues and busts in his image throughout the country.

Brunk's narrative takes us into the 1990s, when President Carlos Salinas attempted to invoke Zapata in his bid to undo Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution. As Salinas learned, the Mexican state had become "hopelessly entangled in webs it had done much to weave" (p. 254). Rural Mexico did not accept Salinas's "new" version of Zapata without a fight. In Chiapas, an Indian Zapata became the symbolic standard-bearer of a Maya peasant rebellion, although Brunk arguably overstates the importance of Votán-Zapata, a mythical Tzeltal god that appears to be an invention of Subcomandante Marcos.

Latin America is full of hero cults, but only a few have truly stood the test of time. Che Guevara, Eva Perón, and Augusto Sandino share with Zapata a tragic death and an association with martyrdom, but only Zapata has been used effectively by both the regime and its opponents. Zapata was vitally important to the hegemony of the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) for several decades, but he was also instrumental in its takedown. This is an important, timely, and meticulously researched contribution

to the growing literature on state and nation building and the many ironic and even self-defeating uses of national heroes in Latin America.

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Hope and Solidarity: Jon Sobrino's Challenge to Christian Theology.

Edited by STEPHEN J. POPE. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008. Appendixes.

Index. xiii, 282 pp. Paper, \$26.00.

This collection of essays answers a charge: did Father Jon Sobrino's books *Jesucristo liberador: Lectura histórico-teológica de Jesús de Nazaret* and *La fe en Jesucristo: Ensayo desde las víctimas*, contain "certain imprecisions," "errors," and "notable discrepancies with the faith of the Church" (p. 255)? Latin American historians, social scientists, theologians, lay people of the faith, and those who just enjoy a good argument are going to relish this edited tome, a collection of "answers" to the charges set forth by the Roman Catholic Church's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF). Steven J. Pope has led an exceptional group of committed theologians and social ethicists to respond to the "significant questions" raised by the CDF, "to take seriously both the concerns of the [CDF] and the theological insight offer by Sobrino to the church" (pp. xi–xii). This book is a living response within the faith designed to challenge and cajole the catholic (read universal) church into engaging theology from within the struggles and vicissitudes of life in Latin America. It is part of a grassroots response to the CDF's queries.

Those of us who became Latin Americanists in the 1980s cringe at any charge by the CDF: Leonardo Boff and Gustavo Gutiérrez, two notable Latin American clerics and theologians at the time, suffered direct engagements by the church's disciplinarian board. Though Gutiérrez survived his charge, Boff suffered an imposed censure of one year and maintained the ranks until further conflict with church officials convinced him to withdraw from the priesthood. The historical context for this challenge is extraordinary. The former head of the CDF during the 1980s is now the current Pope of the Church, Benedict XVI (aka Father Joseph Ratzinger). Father Jon Sobrino received the notification of the CDF challenge on November 26, 2006, ten days and 17 years after the horrendous assassinations of six Jesuits, their housekeeper, and her daughter at the Universidad Centro América in San Salvador. (Talk about political and ecclesiastical "tone deafness"!) Yet, the CDF's challenge does us all a favor: it asks those of us who thrive spiritually and historically on the writings, the life, and commitment of Sobrino to reexamine his works with discipline and renewed commitment.

The CDF's theological interrogatives and hesitations form the framework of the book. The CDF challenged Sobrino's methodological presuppositions, his Christology, his ecclesiology, and his soteriology (the understanding of the salvific value of Jesus's Death). Thus, 18 authors drawn from a list of "Who's Who" in the Americas, both young and seasoned theologians and ethicists, pen their responses in very careful and

deliberate ways. Several of the essays engage the CDF's insights directly and make for fascinating reading to those of us who struggle with theological concepts. Some of the authors prefer a more distant approach, examining Sobrino's work and forcing the reader "to connect the dots" with the CDF's disagreements.

Take for example the article by the Jesuit padre Jorge Costadoat, who currently directs the Centro Teológico Manuel Larraín and teaches at the Catholic University of Chile. With very fresh prose, Costadoat thumps both the CDF and Sobrino for their weak theological arguments. The padre writes that the CDF criticisms "are notable because they either do not apply to [Sobrino's] case or they reveal the theological weakness of the Congregation's expert who composed them" (p. 127). Though he notes that his criticism "accepts the main thrust of Sobrino's work," he charges that Sobrino "is guilty of some methodological simplifications" (p. 128). He cites Sobrino's identification of historical victims with the Body of Christ as "problematic" since it conflates both the church and the peoples of the Third World into a conceptually confused corpus.

Dean Brackley, professor of theology at the Universidad Centroamericana in San Salvador, challenges the CDF's criticisms of Sobrino's methodology in a more subtle, penetrating way. Citing Juan Luis Segundo's challenge to theologians who "do theology principally by deduction from authoritative texts," Brackley retold the parable of the Pharisees' disagreement with Jesus over healing the withered hand on the Sabbath. Segundo, wrote Brackley, asserted that the "Pharisee's starting point is the Torah," and Jesus begins with the man's crippled hand. That is the appropriate starting point, for the "Sabbath exists for people like this man, and not vice versa. Starting from elsewhere, the Pharisees fail to grasp what the Torah, and God, requires" (p. 12). He who has eyes to read, let him read!

The edited volume contains the CDF's notification as two appendixes. Holding the CDF's charges in one hand and reading the essays in the volume makes for a fascinating read. In many ways, this edited volume will serve as a primary text for those who look back in time to discover the struggles to live the faith in contemporary Latin America.

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Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil.

By JAMES HOLSTON. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvii, 416 pp. Cloth, \$35.00.

James Holston is one of the most innovative anthropologists of citizenship today, and this book is a significant contribution to the contemporary literature on citizenship. It is also a solidly grounded and methodologically sound history of São Paulo, especially its peripheries. Clearly written, it will be of considerable interest to a wide range of scholars including historians, sociologists, and anthropologists at all levels from undergraduates to faculty.

The notion of “insurgent citizenship” requires a conceptualization of citizenship as something that has been struggled over throughout history. More than merely a legal status of membership of a nation, citizenship is qualitatively different in different historical and spatial contexts. It must also be understood as both formal and substantive, with the two not necessarily (or even usually) commensurate. Holston’s argument, in brief, is that Brazilian citizenship has developed as differentiated: specifically, inclusive but inequalitarian. By that he means that the category of Brazilian citizenship incorporates almost everyone but does so unequally. He contrasts this to the nineteenth-century developments of French citizenship as inclusive and egalitarian, and American citizenship as exclusive but still egalitarian. Whereas under the French and American regimes, once one achieves citizen status one has a moral and constitutional claim to equal rights and treatment, in Brazil, many people can be counted citizens but be differently treated according to various perceived capacities and qualities. Of course race plays a central part in this, but two other significant qualities are literacy and property ownership.

Holston argues that the development of the peripheral settlements from the mid-twentieth century onward have challenged that differential treatment by basing an “insurgent citizenship,” a claim to rights, precisely on a form of property ownership that historically shaped differentiation in civil citizenship. This has been facilitated by the rise in literacy that resulted from widespread urbanization. However, it is complicated by the legal machinations associated with land ownership, the other principal theme of the book. Residents of the peripheries have often found that even after paying their dues to a real estate company they have not been able to achieve legal title to the land for a number of variously convoluted reasons, both legal and fraudulent. Holston shows with detailed historical description how this is intimately tied to the way that Brazilian property regimes and laws have developed over time.

The wider point, then, is one about Brazilian law, and it is Holston’s argument that the legal and the illegal are intertwined and create each other: for example, illegal land-holding can be legalized by the recognition of productive use and of continuing occupation of the land. Also, entirely legal proceedings mostly have the effect of creating such confusion and delay that parties turn to extralegal, that is, political, solutions to the dispute. For example, a land “owner” disputing the right of a real estate company to sell lots in a certain area may agree to drop his case in return for compensation. The

ethnographic detail in the book on the operation of the law is fascinating and incredibly illuminating, proving a point that I think is relevant across Latin America, namely that irresolution, and therefore fraud and stratagem, are not externalities that corrupt a system that embodies basic principles of justice, but rather they are internal to that system.

What is new is that groups of the urban poor are starting to manipulate the law in the way that elites have done for centuries, and this is what Holston considers to be insurgent citizenship. The book makes some very important arguments and breaks open the assumption that citizenship is essentially only a legal status. However, Holston retains some assumptions about citizenship that I would question. One, for example, is the idea that clientelism is antithetical to citizenship, perhaps even external to it, in the same way that irresolution is seen as external to the basic principles of law in the view that he critiques. The value judgment here reveals an essentially liberal conception of citizenship, which in other places Holston ably dismantles—as with, for example, his notion of differentiated citizenship. For Holston, the insurgent citizenship he so admires is good precisely because it makes claims to the kind of universal equality promoted by French and American formulations of citizenship. It is (implicitly) undermined every time someone makes use of social differences to argue for differential treatment, as in the case of positive discrimination schemes or different retirement ages for men and women. Furthermore, he argues that (insurgent) citizenship is exercised when the poor have recourse to the law (and persist and even at times succeed), and undermined when the judicial and police systems are dysfunctional or corrupt. I would suggest that this is quite a North American view of citizenship as the ability to litigate within a predictable system.

Similarly, what citizenship actually *is* seems to vary through the book. At times, Holston describes “citizenship regimes,” and at other times, citizenship is given some kind of agency and power of its own, or it is a goal or a claim to have rights, or something that describes particular property-owning regimes. Holston is part of a trend within current scholarly discussion of citizenship that has resulted in the addition of qualifying adjectives such as (in his case) *differentiated*, *formal*, *substantive*, or *insurgent*. But the risk is that citizenship as a concept may then float away, becoming anything (as long as it has the correct adjective in front) and therefore nothing. That said, if dissolving this particular concept gives rise to discussions of law, property holding, political activity, democracy, and modernity as sophisticated, interesting, and vibrant as in this particular book, then readers cannot complain.

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Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society.

By KATHRYN HOCHSTETLER and MARGARET E. KECK. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. Illustrations. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xviii, 284 pp. Cloth, \$84.95. Paper, \$23.95.

This well-documented and engaging monograph gives a detailed overview of the history of environmental activism in Brazil and explains the workings of the Brazilian state and its civil society through the eyes of two savvy analysts. Kathryn Hochstetler and Margaret Keck have studied Brazil's institutions and environmental movement for over two decades. *Greening Brazil* synthesizes questions of governance, environmental history, and the interconnections between state and civil society.

In previous works, Hochstetler and Keck successfully explored theoretical approaches to the formation of modern civil society in Latin America. In this monograph they analyze the mechanisms through which the processes of developing environmental institutions took root, highlighting the strengths and contradictions of these processes and pointing to the agents and alliances that made them possible. Combining local and global narratives, the authors connect concrete aspects of Brazilian politics and history to the international context of environmental agreements and conferences. For instance, they correctly underline the importance that individual and personal connections play in the Brazilian state and suggest that progressive environmental legislation is not matched by efficient law enforcement. On the same note, Brazilian environmental agencies were constantly reshuffled, each time redefining their focus and causing, according to the authors, no small uncertainty for political actors and their potential international partners (p. 39). For the sake of their American audience, the authors untangle the levels of Brazilian bureaucracy and their change over time. When possible, they translate terms and agencies into their American equivalents. This is no small feat, since some aspects of the legal system seem tortuous even for Brazilians and since some of the transformations cited in the book—such the expansion of collective rights and the creation of the public ministry (something akin to district attorneys)—were nothing short of revolutionary for the formation of Brazil's civil society. Hochstetler and Keck's insights will benefit not only those interested in environmental governance but also a broader range of scholars investigating the Brazilian state and bureaucracy.

The authors organize the book chronologically and thematically. The first three chapters cover the establishment of environmental institutions since the 1950s and identify three waves of environmental activism. The first wave, from the early 1950s to the early 1970s, gave birth to Brazil's oldest conservation organizations and its scientific research institutions. The country had embraced a nationalist and developmentalist mentality, and the generation that created Brazil's first state environmental institutions was strongly influenced by this logic. The second wave emerged during the period of political liberalization, roughly from 1974 to the late 1980s. New activist organizations emerged in tandem with and sometimes embedded in larger changes in the Brazilian civil society that was advocating improved social conditions and a democratic politi-

cal process. This environmental and social activism, according to the authors, helped to shape the 1988 Constitution. The third wave of activism, in existence since the late 1980s, has been marked "by the triple challenge of democratic restoration, economic crisis, and an exponential increase in foreign contact" (p. 63).

The last two chapters apply these three waves of Brazilian environmentalism in case studies about forest and urban environment, the two poles that constituted, not always harmoniously, the basis of the environmental agenda in Brazil. It is an opportune and necessary shift. On the one hand, the Amazon has been a key theme for Brazilian environmentalism; on the other hand, since the mid-1990s, approximately 40 percent of all Brazilian governmental and nongovernmental environmental organizations focused on urban environmental issues, understandably reflecting the urban majority of the Brazilian population (p. 186).

Greening Brazil is most successful when it analyzes environmental politics as embedded within national politics and, using over 20 years of interviews, highlights individuals' trajectories in environmental and social activism. From this perspective, the authors stress the importance of politicization of environmental activism; neutrality was not an option if environmentalism was to gain legitimacy in the political arena in Brazil. The book is less successful in discussing the role of private business, which both resisted the environmental agenda proposed by the government and environmentalists and co-opted this agenda through public relations campaigns. It is also not always consistent in showing the connection of international and local agencies and initiatives. But overall, *Greening Brazil* is a fundamental book for the history of world environmentalism, drawing from invaluable sources such as the authors' interviews with Chico Mendes and Herbert de Souza (Betinho). In fact, the long connection of Hochstetler and Keck with Brazilian environmentalism makes them, not unlike their interviewees, also actors in the narrative they constructed.

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Yucatán in an Era of Globalization. Edited by ERIC N. BAKLANOFF and EDWARD H. MOSELEY. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008. Photographs. Maps. Tables. Notes. Index. xvi, 192 pp. Paper.

Yucatán in an Era of Globalization contributes to an established scholarly tradition in long-term and interdisciplinary engagement with the history and culture of the Yucatán Peninsula. This collection contains eight chapters written by economists, historians, geographers, and anthropologists who represent different generations of *yucatecólogos*. These contributors reflect on how Yucatán has changed over the last few decades, roughly since the 1980s, and what impact these developments had for Yucatán's society and economy. Seven authors are based in the United States, two are Mexican, and one of them lives and works in Yucatán.

"Globalization" is used not as an analytical concept but as a label for what has grown more complex in peninsular life due to accelerated economic and social change. Hence, the contributors to this collection neither work toward a "central unified thesis about globalization" nor "pretend to predict the ultimate consequences of the state's international integration" (p. iii). Major themes include the decline of the henequen industry and the increasing diversification of the peninsular economy, including the growing importance of livestock and nontraditional crop production, the growth of tourism triggered by the vertiginous expansion of tourist resorts on the Caribbean coast, and the relatively new development of an export-assembly industry (*maquiladoras*).

The opening chapter, a historical *tour d'horizon* by Edward H. Moseley and Helen Delpar, begins with the Spanish conquest and ends with the Cárdenas era, focusing on how Yucatán's traditional (Mayan) culture was reshaped by colonial rule, the Caste War, the henequen industry, and the years of the Mexican Revolution. This is seen only as "prelude" to globalization, and therefore the authors fail to explore over a longer period the very work of globalization, that is, the local effects of the intensification and expansion of flows of people, goods, and ideas.

Chapter 2, by Michael S. Yoder, uses the development of the port of Progreso and the flow of goods passing through Yucatán's main seaport as a proxy for the "changing nature of northern Yucatán's involvement in the global economy" (p. 43). The expansion of the infrastructure and the port's turnover are the vital signs of Yucatán's economy, which, seen from the port's side, continues to depend on economic dynamics and decisions in more developed centers.

Global players need local deputies. A new economic elite has emerged in Mexico and moved to the global stage in the wake of the Salinas administration. Luis Alfonso Ramírez looks at this process in miniature by portraying three local business leaders who, in their quest for fortune and influence, collide with both national and global competitors. He asks whether these local business leaders, who grew on the substrate of clientelism and patronage, will be able to survive in a less protected "liberalized" environment.

Eric N. Baklanoff and Edward H. Moseley, in separate chapters, use a top-down approach to analyze the rise of maquiladora industry. Yucatán's closeness to U.S. Gulf ports has contributed to the expansion of assembly plants in the vicinity of Mérida and throughout the state's former *zona benequerena*. Baklanoff's interest is the policy context of this development and not so much the perspective of the people, mostly unskilled female laborers, who work in these plants. Moseley traces the partial transfer of the production of an Alabama-based garment industry to Yucatán and discusses how this affects social and economic processes in both areas. He too gives voice to those who run the business rather than to those who work for it.

Paula R. Heusinkveld and Alicia Re Cruz study village-level transformations of the ordinary life in the Mayan communities of Tinum and Chan Kom, respectively. The main theme in both chapters, written from a bottom-up perspective, is labor migration to Cancún and the social and cultural repercussions this entails for the migrants themselves and for their communities of origin. In the final chapter, Kathleen R. Martín and William A. Martín González propose a model for an alternative tourism development that would allow for a better integration and participation of the local population in the marketing of Mayan culture and its natural environment.

This book is free of jargon and accessible in style. Topics are treated in a concise manner. It may attract a readership looking for the broader picture of recent economic and social change in Yucatán. Fellow *yucatecólogos*, however, might regret that the text remains far too superficial to grasp the complexity of globalization in Yucatán, not least because of the weak empirical base of several chapters. Missing from the general picture is a closer attention to the more alarming concomitants of globalization in Yucatán such as increasing poverty, urban growth, environmental degradation and water pollution, or the effects of drug trafficking.

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International and Comparative

The Comanche Empire. By PEKKA HÄMÄLÄINEN. Lamar Series in Western History. New Haven: Yale University Press / William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2008. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. viii, 500 pp. Cloth, \$35.00.

The trend in the field of Native American history has been to discard Euro-American biases of past scholarship and to place Indian agency at the center of the historical process. Typically, these new histories illuminate how indigenous peoples accommodated to outside pressures in order to survive as coherent cultural entities. In this lengthy study, Pekka Hämäläinen goes one step further by showing how the Comanche people not only adapted to new political and economic realities wrought by various imperial projects but also competed with and bested European and Euro-American powers in controlling

the heartland of the North American continent. The author traces the development of what he terms the Comanche Empire from its embryonic beginnings on the southern Plains at the outset of the eighteenth century to the height of its expansion and power in the first half of the nineteenth century. During this period of Plains hegemony, argues the author, the Comanche Empire was nothing short of an international powerhouse. The Comanches—rather than Spain, Mexico, the United States, or some other Indian polity—called the shots.

Drawing from a variety of written sources, mostly generated by Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. administrators, Hämäläinen clarifies the major periods of Comanche expansion and its dynamics. He employs the analytical methods of both the humanities and the social sciences and remains attentive to “Comanche motives and meanings” (p. 13). Central to Comanche life were two particularly valuable commodities, the bison and the horse. The exploitation and management of livestock led to periodic modifications in Comanche political organization that, in turn, enabled manipulation of a vast trade network. At its height, the Comanche Empire incorporated peripheral economies well beyond its territorial base. Comanches traded for or raided livestock from Hispanic settlements in New Mexico, Texas, and ultimately as far south as Durango, Zacatecas, and San Luís Potosí. They complemented their limited diet with foodstuffs procured from indigenous groups on their eastern border, augmented their weaponry with guns and ammunition acquired from French and Anglo traders along the corridors of the Mississippi-Missouri waterway, and provided the livestock that revolutionized indigenous culture in the northern Plains. The empire’s sudden and precipitous decline after the U.S. Civil War was brought on not so much because of Euro-American solutions to the “Comanche problem,” but rather because climatic conditions severely affected the fragile ecosystem of Comanchería and undermined the horse-bison economic foundation of Comanche clout.

There is much to commend in this formidable study, and those interested in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century borderlands, Mexican, and U.S. history will want to read and consider the work. Specialists may quibble with Hämäläinen’s characterization of Comanche political organization as an “empire”; they may doubt that Spain’s long-standing imperial aim was one of continual expansion, as the author claims, or that Indian policy in New Spain’s far north was so neatly “top-down” and imperial in scope; and they may feel that the struggles of the young Mexican nation are given short shrift. Even nonspecialists may find some of the author’s assertions to be a bit overblown—a product, perhaps, of his Comanche-centeredness. The Comanche arrival on the southern Plains, for example, is deemed “one of the key turning points in early American history” (p. 18). Comanche expansion past the Llano Estacado to the Balcones Escarpment in Texas is touted as “one of the most explosive territorial conquests in North American history” (p. 55); and the racial complexity and ambiguity resulting from Comanche slavery is regarded as the “crucible which forged Anglo-American understandings of Mexicans as a mixed, stigmatized, and subordinate class” (p. 359). In a similar vein, Hämäläinen tends to portray Comanchería as the *primary* focal point of imperial and national administra-

tors, largely ignoring other, greater concerns that may have occupied their attention. The Spanish monarchy faced uprisings on the peninsula and in the colonies (including a full-blown Andean rebellion), Napoleon's occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, and colonial wars of emancipation. The fledgling Mexican nation had to deal with the delicate matters of state building and economic resuscitation after independence. And in the United States, slavery, immigration, and the looming sectional crisis were serious issues. Efforts to control Comanchería from the outside may have failed, but if looked at from a variety of other "centers," Indian policy in what ultimately became the American Southwest, while important, was not the only thing to worry about.

These points aside, Pekka Hämäläinen succeeds admirably in explaining the internal logic and coherence of Comanche power during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, in doing so, provides a new way to understand the historical development of the greater Southwest. Rubbing against the grain of traditional scholarship, this Comanche-centered interpretation of events is bound to shake things up. The greater Southwest will never quite look the same.

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Displacements and Transformations in Caribbean Cultures.

Edited by LIZABETH PARAVISINI-GEBERT and IVETTE ROMERO-CESAREO.

Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008. Photographs. Illustrations. Notes.

Bibliography. Index. xii, 252 pp. Cloth, \$59.95.

Understanding the Caribbean, according to the editors of this collection of essays, entails pursuing the "elusive ideal of a region meant by its geography to be apprehended as a totality even though it is fractured by history and dispersed by language and discourse" (p. 3). In their eloquent introduction, Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert and Ivette Romero-Cesareo take up Antonio Benítez Rojo's injunction to acknowledge the dualities attendant on studies of the Caribbean: if fragmentation and heterogeneity inhere, so too do particular historical and cultural continuities. Their response to this challenge has involved assembling a series of local studies on widely disparate issues, distant from one another with regards to subject matter as well as temporal and geographic scope. While this approach might have produced a confusing assortment of chapters, shared methodological and ethical perspectives knit them together into a compelling, if diverse, unity.

Eight essays address subjects including environmental change, AIDS, Christopher Columbus's enslavement of indigenous people, C. L. R. James's political activism, visual art, music, and the literature of empire. Some of these work to restore neglected aspects of the Caribbean to the historical and scholarly record. Both Peter Hulme and Jalil Sued-Badillo, for instance, place indigenous people at the center of their inquiries. Sued-Badillo's essay traces Christopher Columbus's little-known participation in an early version of the slave trade. Although some African slaves may have travelled with him on his voyages, Columbus made more systematic efforts to enact a reverse route: on

several occasions, according to Sued-Badillo, Columbus brought shiploads of enslaved Amerindians to Seville. Although hundreds arrived in Europe, many of them perished, and in the end the Spanish Crown outlawed the practice. But that does not diminish the relevance of this episode for the way it might alter received narratives about slavery and the role of indigenous people in the Caribbean. Similarly, Hulme's study of two novels by American writer Frederick Albion Ober analyzes the complicated plots, which involve, among other things, the discovery of indigenous Cubans by Americans engaged in various imperial enterprises in late nineteenth-century Cuba. Hulme deftly argues for connections between mining, archaeology, and narratives about "vanishing" tribes in both Cuba and the United States.

Writing on subjects as unrelated as C. L. R. James's political activism and accounts of environmental change, Kevin Meehan and Paravisini-Gebert also offer new perspectives. Meehan dwells on James's participation in radical organizing in the United States to comprehend his changing attitudes towards African Americans. Paravisini-Gebert demonstrates the centrality of landscape and environment to literary invocations of national identity. Both essays introduce fresh material and challenge dominant interpretations of well-known subjects. Another cluster of essays rests on the power of visual art and music, not in their frequently observed role as the glue that binds people into nations, but rather as that which can powerfully express the views of often-silenced groups, or as cultural artifacts that transcend simple nationhood. In two essays, the editors along with Martha Daisy Kelehan argue that visual representations of AIDS or of *botpipple* speak volumes in politically charged contexts where texts are often suppressed, or at least closely monitored. On the other hand, Yolanda Martínez San Miguel shows that certain songs and musical genres, such as merengue, can be understood as "local" in several places at once, taking on multiple meanings as they travel and becoming "a very clear example of those unequally shared spaces of knowledge and negotiation" (p. 212). If visual art allows particular groups to speak with a powerfully unified voice, music allows many groups to participate in the making of its meaning.

Beyond these thematic strands, the essays in this volume share both methodological proclivities and a deeply politicized tone. In their modes of inquiry, they all place texts at the center of their inquiries rather than relying on more social scientific approaches. The emphasis lies on interpretations of Caribbean texts and contexts rather than on variables, outcomes, and predictions. More importantly, the essays are all deeply political. In different ways, the chapters all remind readers that the Caribbean must be understood as a place where the cleavages of inequality and the arbitrary nature of injustice are as critical as geographic or linguistic fragmentation. This book will be useful to a wide array of interested readers, from curious or adventurous undergraduates to graduate students searching for particular pieces missing from the scholarly record or for a language with which to invoke Caribbean paradoxes. For historians and literary critics, it will provide a rich trove of pleasurable reading.

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Los retos de la diferencia: Los actores de la multiculturalidad entre México y Colombia.
 Edited by ODILE HOFFMANN and MARÍA TERESA RODRÍGUEZ. Mexico City:
 Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2007.
 Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. Indexes. 551 pp.

Difference and identity are the organizing issues in this book, the product of an odd research project to which several institutions in Mexico, Colombia, and France contributed. The book includes 17 articles organized in five parts. The topics under which this uneven collection is grouped include the politics of difference, alterity, and belonging. These show the specific approaches to the basic questions of construction of identity and alterity: How is identity constructed? What are the key elements that form the features of identity? What is alterity? The comparative perspective takes examples from both Colombia and Mexico and from a variety of regions and social actors.

The goal of the book is to expand the conceptual framework of identity construction. It is an admirable goal, yet the book becomes excessively jargony and the specific cases are so microscopically detailed that general overall conclusions become hard to make. Furthermore, the concept of alterity is constructed from the traditional perspective of established discourse, mostly in the words of white European male academics, notably Fredrik Barth, whose work on ethnic groups is used as the cornerstone of this work (p. 16). However, there are plenty of case studies on indigenous populations, specific minority ethnicities, and social movements. The variety of authors, places, and perspectives adds to the scope of the studies.

All the contributors try to show how historical and social structures of domination are constructed. However, the historical perspective is extremely short; hardly any case study looks before the 1980s at the earliest. Within this immediate perspective, the value of the book lies in its contribution in illuminating the mechanics and interconnections of identity studies and religious studies, another key issue in this collection.

The concept of difference receives special mention in reference to indigenous societies and their struggles in Veracruz, Mexico; Nariño, Colombia; the Mexican Huasteca; and Quiyanamo, Colombia, among other locations. There are chapters on forms of social struggle among Indian populations in the Mexican and Colombian Pacific. In contrast to the very specific and short-term studies of most chapters, Kali Argyriadis and Renée de la Torre attempt to trace both Aztec and Yoruba rituals in contemporary Santería in Havana, Veracruz, and Guadalajara. Without mentioning any specific case study, their article focuses mostly on the growing network of practitioners and the shift of leadership positions from Cuban to African dominance.

Students in Mexico and the United States would have a hard time using this book due to its broad focus, jargony language, and lack of a general bibliography. However, specialists on the topic of indigenous identity might find it useful and worth reading.

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El Fondo Monetario y el Banco Mundial en la Argentina: Liberalismo, populismo y finanzas internacionales. By RAÚL GARCÍA HERAS. Buenos Aires: Lumiere, 2008. Notes. Bibliography. 222 pp. Paper.

The role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in the economic development of Argentina has aroused a considerable amount of controversy. However, as Raúl García Heras states in his deeply researched book, we lacked a fully elaborated historical account based on archival records of the relationship since 1955 between the South American nation and the two most important international financial agencies. García Heras offers in his work a rich empirical analysis based on an impressive array of sources, such as the archives of the IMF and the World Bank, British and American diplomatic records, private papers from important Argentine economic policy makers, and many others. His main thesis is that the IMF and the World Bank have played a major role in Argentine development, since both institutions became the final guarantors of Argentina's economic seriousness, conditioning in that way the nation's access to international financial markets. Moreover, the IMF and the World Bank interventions in Argentina were guided by a version of economic orthodoxy that ultimately ended in failure.

García Heras renders a complex account of the relationship between the IMF and the World Bank's bureaucrats and Argentine politicians. He argues persuasively that the commitment of the IMF to reform Argentine economic policy was to some extent related to the international agency's search for a propaganda victory and use of Argentina as an example to show the world. However, the importance of Argentina for the IMF might be overestimated due to the particularly "Argentine-centric" perspective adopted by the author. In fact, the rich sources employed by García Heras should have allowed him to establish broader connections and a more qualified view. I believe García Heras does not fully explore the consequences of the IMF and the World Bank being truly global agencies with global agendas and at the same time having a particular relationship with the United States.

The author accurately emphasizes the link between IMF influence and Argentina's difficulties in dealing with European creditors (the so-called Club of Paris), but he misses some other, no less fundamental connections. For example, in the "Preludio," García Heras underlines several conditions that prevented Argentina from joining the IMF at the end of World War II. Most of these conditions were related to the internal situation of Argentina and in particular to Juan Domingo Perón's nationalistic regime. Thus, a little-known attempt to establish relationships between the international financial agencies and Perón's government failed due to the fact that "Peronism did not have the political strength, the managerial capacity, the technical cadres, and the ideological conviction necessary to deepen that reorientation" (p. 18). But nothing is said about the place of Argentina in the global design envisioned by the Allies and the United States after the war, and how this was related to the international financial system. Moreover, the very attempt of Perón's government to obtain aid from the international agencies deserves further attention.

The overall impression is that the IMF and the World Bank were monolithic structures. García Heras sometimes notes the internal disputes among bureaucrats but he does not consider the possibility of evolution within these institutions. For instance, apparently the shift from Eisenhower to Kennedy, from the rhetoric of “trade not aid” to the “Alliance for the Progress,” did not influence IMF attitudes and policies. This might be so, but a discussion about the reasons for the persistence of practices and ideas would not have been out of place.

The problems of a lack of historical contextualization beyond Argentine borders arise more clearly at the end of the book in the analysis of the 1966–69 period. García Heras argues that this was the end of an era, but the reasons for that are not obvious. Was it due to the “Cordobazo,” the social turbulence that put an end to Krieger Vasena’s period in charge of Argentine economic policy? Or was it due to Argentina’s temporary break in dependence on IMF aid? Or perhaps to the referred “upheavals in capital markets that foretold the end of the monetary and financial system established since 1945?” (p. 179). By heeding a broader historical context, García Heras might have offered alternative explanations for the relationship between international financial agencies and Argentina and the differences that he mentions in his conclusions—contradicting his portrait of the IMF as stubbornly committed to the same policies—between the not “so orthodox” attitudes of the fifties and sixties and strict orthodoxy in the aftermath of the Washington Consensus.

Nonetheless, and despite its flaws, *El Fondo Monetario* offers in-depth historical research that will enhance our understanding of both Argentine recent history and the debatable interventions of international agencies in Latin America.

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The AIDS Pandemic in Latin America. By SHAWN SMALLMAN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. Photographs. Illustration. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 290 pp. Cloth, \$59.95. Paper, \$22.50.

In the last 20 years the growing literature about AIDS in contemporary world history has taken three main forms: as an exercise in re-creating the past for its own sake, indicating how complex are the relations among disease, history, and society; as policy analysis aiming at informing the present with the past; and as narratives aiming at influencing future public health policy. *The AIDS Pandemic in Latin America* has a little bit of all these and is an important contribution to the quite scarce literature on this current epidemic in the region, especially when compared with the abundance of similar studies for other areas of the world. Shawn Smallman strives to explain how local developments of the AIDS epidemic have been primarily shaped by international factors and issues that marked Latin American politics during the last third of the twentieth century. He focuses his attention on globalization trends, U.S. political intervention, interna-

tional migrations, war, and the international drug trade. Chapters deal with Brazil and groups of countries—the Caribbean, Mexico and Central America, and Spanish South America—where Smallman tries to prove the key influence of some of these international factors in the making of the local responses to the AIDS epidemic.

In the case of Haiti, for example, Smallman discusses the long-held U.S. stereotype that marked the Caribbean island as the possible origin of the AIDS epidemic, the epidemic's influence in declining tourism, increasing discrimination toward Haitian immigrants in the United States, and the belief in Haiti that the United States created the disease to maintain its power and exterminate the poor. Cuba's initial policies against AIDS—aggressive cleansing of the blood supply, massive HIV testing, and strict quarantine of HIV-positive individuals—are seen as the Cuban revolutionary state's attempts to demonstrate the superiority of its public health system over that of the United States, which was much wealthier but less effective. In Brazil, the emphasis is on making anti-retroviral medications universally accessible, a process that entailed both resisting transnational pharmaceutical business pressures and efficiently using the support of state agencies, a local and international network of NGOs, and World Bank financial assistance. In Mexico, Smallman centers his attention on male migrants who spend long and lonely periods doing rural work in the United States, practicing unsafe sex and spreading the disease once back with their families in their hometowns and villages. In Central America, warfare is his main explanation. Thus the alarming statistics of HIV-positive young heterosexuals in Honduras is discussed as a result of the presence of U.S. troops, while in Nicaragua, by contrast, the isolating effects of the Contra War on Nicaraguan society may have significantly limited the impact of the AIDS epidemic.

Many of these explanations could be very controversial, especially because local/national factors seem to be somewhat devaluated in comparison to the strong role Smallman gives to the international factors. Combining both is not an easy task. It demands focusing special attention on a very complex locus where the peculiarities of the AIDS crisis could be better explained in each national case. This is something that the book achieves for Brazil and much less so for the Andean region, Cuba, or Honduras. The local level does emerge with all its richness when the author introduces people's accounts, be they the voices of members of NGOs or governments, activists, or patients. The presentation of the experiences of some of the sick—particularly Brazilian crack addicts, Mexican transgendered prostitutes, and Cuban rockers who intentionally injected themselves with the virus—is particularly eloquent.

The book's introduction offers a sweeping survey of the region, suggesting, on the one hand, the existence of a mosaic of AIDS infections in Latin America and, on the other, a certain Latin American "cultural unity." However, the case-specific chapters that follow seem to invite the reader to dismiss or at least to accept with enormous caution such ideas of regional cultural unity.

With a very engaging narrative that combines personal accounts, anecdotes, statistics, and official and unofficial reports, Smallman's book is one of the few studies available that deal with the region as a whole. It also articulates a compelling question: why,

with the exception of Haiti, Guyana, and perhaps Honduras, has HIV spread so little in Latin America, despite its pervasive poverty, gender inequality, intravenous drug use, hidden male homosexuality, extensive sex trade, and limited public health care?

The AIDS Pandemic in Latin America will appeal not only to a broad audience but also to scholars working in the history of AIDS as epidemic, as well as professionals, activists, and policy makers who are dealing with AIDS as history.

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José Limón and La Malinche: The Dancer and the Dance. Edited by PATRICIA SEED. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. DVD. Photographs. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ix, 198 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.

Few books focus on renowned dancer, choreographer, and teacher José Acadio Limón (1908–72), despite his lifetime achievements in modern dance. In *José Limón and La Malinche*, artists as well as scholars from fields as diverse as history, anthropology, Spanish and Mexican American studies, and dance studies come together to explore Limón and one of his most famous works, *La Malinche*. This dance, composed in the late 1940s, features one of the legendary personages from the period of the Spanish invasion, Malintzin, or, as she was later renamed by the Spaniards, Doña Marina. Malintzin, born in a Nahuatl-speaking indigenous community on Mexico's Gulf Coast, was given to a Mayan group as a girl. She was later given to Hernán Cortés, becoming his translator, mistress, and mother to his mestizo son. Over the past five centuries, the iconic *la Malinche* has been portrayed as a traitor, a victim, the mother of a new race, and an intelligent woman doing the best she could in terrible circumstances. Regardless of which image one leans toward, she was clearly a mediator between two cultures. Like Limón, she made cultures understandable to each other and thus serves as a perfect backdrop for understanding the award-winning dancer.

The choice of *La Malinche* allows the contributors to examine what one scholar calls "cross border historical memory." Like the informants in this essay, Limón's worldview was "rooted in two languages, two nations, two economies, in short two cultures" (p. 114). José Limón was born in 1908 in Culiacán, Sinaloa, Mexico. During the Mexican Revolution of 1910, his family was forced to flee their homeland, moving to Los Angeles when Limón was an adolescent. Coming from a middle-class family in Mexico, where his father was the director of a state orchestra, to the United States, where the family experienced financial insecurity in the midst of widespread anti-Mexican sentiment, surely influenced Limón later in life. Like others of his generation, Limón incorporated both a Mexican and a Mexican American sensibility into his life and consequently into his dance compositions, turning to Mexican themes in dances such as *La Piñata*, *Danzas Mexicanas*, and the focus of this book, *La Malinche*. Yet he rarely spoke of his Mexicanness, making the question posed by volume editor Patricia Seed more intriguing. Asking how "Mexico

figured in Limon's artistic imagination," Seed concludes that it is in dance that "Limón's Mexican heritage remains most strongly embedded" (p. 4). The essays that comprise the volume seek (some more successfully than others) to answer the question from a variety of angles and provide some intriguing insights into the artistic creativity of Limón.

The essays cover a wide range of topics, evaluating "the set, costumes, music, unpublished choreographic notes, and historical content" of *La Malinche*. For example, while one essay examines Limon's development of the characters (La Malinche, El Indio, and El Conquistador), another explores the role of women in Nahua society. Essays point to the influence on Limon's work of famous Mexican muralists such as Diego Rivera and Jose Clemente Orozco (whose work, ironically, Limón experienced in the United States rather than Mexico) as well as the Mexican codices that tell the story of the conquest. The reader learns of Limon's talent for choreography as well as his influence on Mexican modern dance. An accompanying DVD even allows us to view a performance of *La Malinche*, featuring Limón.

The broad scope of this edited volume with its complex reading of the historic Malintzin, la Malinche of popular culture, and the dance composition bearing her name is often captivating. Yet, crossing national boundaries between the United States and Mexico while moving through time from the colonial period to the present, the collection of essays sometimes moves a bit haltingly. Despite this, however, the book provides a fascinating look into the ways in which historical remembrance, dance, and history come together in the work of one of the most influential choreographers of the twentieth century. Specialists in a number of areas, as well as general readers, will find something of interest in this collection of essays. *José Limón and La Malinche* adds significantly to our understanding of this influential choreographer, his work, and the cultural forces that created both the dance and the dancer.

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Linked Labor Histories: New England, Colombia, and the Making of a Global Working Class. By AVIVA CHOMSKY. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. Photographs. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 398 pp. Cloth, \$84.95. Paper, \$23.95.

Aviva Chomsky has produced a book that seeks to explore the origins, processes, and outcomes of "globalization" in the restructuring of the international political economy over the course of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. She focuses on the ways in which the mobility of labor, capital, and technology interacted with the political economy of both New England and Colombia to define the context and outcomes for working people and/or immigrants in both societies. It is an ambitious project that requires readers to think outside the box of "national" historiography and to link developments in both societies across time and space. It is also a project that grounds itself in the view that capitalism and democracy are shaped by contradictory agendas: "Democracy demands

government by, for, and of the people. Capital seeks governments that will control the people in its interest. Democracy thrives on social equality; capitalism thrives on social inequality" (p. 4). Unfortunately, this contradiction is not as simple as the author professes, since it is not evident that democracy is sustained by social equality; rather, it may rely upon social inequalities to energize its citizens and create the conditions for political mobilization. However, capitalism is by its very nature predatory and will maximize opportunities for capital accumulation under conditions of both stability and instability, and under both authoritarian and representative/democratic political systems. Further, the study would have been better situated if Chomsky had explored the strategy of capital mobility that has been classified as "globalization" within the long history of such activity by the major European countries prior to the twentieth century. The British imperial expansion of the nineteenth century was both a predecessor and exemplar for American business elites, who saw globalization as a way of maximizing profitability under a variety of conditions. Like the United States in the twentieth century, British capitalists invested abroad in search of profits in regions where democracy was notably absent, even as the British state expanded the scope of democratic governance at home as a strategy for mobilizing domestic support for the imperial project.

Given that broader context of "globalization as imperialism," Chomsky's study provides very interesting insights into the workings of American imperial expansion over the course of the twentieth century. It is particularly revealing about the ways in which "Yankee" capitalism functioned to create internal colonies of exploitation among immigrant workers in New England—the "cradle" of American democratic culture—as well as in the South, where the impoverished white working class was trapped by the oligarchs who controlled Southern life. The South's antidemocratic culture of political corruption and aggressive disenfranchisement of both poor whites and people of color would seem to have functioned as a laboratory for practices that would later be exported to Latin America. In effect, the behavior of American capitalists in the twentieth century mimicked that of the American founders, among whom slaveholders were well represented. The original American constitution recognized property holders as full-fledged citizens, while slaves were reduced to the status of "beings of an inferior order." Is it possible that the consistent opposition to labor unions that has informed American life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially in the South, represents the internalization of the ethos of the American founders? Further, as Chomsky shows, the relationship between the promotion of social engineering and racist ideas by the Draper family, key players in the New England textile industry, should encourage scholars to think more systematically about the ways in which the predatory culture of American capitalism is rooted in the legacies of slavery and the obsession with racial hierarchy in American life.

Chomsky's study of American investment in Colombia illustrates both the globalization of capital and the perpetuation of disadvantages for working people in the United States and Colombia. As she correctly observes, American military "assistance" to the Colombian government has helped to exacerbate the crisis of legitimacy that the

Colombian state has confronted for several decades. The study has certainly provided an interesting twist on the idea of the "Banana Republic" as a servant of American investors. However, it also suggests the need to interrogate American policy in a country that in the early twentieth century was dismembered through the secession of Panama in order to facilitate American control over the proposed site of the interoceanic canal. Does the dispossession and dehumanization of rural communities in Colombia reflect a longer-term preoccupation among American capitalist investors? Is it possible that the behavior of the investors is shaped less by antiunion sentiment per se, and more by the desire to systematically strip workers of their humanity, as was stipulated in the original American Constitution?

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The Agrarian Dispute: The Expropriation of American-Owned Rural Land in Postrevolutionary Mexico. By JOHN J. DWYER. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 387 pp. Cloth, \$89.95. Paper, \$24.95.

Between January 1927 and October 1940, Mexico expropriated more than six million acres of land owned by some 319 Americans and redistributed the properties to the nation's campesinos. Most of the transfers occurred during the aggressively reformist administration of Lázaro Cárdenas in the mid to late 1930s. Mexico agreed to pay the owners for their losses, but how, when, and how much became contentious issues between the governments of the two countries. U.S. "hawks" threatened sanctions, even war, if Mexico did not promptly pay its due, but cooler heads contained the dispute within diplomatic bounds, where Mexican negotiators proved to be clever, able adversaries and eventually won the day. The give-and-take between the arbiters makes for suspenseful, dramatic reading, and in *The Agrarian Dispute* John J. Dwyer tells the story well.

The most famous expropriation of the period occurred on March 18, 1938, when Cárdenas nationalized the properties of internationally powerful oil companies (U.S. and Anglo-Dutch) operating in Mexico. His countrymen hailed the bold move as their economic independence day, and historians have generally concluded that the foreign powers that lost their petroleum holdings did not harshly retaliate because they faced another war with Germany and needed Mexico's neutrality, if not support. Dwyer argues persuasively, however, that at least in the case of the United States, the earlier diplomatic wrangling over agrarian expropriations created guidelines and hammered out positions later used to defuse and mediate the oil crisis.

While the author's revisionist conclusion concerning the oil controversies is the sort of chronological claim that historians quarrel over at conferences, the real merit of his work lies in his detailed deconstruction of the multifaceted forces on both sides of the border that shaped the roiling agrarian dispute itself. Dwyer draws the battle lines over the massive cotton fields of the Colorado River Land Company outside Mexicali in

northern Baja California, owned by American magnates, and the much smaller holdings of average U.S. entrepreneurs along the Yaqui River in the State of Sonora. In the first case, Cárdenas aimed to dramatize his overall land redistribution intentions and build a strong constituency of campesinos and agrarian union leaders in a vital district bordering the United States. In Sonora, he proposed to satisfy Yaqui Indian claims to ancestral territories and to pressure an oppositional governor from office. In both circumstances, he promised compensation to owners for lost land.

But Mexico was broke, or at least in a deep economic slump, and the U.S. property owners, represented by their government, refused to accept long-term bonds they considered worthless. Neither side was in the best of shape. Cárdenas faced armed opposition from both right and left, from those who thought his changes too rapid, radical, and far-reaching and others who demanded that he press his administration's reform program even harder. Furthermore, tenant farmers employed by the Colorado Company as well as nearby Mexican rancheros profiting from their proximity to the company's property vigorously protested the expropriation. At the same time, the president's political opponents in Sonora pushed back. In the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's foreign policy directorate was deeply divided on how to respond to the expropriations. Should it be war, heavy sanctions, or a negotiated settlement? Both sides, of course, still felt repercussions from the Great Depression and caught whiffs of fascism, communism, and war emanating from abroad. For political and economic reasons they needed one another.

Dwyer masterfully brings all these entangled strands into play. The United States agreed to send farm machinery to Mexico, while Mexico exported silver and consumer goods to the United States. American capital flowed into Mexico, stabilizing the peso. Mexican workers deported from the United States were resettled with government assistance in Mexico, easing demographic issues for both countries. Cárdenas advanced his reform program, and while many ranking Americans did not like his leftist trajectory, they asked themselves, "If not Cárdenas, then who?"

Meanwhile, diplomats from the two countries flailed away at each other in search of an agreement on payment for the expropriations. Here Dwyer is at his best, describing how Cárdenas's determination to redistribute wealth in Mexico dovetailed with Roosevelt's own New Deal and "Good Neighbor" sentiments in the United States. FDR publicly endorsed Mexico's agrarian reform and stood firm against the opposition in his own cabinet and state department. The author fleshes out the personalities and agendas of those who supported the American president—his ambassador to Mexico, Joseph Daniels, and Laurence Duggan, chief of the State Department's Latin American division—and those wary of concordance with Mexico, led by Secretary of State Cordell Hull. There were also cracks among Cardenas's principal advisors, although they are less explored in this book.

Dwyer fundamentally sees the compensation battle as one between the powerful United States against a weak Mexico and concludes that Mexico successfully employed the so-called "weapons of the weak"—foot dragging, obfuscation, pettifogging, brief

flashes of resistance, abrupt changes in tactics, feigning miscomprehension—to frustrate efforts of U.S. negotiators to close the deal. The overused “weapons of the weak” paradigm somewhat founders here (and not only because in negotiations the powerful frequently engage in similar maneuvers). But while commending Mexico’s diplomats for astuteness, Dwyer also acknowledges the limits to American power at the time.

Governments of the two countries ratified the debt agreement worked out by a bilateral claims commission in April 1942. (By then, Manuel Ávila Camacho was Mexico’s president.) Mexico consented to pay \$22 million for expropriated American properties, \$3 million then and the rest in annual installments that lasted until 1955. The total did not approach market value of the real estate, but a good many observers simply shrugged their shoulders and considered the deal part of a U.S. aid package to a needed neighbor.

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Packaged Vacations: Tourism Development in the Spanish Caribbean. By EVAN R. WARD. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2008. Photographs. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxvi, 237 pp. Cloth, \$69.95.

Among scholars it has become a trope to claim that the study of tourism has been neglected. Like others making such claims, Evan R. Ward proceeds to generally disregard all tourism-related research, be it theoretical and descriptive. He also disregards comparable nontourism case studies that would help contextualize his study on both theoretical and historical grounds. Tourism, in reality, is a major research focus for multiple disciplines within which many scholars fuse diverse disciplinary approaches in theoretically and methodologically innovative ways. Ward does not participate in this broader scholarly discussion.

From the inappropriate title to its general lack of focus and topical cohesion, *Packaged Vacations* overgeneralizes about Latin American tourism. The book is not about “packaged vacations.” Though the author claims to discuss exclusive vacations, there is no sustained description of what that means for the tourism destinations under analysis. What exactly has been packaged for tourists and how they experienced it is not examined, beyond vague references to golf courses, nightclub entertainment, U.S. cuisine, and U.S.-like accommodations and amenities.

Packaged Vacations is really about hotel resort tourism development and how U.S. and then later European corporations made economic deals with Latin American countries to help increase their profits. Ward traces how Conrad Hilton and Nelson and Laurance Rockefeller built resort hotels in Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela. He emphasizes that Hilton and the Rockefellers provided models that influenced all subsequent resort hotel projects by French (Club Med) and Spanish (Barceló and Sol Meliá) corporations.

Ward looks primarily at: the Dorado Beach Hotel (Rockefeller) and Caribe Hilton,

both in San Juan, Puerto Rico; the Habana Hilton, Varadero Beach, and tourism development in general in Cuba; the development of Cancún as a resort and general resort-oriented tourism in the Yucatán Peninsula; and Punta Cana Beach in the Dominican Republic. Each development is linked through common investment strategies and relationships with Latin American governments, as well as by similar attitudes about how to attract, serve, and entertain foreign guests. Ward provides detailed information about resort hotel development in these places. He uses company archives, popular period promotional materials, and interviews with former managers and government officials. He clearly presents the prevailing attitudes the owners and elites held about how to improve these specific countries and the region in general. (There is, however, no counterperspective of workers or the general populace.) Ward does not critique these elitist views; he merely presents them. Nor are each of these different cases well contextualized within each of their own particular histories. He presents them as unique and implies that they are somehow archetypical, when in reality this form of development follows trends that foreign companies have long practiced: little utilization of local resources (people or materials), heavy reliance on foreign products and expertise, and agreements that offer tax breaks to foreign companies and protect their profits. Companies were also allowed to import foreign materials without paying taxes or duties.

Although the author reports that the hotel owners and managers were interested in local culture and wish to help the economies of these countries, little substantive evidence is given to support these claims. At the Caribe Hilton in 1951, it was said that there was "one foreign visitor (including Puerto Ricans) for each two American customers" (p. 41). In the domain of these hotels, locals, even local elites, were foreigners, but Americans were not. Such attitudes reflect a culturally detached attitude.

No clear economic data are presented about how much revenue each country received or how much of it reached the general population. A clue that economic arrangements were not favorable can be deduced from descriptions related to the Dorado Beach Hotel. On page 71, the author describes the shift from operating at a loss (\$2.3 million) its first year in 1959 to its all time gain (\$1.6 million) during a six-month period in 1966. No data are reported as to when the hotel recouped its initial investment, which is really the reason for the first year's loss. The implication is that the resort was profitable, but the reader must recall the deal that Rockefeller struck with the Puerto Rican government, outlined earlier in the book. Rockefeller's overall investment shrank in comparison to the Puerto Rican government's share, and the hotel would be given "a ten-year tax exemption on profits and a six-year exemption on property tax" (p. 63), suggesting that profits did not stay with the host country.

Simply put, *Packaged Vacations* is an uncritical description and summary of resort hotel tourism development from 1950 to the present. The implication is that tourism development in Latin America could not and would not have happened without foreign investors and knowledge, but the book lacks sufficient data to outright support this.

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The Banana: Empires, Trade Wars, and Globalization. By JAMES WILEY.

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. Photographs. Maps. Tables. Notes.

Bibliography. Index. xxv, 278 pp. Cloth.

Since the pioneering scholarship of Charles Kepner in the 1930s, a voluminous body of literature has examined how that most innocuous of tropical commodities, the banana, has become associated with flagrant violations of human rights and national sovereignty. Indeed, it was in the title of Kepner's work (1935) that the words "banana" and "empire" were first paired. Subsequent scholars have examined permutations of this theme, focusing on the ways in which three U.S.-based multinationals (foremost among them the United Fruit Company, now known as Chiquita) carved out monopolies over their respective spheres of production and shipping. From its founding, United Fruit (UFCO) has been the most brazen in seeking these goals through predatory pricing, bribery, military coups, ethnic manipulation of workers, and even mass murder, an actual incident lightly disguised as fictional history in García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*.

Chiquita continues to evidence empire building, relying now on the World Trade Organization (WTO) rather than Marine battalions to pursue its global interests. Unable to dominate European sales because of tariff-quota preferences that preserved a segment of the EU market for small-scale Caribbean farmers, in 1996 Chiquita persuaded the Clinton administration to challenge such provisions in the WTO. The result of this, widely known as the "banana wars" on both sides of the Atlantic, was a ruling that devastated tens of thousands of small farmers in the Windward Islands and Jamaica and caused an immense toll of suffering throughout the region. Among its costs are a flood of undocumented migrants, as well as illegal drugs, to the United States. Since the WTO ruling, the Caribbean has become the single greatest conduit for cocaine shipment to the United States.

Wiley's goal is to offer an overview of the global banana industry, its principal actors, and the origins of the recent banana wars. The first half of the book is devoted to the diverging histories of the "Dollar Area" banana sector (the Latin American banana industries dominated by U.S. multinationals) and the ACP sector (African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries, here exemplified by the Caribbean basin), whose growers are oriented toward European markets. While the emergence of the plantation model in Central America reflected UFCO's monopolistic impulses, Wiley shows that small-scale production in the Caribbean was fostered by British colonial authorities for political expediency, partly to deny UFCO a monopoly over the home market and partly to provide livelihoods to otherwise impoverished West Indians. With their small landholdings scattered over hilly terrain, Caribbean farmers produce fruit at a cost far exceeding that of Central American producers. They could remain in business only through provisions that guaranteed them a generous tariff-free quota in Europe, while imposing restrictive quotas and heavy tariffs on Dollar fruit. Wiley devotes the latter half of his book to the bewildering regulations of European banana trade policy and the development and outcome of Chiquita's challenge to them. His explication of the European Banana Pro-

TOCOL and the U.S.-EU trade war is exceptionally lucid, given the complexity of the issues involved. As the remnants of the Eastern Caribbean industry struggle to survive through Fair Trade certification, it would have been welcome if he had more closely examined the long-term promise of this niche market.

This is perhaps the most ambitious single volume analysis of the global banana industry undertaken to date. The author has integrated a mass of hitherto disparate sources of information and has synthesized most of them accurately and evenhandedly. Unfortunately, in any undertaking of this scale, some sources will be overlooked, and analytical depth necessarily suffers in places. Conspicuously absent here is John Soluri's superb work (*Banana Cultures*, 2005) demonstrating the role played by disease control, which remained in UFCO's hands, in excluding small Central American farmers from export markets. UFCO's manipulation of ethnic loyalties as a means of suppressing wages, as documented in Phillipe Bourgois's powerful work on Costa Rica (*Ethnicity at Work*, 1989), passes unnoticed as well. Wiley's curious statement that "Jamaica represents a rare failure on the part" of UFCO (p. 74) cannot be reconciled with Thomas C. Holt's account (*The Problem of Freedom*, 1992) of how the company crushed Jamaica's independent producers. Most surprisingly, there is no mention of Chiquita's use of political contributions to the Clinton White House to further its interests, despite its ubiquity in other accounts of the WTO suit (e.g., T. E. Josling and T. G. Taylor, *Banana Wars*, 2003). It is inexplicable that such major works by scholarly presses are omitted, even while *The Banana* draws heavily on much less accessible gray literature and government documents.

None of these caveats diminishes the contributions of this impressive volume. Wiley has done a considerable service to fellow scholars in the areas of globalization and trade by integrating a vast and seemingly ever-growing literature. For those interested in understanding the contemporary configuration of an industry that is truly global in its reach, *The Banana* is an excellent place to start.

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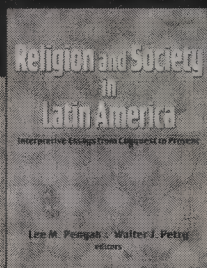
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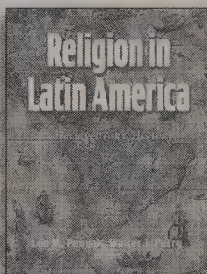


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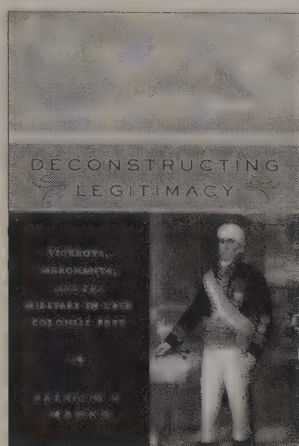
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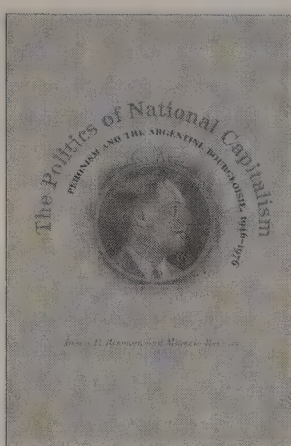
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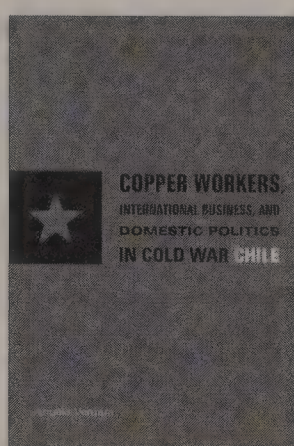
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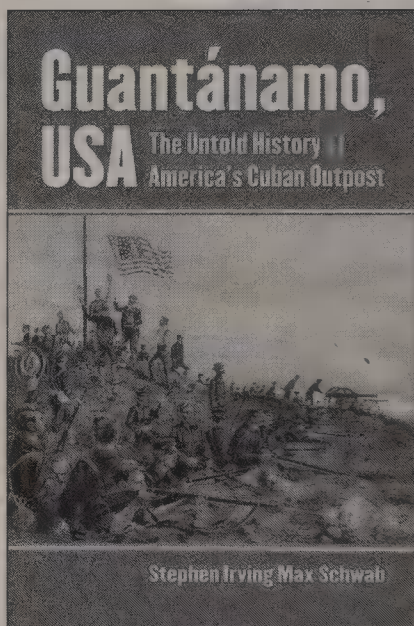
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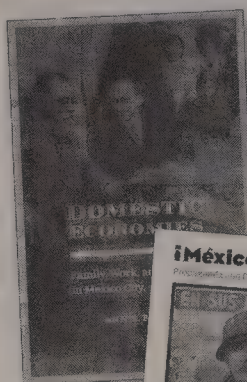
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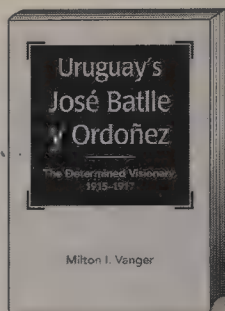
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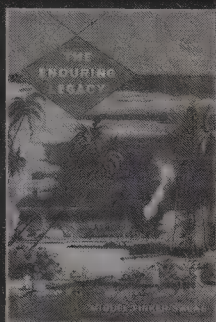
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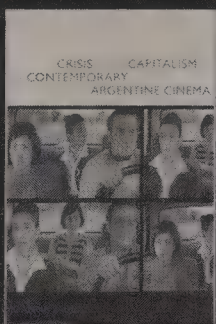


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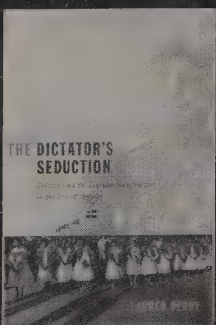
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